



ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND AFTERWARDS RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND HAVANT,
HAMPSHIRE.

WITH THE QUOTATIONS AT LENGTH, IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,
AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XX.

OF THE FESTIVALS OBSERVED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DISTINCTION TO BE MADE BETWEEN CIVIL AND
ECCLESIASTICAL FESTIVALS.

SECT. I.— *What meant by the Civil Festivals.*

HAVING hitherto taken a distinct view of the great services of the ancient Church in the several parts of her liturgy, and the administration of her sacraments, and the exercise of discipline, I come now to give an account of the lesser kind of observations relating to her festivals, and days of fasting, and marriage rites, and funeral rites ; all which may, in some measure, be comprised under the general name of the ‘Service of the Church.’

In speaking of the festivals, it will be necessary, first of all, to distinguish the ecclesiastical festivals from the civil. For some were purely ecclesiastical, others purely civil ; and others (as festivals of greater account) were both ecclesiastical and civil. All Sundays throughout the year, and the fifteen days of the paschal solemnity, were festivals both in the ecclesiastical and civil account. For they were not only days of more solemn religious observation, but also days of

vacation from lawsuits and prosecution of secular business. Other festivals were purely of ecclesiastical account; for they were days of religious assembly, but not entirely days of vacation. Others were purely civil festivals, that is, days of vacation from lawsuits and secular affairs, but not distinguished by any peculiar character of religious observation. Of this sort were the *feriæ æstivæ*, or 'the thirty days of harvest;' and the *feriæ autumnales*, or 'the thirty days of vintage;' and three days under the common name of the Kalends of January; one day called the *natalis urbis Romæ*, 'the foundation of Rome;' and another, the *natalis*, or 'foundation' of Constantinople; and four days called the *natales imperatorum*, including both their natural birthdays and their civil birthdays, that is, their inauguration to the empire. Of all which, because there is frequent mention made of them in the ancient writers, and laws, and canons, it will not be amiss to speak a little more particularly in the entrance of this discourse.

SECT. II. — *Of the Feriæ Æstivæ, or 'Thirty days of Vacation, in the Harvest Month,' and the Feriæ Autumnales.*

All these are comprehended in one law of Theodosius and Valentinian Junior, under the general name of *feriæ forenses*, 'days of vacation, or rest, from pleadings in the civil courts of judicature.' Where all days in the year are appointed to be juridical,* except the two months of harvest and vintage, and the Kalends of January, and the *natales* of the two great cities, Rome and Constantinople, and the birthdays of the emperors, and their inauguration to the empire, and the fifteen days of Easter, which were festival both in the eccle-

* Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.) Omnes dies jubemus esse juridicos. Illos tantum manere feriarum dies fas erit, quos geminis mensibus ad requiem laboris indulgentior annus accepit, æstivis fervoribus mitigandis, et autumnis fœtibus decerpendis. Kalendarum quoque Januariarum consuetos dies otio sancimus. His adjicimus natalitios dies urbium maximarum (Romæ atque Constantinopolis), quibus debent jura deferre, quia et ab ipsis quoque nata sunt. Sanctos quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero, vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus. Nec non et Dies Solis, qui repetito in se calculo revolvuntur. Parem necesse est haberi reverentiam nostris etiam diebus, qui vel lucis auspicia, vel ortus imperii protulerunt.

siastical and civil account, as also all Sundays throughout the year. Where it is rightly observed by Gothofred,^b that the other ecclesiastical festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost, were not as yet made festivals in the civil account. For, at this time, many of the judges were still heathens: and therefore juridical pleadings were allowed on these days, notwithstanding that they were kept with great solemnity and religious veneration among the Christians. But afterward, when Justinian repeated this law in his Code,^c the prohibition of pleadings upon these days, and upon the Passions of the Apostles, was inserted, together with a prohibition of all the public shows and games upon any of these solemnities; of which more hereafter.

As to those festivals which were purely civil, we are to observe, that some of them were of long standing in the Roman empire, and no new institution of Christians, but only reformed and regulated by them in some particulars,

^b Gothofr. in loc. p. 125. Etsi Natalis quoque Domini, Epiphaniarum, et Pentecostes solemnitas apud Christianos, ut feriarum dies, celebritate religiosa jam peragerentur, nondum tamen juridicis diebus in orbe Romano hoc tempore exempti fuere; quod ex hac lege liquet, ubi Paganorum etiam judicum multitudo adhuc magna erat, et quidem in ipsa urbe Roma: inter hæc scilicet initia satis visum, si inter festos Christianorum dies, Paschales dies, Diesque Solis juridicis eximerentur, veneratione Christianæ religionis, ac non etiam alii, quantumlibet feriat Christianorum dies, qui in Diem Solis non inciderent; sane spectacula hisce quoque diebus exhiberi, non minus quam Dominica, aut Paschatis, vetitum postea a Theodosio Juniore, in 'd. l. Dominico ult. inf. de Spectaculis.'

^c Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. vii. Omnes dies jubemus esse juridicos. Illos tantum manere feriarum dies fas erit, quos geminis mensibus ad requiem laboris indulgentior annus excepit: æstivis fervoribus mitigandis: et autumno fructibus decerpendis: Kalendarum quoque Januariarum consuetos dies otio mancipamus. His adjicimus natalitios dies urbium maximarum, Romæ atque Constantinopolis: in quibus debent jura differri, quia et ab ipsis nata sunt. Sacros quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno numero vel præcedunt, vel sequuntur. Dies etiam natalis, atque Epiphaniarum Christi, et quo tempore commemoratio Apostolicæ Passionis, totius Christianitatis magistræ a cunctis jure celebratur: in quibus etiam prædictis sanctissimis diebus neque spectaculorum copiam reseramus. In eadem observatione numeramus et Dies Solis (quos 'Dominicos' rite dixere majores) qui repetito in sese calculo revolvuntur: in quibus parem necesse est habere reverentiam: ut nec apud ipsos arbitros, vel a judicibus flagitatos, vel sponte electos, ulla sit cognitio jurgiorum. Nostris etiam diebus, qui vel lucis auspicia, vel ortus imperii protulerunt. In quindecim autem Paschalibus diebus compulsio annonariæ functionis, et omnium publicorum privatorumque debitorum differatur exactio.

to cut off the idolatrous rites and other corruptions that sometimes attended them. The multitude of them was complained of by Tully:^d and therefore Augustus cut off thirty of them at once, turning those days, which were deputed for honorary games, into days of pleading, for the better prosecution of criminals, and greater expedition of justice; as Suetonius reports in his Life.^e And a like reduction was made by Antoninus Philosophus, who is said to have added several judiciary days to the calendar,^f striking out many festivals, and appointing two hundred and thirty days in the year for hearing of causes, and despatching business of the law. The Christian emperors reduced the number of these festivals to a much shorter compass. For they cast away all festivals that were held in honour of the heathen gods: and though they brought in all Sundays in the year into the computation of civil festivals, and also the fifteen days of the Paschal solemnity, yet the whole number did not amount to above one hundred and twenty-five: so that there remained two hundred and forty days still for public business of the law. And of those one hundred and twenty-five days that were exempt, sixty days or two months were only set apart as days of vacation from the law, for the convenience of gathering in the harvest and the vintage. The one were called *feriæ æstivæ*, and the other *feriæ autumnales*. And these were ancient Roman festivals mentioned by Statius,^g and Aulus Gellius,^h and Pliny,ⁱ and after them by Ulpian

^d Cic. cont. Verrem.

^e Sueton. Vit. Aug. c. xxxii. Ne quod maleficium negotiumve impunitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honorariis ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit.

^f Capitolin. Vit. Antonin. Philosoph. p. 74. Judiciariæ rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit; fastis dies judiciosos addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis constitueret.

^g Stat. lib. iv. Sylvar. 4, 39.

Certe jam Latine non miscent jurgia leges.

Et pacem piger annus habet, messesque reversæ

Dimisere forum: nec jam tibi turba reorum

Vestibulo, querulique rogant exire clientes:

Cessat centeni moderatrix judicis hasta.

^h Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. ix. c. xv. Cum Antonio Juliano rhetore, per feriarum tempus æstivarum, decedere ex urbis æstu volentes, Neapolin concesseramur.

ⁱ Plin. lib. viii. ep. xxi. Julio mense, quo maxime lites interquiescunt.

the famous lawyer,^j who shews at large for what end they were appointed; that countrymen might not be molested in gathering their fruits at their proper seasons, except it were in some extraordinary cases, which required a more speedy decision before the prætor. The schools of rhetoric had also their vacations at these seasons, as we learn both from Aulus Gellius and St. Austin.^k And because this sort of *feriæ* had nothing of harm, but only convenience in them, they were continued without scruple by the Christian emperors, and established by their laws, as we have seen, upon consideration of the usefulness and necessity of them; leaving it to the judges of the several provinces of the world to

^j Digest. lib. ii. tit. xii.—De Feriis, leg. i. Ne quis messium vindemiarumque tempore adversarium cogat ad iudicium venire, oratione divi Marci exprimitur: quia occupati circa rem rusticam in forum compellendi non sunt. . . . Sed excipiuntur certæ causæ, ex quibus cogi poterimus et per id temporis, quum messes vindemiæque sunt, ad prætores venire: scilicet si res tempore peritura sit, hoc est, si dilatio actionem sit peremtura. Sane quotiens res urget, cogendi quidem sumus ad prætorem venire, verum ad hoc tantum cogi æquum est, ut lis contestetur et ita ipsis verbis orationis exprimitur: denique alterutro recusante post litem contestatam litigare, dilationem oratio concessit.—Leg. ii. Eadem oratione divus Marcus in senatu recitata effecit, de aliis speciebus prætorem adiri etiam diebus feriaticis: ut puta, ut tutores aut curatores dentur, ut officii admoneantur cessantes, excusationes allegentur, alimenta constituentur, ætates probentur, ventris nomine in possessionem mittatur, vel rei servandæ causa, vel legatorum, fideiæ commissorum, vel damni infecti, &c.—Leg. iii. Solet etiam messis vindemiarumque tempore jus dici de rebus, quæ tempore vel morte perituræ sunt: morte, veluti furti, damni, injuriæ, injuriarum atrocium, qui de incendio, ruina, naufragio, rate, nave expugnata rapuisse dicuntur, et si quæ similes sunt: item si res tempore perituræ sunt, aut actionis dies exiturus est. Liberalia quoque judicia omni tempore finiuntur. Item in eum, qui quid nundinarum nomine adversus communem utilitatem acceperit, omni tempore jus dicitur.

^k Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. ii. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 115, A.) Placuit mihi in conspectu tuo non tumultuose abripere, sed leniter subtrahere ministerium linguæ meæ nundinis loquacitatis, ne ulterius pueri meditantes non legem tuam, non pacem tuam, sed insanias mendaces et bella forensia, mercarentur ex ore meo arma furori suo. Et opportune jam paucissimi dies supererant ad vindemiales ferias, statui tolerare illos, ut solemniter abscederem, et redemptus a te jam non redirem venalis. . . . Verum tamen quia propter nomen tuum, quod sanctificasti per terras, etiam laudatores utique haberet votum et propositum nostrum, jactantiæ simile videbatur, non opperiri tam proximum feriarum tempus, sed de publica professione atque ante oculos omnium sita ante discedere, ut conversa in factum meum ora cunctorum intuentium, quam vicinum vindemialium diem prævenire voluerim, multa dicerent, quod quasi appetissem magnus videri.

determine precisely what time they should commence: for they did not begin the harvest month, or the vintage month, every where on the same day, but some countries sooner and some later, according to the different state and condition of every climate. And so the observation of these two months continued, as Gothofred notes,¹ to the time of the Emperor Otho, who first abrogated them in the laws of the Lombards.

SECT. III. — *Of the Kalends of January.*

The next civil *Ferix* were the Kalends of January: which, as Gothofred thinks, comprised three days, the day before the Kalends, the Kalends, and the third of the Nones; or, as others say,^m the day before the Nones, that is, the fourth of January, commonly called Bota and Vota, because it was the day of sacrificing for the emperor's safety. These were continued by the Christian emperors without any idolatrous rites, but still were days of great liberty and extravagance. Upon which account, the ancient fathers and councils commonly declaim, with great invectives, against the observation of them. For not only Tertullian speaks against them,ⁿ whilst they were accompanied with idolatrous and superstitious rites, in the time of heathenism; but, in after-ages, the fathers, in their popular discourses, are often very severe and copious in their dissuasives from the observation of them, both upon the account of the relics of superstition remaining in the hearts of many Christians; and also because they were occasions of great looseness and debauchery among the people. St. Chrysostom says,^o “ Many were superstitiously addicted

¹ Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. p. 123, a. §. Quod. Tandem vero sublata fuerunt hæ ferix ab Ottone, lib. ii. tit. xlix. legis Longobardorum.

^m Dempster. Paralipomena ad Rosini Antiquit. Roman. p. 543, lin. antepenult.

ⁿ Tertul. de Idol. c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 93, D.) Nimirum Saturnalia et Kalendas Januarias celebrans hominibus placebat (Paulus)? an modestia et patientia? an gravitate, an integritate? . . . Judæis dies suos festos exprobat Spiritus Sanctus. ‘Sabbata,’ inquit, ‘vestra, et neomenias et cærimonias odit anima mea.’ Nobis, quibus Sabbata extranea sunt et neomeniæ, et ferix a Deo aliquando dilectæ, Saturnalia, et Januariæ, et Brumæ, et Matronales frequentantur? &c.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xxiii. in eos qui Novilun. observ. (Paris. 1609, tom. i. p. 297), (p. 264, edit. Francof. 1698.) Οἱ ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις ἀγῶνις γινόμενοι τήμερον, οὗτοι μὲν μάλιστα ὑδνῶσι, καὶ ἀσωτίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ἱμπερισημμένοι πολλῆς

to the observation of times, and made divination and conjectures upon them: as if they spent the new-moon in mirth and pleasure, the whole year would be prosperous and lucky to them. So both men and women gave themselves to intemperance on these days, out of this diabolical persuasion, that the good or bad fortune of the rest of the year depended upon such an ominous beginning of it. Which was the devil's invention to ruin the practice of all virtue." He observes further,^p "That they were used, in the celebration of these times, to set up lamps in the market-place, and crown their doors with garlands; which he condemns together with their superstition and intemperance, as a mixture of diabolical pomp and childish folly. The like complaints are made by St. Austin,^q Chrysologus,^r Prudentius,^s Asterius Amasenus,^t and St. Ambrose.^u So that though these festivals of the Kalends were allowed by the imperial laws, yet they were generally condemned by the ancient writers,

ἀσείβειας μὲν, ὅτι παρατηροῦσιν ἡμέρας οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες, καὶ οἰονίζονται, καὶ νομίζουσιν, εἰ τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου μισθὸν ἡδονῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐπιτελίσαι, καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα τοιοῦτον ἔξιν ἰναιυτόν. ἀσωτίας δὲ, ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν ἰσχυραίαν καὶ ἄφροναν φάλαξ καὶ ποτήρια πληρώσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀσωτίας τὸν ἄκρατον πίνουσι. . . . Ἄλλως δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰσχάτης ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη, ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς ἡμέρας εἰ διέξω γίνετο, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς τοῦτο προσδοκᾶν ἰναιυτόν· οὐκ ἀνοίας δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἡ κρίσις αὕτη, μὴ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν ἡμερῶν περιόδοις τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτελείναι τὸν ἡμίτερον.

^p Ibid. p. 300, A. 1, (p. 265, edit. cit.) Τὸ πρὸς ἡμέρας ἐπαυθῆναι τοιαύτας, καὶ πλείους ἐν αὐταῖς δέχασθαι ἡδονὴν, καὶ λύχνους ἄπτειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγοῆς, καὶ στυφνώματα πλίκειν, παιδικῆς ἀνοίας ἐστίν· . . . μὴ τὴν δύραν τῆς οἰκίας στυφνώσεως, &c. &c.

^q Aug. Sermon. v. de Kalendis Januar. tom. x. p. 621, seqq.

^r Chrysolog. Sermon. clv. tot. (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. vii. p. 963, edit. Lugd. 1677.)

^s Prudent. cont. Symmach. lib. i. 237, Hanov. 1613.

. . . Jano etiam celebri de mense litatur
Auspiciis epulisque sacris, quas inveterato,
Heu miseri, sub honore agitant, et gaudia ducunt
Festa Kalendarum. Sic observatio crevit,
Ex atavis quondam male cœpta: deinde secutis
Tradita temporibus, serisque nepotibus aucta,
Traxerunt longam corda inconsulta catenam,
Mosque tenebrosus vitiosa in sæcula fluxit.

^t Aster. Hom. iv. de Festo Kalendarum, tot. ap. Combefis. Auct. Nov. p. 65, seq.

^u Ambros. Sermon. xvii. tot.

because of the vanities, and excesses, and abuses, that were usually committed in them. And particularly the Council of Trullo forbids the dancings, and other ceremonies,* that were used both by men and women on the Kalends and the Bota, under the penalty of excommunication : as I have had occasion to shew more fully in speaking of the discipline of the Church.† And the Council of Auxerre takes notice of the remains of some heathen superstition in France, in offering a hind, or a calf,‡ which they call a diabolical observation.

SECT. IV.—Of the Emperors' Birthdays.

The next civil festivals were the emperors' birthdays, which were of two sorts : the one was called *natalis genuinus*, 'their natural birthday;' and the other, *natalis imperii*, 'their inauguration;' as they are distinguished in several laws of the Theodosian Code,‡ and other ancient writers, which are collected by Gothofred in great abundance.§ Who also observes, "That when it is said by ancient writers that Constantine was born in Britain, it is to be understood, according to this distinction, to mean his imperial birthday, and not his natural : for his natural birth was at Naissus, in Dacia,||

* Conc. Trull. c. lxiii. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1170.) Τὰς οὕτω λεγομένας καλάνδας, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα βότα, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βρουμάλια, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἡμέρᾳ τελουμένην πανήγυριν, καθάπαξ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν πολιτείας περιαιρεθῆναι βουλόμεθα· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν δημοσίας δερχήσεις, πολλὰν λύμην καὶ βλάβην ἱμνωεῖν δυναμένας . . . ἀποσιμώμεθα.

† Book xvi. chap. iv. sect. xvii.

‡ Conc. Antissiodor. c. i. Non licet Kalendis Januarii vecolo aut cervolo facere, vel strenas diabolicas observare. Sirmond and Labbé, instead of 'vecolo,' read it 'vetula,' the old form of 'vitula.'

§ Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.) Parem necesse est haberi reverentiam nostris etiam diebus, qui vel lucis auspicio, vel ortus imperii protulerunt. — Id. lib. vi. tit. xxvi. de Proximis. Genuinus natalis nostri dies, &c. — Et leg. xvii. ibid. Genuino die natalis meæ Clementiæ, &c.

|| Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. leg. ii. p. 125.

|| Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 306, n. viii. (ix.) Constantini Magni patriam fuisse Naissum, oppidum Daciæ mediterraneæ, nunc Serviæ dictæ, certum esse debet. Hoc enim Stephanus de Urbibus, qui nuper cum notis in Hollandia lucem vidit, Constantinus Porphyrogeneta (lib. ii. περὶ Συμάτων), Firmicus (lib. i. matheos sub initium), et Anonymus Valesianus disertis verbis docent : 'Hic igitur Constantinus natus Helena matre vilissima ('id est, infimæ conditionis') in oppido

as Pagi shews from many express testimonies of Julius Firmicus and Stephanus *de Urbibus*, and other ancient writers; but his imperial birth, or inauguration to the empire, was in Britain. Which Baronius, and many other learned writers, mistaking for his natural birth, have thence concluded that he was born in Britain. But this only by the way. These birthdays of the emperors, whether natural or political, were always of great esteem and veneration. The law of Theodosius orders them to be observed with the same reverence and ceremony as all other civil festivals; that is, to be days of vacation from public pleadings at the law: and on these days it was usual for great men to entertain the people with the public games and shows; which was partly to honour the days, and partly to give some diversion to the people. The prætor of Rome was obliged by his office to do this, as appears by several laws of Arcadius, in the Theodosian Code.^c And the judges might be present at them once a-day, in the morning,^d when they distributed money, some silver, some gold, according to their quality, among the people. And

Naisso, atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit, litteris minus instructus, obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium sub iisdem fortiter in Asia militavit,' inquit Anonymus Valesianus. Accedit Cedrenus, qui Constantinum apud urbem Daciæ natum scribit. Decepit Anglos, aliosque viros doctissimos locus panegyrici, Maximiano et Constantino dicti, in quo legitur, 'Liberavit ille' (Constantius, Constantini M. pater) 'Britannias servitute; tu etiam nobiles esse illic oriendo fecisti.' Quæ et similia ita ab illis de Britannia accepta, quasi natus illic Constantinus esset: quum tamen oratoris mens sit, gratulari se, ibi ortum factumque imperatorem Constantinum, ac uno verbo de natali imperii, non de natali genuino loquatur. Quare, quod Constantinus Anglus sive Britannus fuerit, inter fabulas computandum.

^c Cod. Theod. lib. vi. tit. iv. de Prætoribus, leg. xxix. (Lugd. 1665, vol. ii. p. 66.) Prætores, Romanus et Laureatus, natalibus nostri numinis scenicas populo præbeant voluptates.—Id. leg. xxx. Ex quinque prætoribus, qui aquæductui Theodosiaco fuerant deputati, unum, qui centum librarum argenti munificentiam suam definita erogatione præcludit, æterni principis ac fratris mei Honorii natalium festivitatis præcipue deputari.

^d Ibid. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665. vol. v. p. 350.) Nullus omnino iudicum aut theatralibus ludis, aut circensium certaminibus, aut ferarum cursibus vacet, nisi illis tantum diebus, quibus vel in lucem editi, vel imperii sumus sceptræ sortiti: hisque, ut ante meridiem tantum solemnitati pareant, post epulas vero ad spectaculum redire desistant. (In quo tamen omnes sive iudices, sive privati, nihil penitus auri præmio dandum esse cognoscent: quod solis licet consulibus, quibus erogandi moderationem vitæ meritis permisimus.)

on these days the emperors' statues, or images, were produced, for the people to pay their civil respect and veneration to them ;* reserving Divine worship, and religious adoration, exceeding the dignity of man, to the Celestial Majesty alone, as the laws elegantly word it. But if it happened that any of these days fell upon a Sunday, then by a law of Theodosius the public games were omitted,^f and came not into the solemnity of the day. And Theodosius Junior excepted also the other great festivals of Christ's Nativity, and Epiphany, and Easter, and Pentecost, or the whole fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, on any of which days it was unlawful to exhibit the usual games to the people : and that no one should fear lest it should be interpreted a disrespect to the imperial majesty, if he did not, according to custom, exhibit the games on the emperors' birthday (happening to fall on any of these festivals), he inserted a particular clause, declaring,^g that such an omission should be no offence, but most agreeable to have the service of the Divine Majesty preferred before that usual ceremony of the games and shows in the celebration of his birthday. And in this chiefly consisted the difference between an ecclesiastical and civil festival ; that the one was a day of mere pleasure and diversion ; and the other, a solemn time of

* Cod. Theod. tit. iv. de Imaginibus, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. v. p. 346.) Si quando nostræ statuæ vel imagines eriguntur, seu diebus (ut adsolet) festis, sive communibus, adsit iudex, sine adorationis ambizioso fastigio, ut ornamentum diei, vel loco et nostræ recordationi, sui probet accessisse præsentiam. Ludis quoque simulacra proposita, tantum in animis concurrentium mentisque secretis nostrum numen et laudes vigere demonstret : excedens cultura hominum dignitatem superno numini reservetur.

^f Ibid. lib. xv. de Spectaculis, leg. ii. Nullus solis die populo spectacula præbeat, nec Divinam venerationem confecta sollemnitate confundat. (P. 350.)

^g Ibid. leg. v. Dominico (qui septimanæ totius primus dies est), et natali atque Epiphaniarum Christi, Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus . . . omni theatrorum atque Circensium voluptate, per universas urbes, earundem populis denegata, totæ Christianorum ac fidelium mentes Dei cultibus occupantur. . . . Ne quis existimet, in honorem numinis nostri, veluti majore quadam imperialis officii necessitate compelli, et nisi Divina religione contempta spectaculis operam præstat, subeundam forsitan sibi nostræ Serenitatis offensam, si minus circa nos devotionis ostenderit, quam solebat. Nemo ambigat, quod tunc maxime Mansuetudini nostræ ab humano genere defertur, quum virtutibus Dei omnipotentis ac meritis universi obsequium orbis impenditur. (Vol. v. p. 353.)

devotion and religion, to which the former must give place, whenever they happened by any such coincidence to fall together.

SECT. V.—*Of the Natales Urbium, or the two Feriæ, in Memory of the Foundation of Rome and Constantinople.*

The last sort of civil festivals were the *natales urbium*, or the two annual days kept in memory of the foundation of the two great cities, Rome and Constantinople. The former was an ancient Roman festival, observed on the eleventh of the Kalends of May, or the twenty-first of April, under the name of *Palilia*; of which the reader may find a large account in any of the common writers of Roman antiquities.^b That which is only to be noted here, is, that it continued a festival under the Christian emperors: which we learn not only from the forementioned law of Theodosius, but also from Sozomen; who says,ⁱ “That the γενέθλια, or ‘nativities of the emperors,’ and the royal cities, and the Kalends, were the usual times of distributing the emperors’ donations or largesses among the soldiers.” And Cassiodore speaks of the games of the Circus,^k as an usual part of the people’s entertainment on these festivals of pleasure. The *encœnia*, or ‘dedication’ of Constantinople, was annually celebrated on the fifth of the Ides of May, that is, the eleventh of May, as is noted by Gothofred out of Marcellinus Comes, Cassiodore, Cedrenus, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, and Zonaras.

^b Demster. Paralipom. ad Rosin. Antiquit. Roman. lib. i. c. i. p. 8. Conditæ fuit (Roma) xi. Kal. Maii: diversitas tamen opinionum notanda est: nam quidam, inter quos Marianus Scotus, ix. Kal. Maias; alii x. Kal. Maias; quam sententiam probat Plutarchus, et Eutropius, lib. i.; et ex eo Paul. Diacon., Histor. Miscellæ, lib. i.: sed tamen certior auctorum consensus in xi. Kal. Maias fundamenta urbis jecta rejicit, id est, in ‘Parilia’ sive ‘Palilia,’ pastorum deæ sollemnitatem, &c.

ⁱ Sozom. lib. v. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 505, C.) Ἐπὶ καιρὸς παρῆν, βασιλῖα δοῦναι στρατιώταις, γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὡς ἰστίαν ἐν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱερομνήμας, καὶ βασιλείων, καὶ βασιλίδων πόλεων ἐν γενεθλίοις ἡμέραις, κ. τ. λ.

^k Cassiodor. Chronic. in Philipp. Imperat. (Inter Historiæ Roman. Scriptores, tom. i. p. 617, Francof. 1588.) His coss. millesimus annus urbis [Romæ] expletus est: ob quam sollemnitatem innumerabiles Philippus cum [Philippo] filio suo bestias in Circo magno interfecit, ludosque in Campo Martio theatrales tribus diebus ac noctibus populo pervigilante celebravit: quadraginta etiam missus natali Romanæ urbis cucurrerunt et agon mille annorum actus.

And as in all things both the ancient laws and canons gave Constantinople the same royal and honourable privileges that were allowed to old Rome ;¹ so in this they were equalled, that the annual days of their dedication were celebrated with the same solemnities among the *feriæ*, or ‘civil festivals,’ and days of vacation and joyfulness throughout the Roman empire. And the reason of this is given in the aforesaid law of Theodosius, so often mentioned,^m because these two great cities, Rome and Constantinople, were the fountains and springs from whence the laws were originally derived ; and, therefore, it was proper that the feasts of their dedication should be observed by a vacation from lawsuits on the annual days of their foundation. This is the short account of the civil *feriæ*, or ‘festivals,’ so far as concerns their observation under the government and allowance of Christian emperors. I now proceed to the other sort of festivals, which were of sacred or ecclesiastical observation.

¹ Conc. Constantinop. I. c. iii. (L. ii. 947.) Τὸν μὲν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεις ἐπίσκοποι ἔχουσιν τὰ περιβόια τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νίαν Ῥώμην. — Conc. Chalched. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 769.) Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἐπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρετίαι ἀναγνωσθέντα κατόντα τῶν εν'. (150) Θεοφιλοτάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖς ἐρίζομεν, καὶ ψηφίζομεθα περὶ τῶν περιβόιων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νίας Ῥώμης καὶ γὰρ τῇ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρως Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλείῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες ἐκόντως ἀποδιδῶναι τὰ περιβόια καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ Θεοφιλοτάτοι ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἴσα περιβόια ἀπένεμαν τῇ τῆς νίας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῃ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλίαν καὶ συγκλήτην τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἰσων ἀπολαύουσιν περιβόιαν τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνη, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, διευτερον μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπέβηχουσιν. κ. τ. λ. — Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. de Episcopis, tit. ii. leg. xlv. (vol. vi. p. 89.) Si quid dubietatis emergerit, id oporteat non absque scientia viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis Antistitis urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur, conventui sacerdotali sanctoque judicio reservari. — Id. lib. xiv. tit. xiii. de Jure Italico Urbis Constantinopol.

^m Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. See sect. ii. note (*).

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ORIGINAL AND OBSERVATION OF THE LORD'S-DAY
AMONG CHRISTIANS.

SECT. I.—*The Lord's-Day of continued Observation in the Church from the Days of the Apostles, under the Names of Sunday, the Lord's-Day, the first Day of the Week, and the Day of breaking Bread, &c.*

THE principal and most noted among the sacred and ecclesiastical festivals was always that of the Lord's-day, which was observed with great veneration in the ancient Church from the very time of the apostles. The apostles themselves are often said to meet on this day for Divine service, being the day of the Lord's resurrection (Acts, xx. 7): "On the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight." So, again (1 Cor. xvi. 2): "Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." And St. John expressly styles it the Lord's-day (Rev. i. 10): "I was in the spirit on the Lord's-day." Which cannot mean the Jewish Sabbath, for then he would have called it so; nor any other day of the week, for that had been ambiguous; but the day on which Christ arose from the dead, on which the apostles were used to meet to celebrate Divine service, on which Paul had ordered collections to be made, according to the custom of the Primitive Church. Seeing, therefore, he speaks of this as a day well known and used in the Church, it cannot be doubted, but that it was distinguished by this name from the received use and custom of the Church: for, otherwise, how could Christians have understood what St. John intended to signify by this name, if he had designed to denote any other day by it? as Mr. Turretin argues well upon the resolution of this question.*

* Institut. Theol. Elenctic. part. ii. loc. xi. de lege Dei, quæst. xiv. (Genev. 1688,

The matter, thus founded in apostolical practice, may be further illustrated and confirmed from the general usage of the Church in the following ages. Pliny, who was a heathen magistrate in the reign of Trajan, not long after St. John's death, took the account of the Christian assemblies from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians; and they told him,^b "Their custom was, to meet together early in the morning, before it was light, on a certain fixed day, and sing hymns to Christ, as their God, and bind themselves with a sacrament to do no evil, and afterwards to partake of a common feast." Which is a plain description of the service of the Lord's-day, and particularly of the *agape*, or 'feast of charity,' which was usually an attendant of the communion in the Primitive Church every Lord's-day. Ignatius, who lived about the same time, makes as plain a reference to the observation of the Lord's-day,^c when he bids the Magnesians not to sabbatize with the Jews, but to lead a life agreeable to the Lord's-day, on which our life was raised from the dead, by him (that is, by the Lord Christ), and by his death. Clemens Alexandrinus,^d as Cotelierius observes, well illustrates and explains this passage of Ignatius, shewing what it is to lead a life conformable to the Lord's-day, when he says, "He that observes the precept of the Gospel, makes it to be

p. 103.) Non sane Sabbato Judæorum, quod procul dubio nominasset, non aliquo tantum die septimanæ, quia sic ambiguus esset titulus ad implicandum potius, quam explicandum comparatus, sed die illo, quo Christus resurrexerat, quo convenire solebant apostoli ad sacra peragenda, et quo Paulus ordinaverat collectas habendas, prout moris erat in primitiva ecclesia. Quum ergo de illa die tamquam nota et in ecclesia usitata loquatur, dubium non est, quin ex recepto ecclesiæ usu hoc nomine insignita sit. Quis enim alias Christianorum intellexisset, quid Joannes hac appellatione significasset, si quam aliam diem designare voluisset?

^b Plin. lib. ep. xvi. Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. (Gierig. Lips. 1802, vol. ii. p. 514.)

^c Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. n. ix. (p. 57.) Μηκίτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἢ καὶ ζῶν ἡμῶν ἀντίτιμον, κ. τ. λ.

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 377, 28, edit. Oxon. Ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενοι, κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιῶντες, ὅτ' εἰς ἀποδόλλη φάβλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβω, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζω.

the Lord's-day; whilst he casts away every evil thought, and takes to him the true gnostic thoughts of wisdom and knowledge, thereby glorifying the resurrection of the Lord."

Hence we learn that *κυριακή* was the common name of the Lord's-day, and that *κυριακήν ζῆν* is 'to lead a life conformable to the Lord's-day,' in memory of our Saviour's resurrection. Yet sometimes the ancients, when they write to the Gentiles, scruple not to call it 'Sunday,' to distinguish it by the name best known to them. As Justin Martyr, writing his Apology to the Heathen, says,* "We all meet together on Sunday, on which God, having changed darkness and matter, created the world; and on this day Jesus Christ our Saviour arose from the dead." In like manner Tertullian,^f answering the objection made by the heathens, that the Christians worshipped the sun, says, "Indeed they made Sunday a day of joy, but for other reasons than to worship the sun, which was no part of their religion." At other times, when he writes only to Christians, he commonly uses the name of the Lord's-day,^g and especially when he would distinguish it from the Jewish Sabbath.^h And the like may be observed in the laws of the first Christian emperors. Constantine uses the name Sunday,ⁱ when he forbids all lawsuits on this day. Valentinian uses the same name upon the same occasion.^k So does also Valentinian

* Justin. Apol. ii. p. 99. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνίλιυσιν ποιούμεθα ἰσχυρὰν πρῶτη ἵσθαι ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην σείψας, πύσμον ἰσχύισεν καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ ἡμῶν Σωτὴρ, ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἤϊσεν.

^f Tertul. Apol. c. xvi. (Paris. 1664, p. 16, B.) Aequè si Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus, alia longe ratione quam religione solis, &c. — It. lib. i. ad Nation. c. xiii. Alii solem Christianum Deum æstimant, quod innotuerit ad Orientis partem facere nos præcationem, vel Die Solis lætitiæ curare. (P. 50.)

^g Ibid. de Coron. Mil. c. iii. (1664, p. 102.) Die Dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.

^h Ibid. de Jejun. c. xv. (553.) Exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis.

ⁱ Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. i. Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem Solis, venerationis suæ celebrem, altercantibus jurgiis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jucundum est, eo die quæ sunt maxime votiva, compleri. (Lugdun. 1665, vol. i. p. 118.)

^k Ibid. leg. ii. Kalendarum Januariarum consuetos dies otio sancimus. . . . Nec non et Dies Solis, &c. (P. 121.)

Junior,¹ and Theodosius Senior, and Theodosius Junior, in settling the observation of this day. But they use the name indifferently, styling it sometimes the Lord's-day, which was more proper among Christians, as is particularly noted in one of the laws of the younger Valentinian, which runs thus: *Solis die, quem Dominicum rite dixere majores, &c.* 'On Sunday, which our forefathers have rightly and customarily called the Lord's-day.'^m His reference to ancient custom is confirmed not only from what has been alleged out of Ignatius, and Clemens Alexandrinus, and Tertullian, but from the use of the word κυριακή, in the epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, to Pope Soter, recorded by Eusebius,ⁿ where he says, 'To-day we observed the Lord's holy day,' Τὴν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν. And from what Eusebius says of Melito, bishop of Sardis,^o "That he wrote a book, περὶ κυριακῆς, 'concerning the Lord's day.'" In like manner Irenæus, in his epistle to Pope Victor, says,^p "The mystery of the Lord's resurrection, or the Paschal festival, ought to be kept only 'on the Lord's-day,'" τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ. And Origen, to distinguish it from the Jewish Sabbath, says,^q "That manna was rained down from

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. viii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. ii. p. 589.) de Exactoribus, leg. i. Die Solis neminem Christianum ab exactoribus volumus conveniri, &c.—Leg. iii. Solis Die, quem Dominicum rite dixere majores, omnium omnino litium, negotiorum, conventionum quiescat intentio, &c.—Lib. xi. tit. vii. de Exactionibus, leg. x. Die Solis . . . qui dudum faustus (al. festus) habetur, &c.—Leg. xiii. Solis Die, quem Dominicum rite dixere majores, &c.—Lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. ii. Nullus Solis Die populo spectacula præbeat, &c.

^m Ibid. lib. xi. tit. v. de Exactionibus, leg. xiii. Solis Die, quem Dominicum rite dixere majores, &c.

ⁿ Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 117, D.) Τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν.

^o Ibid. lib. iv. c. xxvi. (ibid. p. 119, B.) Μελίτωνος τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο . . . καὶ ἡ περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος.

^p Ibid. lib. v. c. xxiv. (ibid. p. 156, C.) 'Ο Εἰρηναῖος . . . παρίσταται μὲν τὸ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτιλιῦσθαι μυστήριον.

^q Origen. Hom. vii. in Exod. xv. tom. i. p. 82, (p. 48, f. edit. Paris. 1604.) Quod si ex Divinis Scripturis hoc constat, quod die Dominica Deus pluit manna de cælo, et in Sabbato non pluit, intelligant Judæi, jam tunc prælatam esse

heaven on the Lord's-day, and not on the Sabbath, to shew the Jews, that even then the Lord's-day was preferred before it." This evidences not only the antiquity of the name, but that the observation of the day, in memory of our Lord's resurrection, was the universal practice of the Church from the time of the apostles. And from one solemn act of breaking bread, in the constant celebration of the eucharist on this day, I have once before observed,^r out of Chrysostom, that it is sometimes called *dies panis*, 'the day of bread,' because it was the general custom in the Primitive Church to meet for breaking of bread, and receiving of the communion, on every Lord's-day throughout the year. And I shall not need here to be more particular concerning this, or any other part of the public service performed on the Lord's-day, such as psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and praying, and exercising discipline upon penitents, and absolving them, because I have treated largely of these, in their order, in several books before; but now only take notice of some special laws and customs that were observed, to shew a more peculiar reverence, honour, and respect, to the supereminent dignity of this day.

SECT. II. — *All Proceedings at Law forbidden and suspended on this Day, except such as were of absolute Necessity or great Charity: as Manumission of Slaves, &c.*

Among these we may reckon, in the first place, those imperial laws, which suspended all actions and proceedings at the law on this day, whether arrests, pleadings, exactions, sentences of judges, or executions: except only such as were of absolute necessity, or some eminent charity, as the manumission of slaves, or granting them their freedom; which

Dominicam nostram Judaico Sabbato, &c. — Hippolytus, Ep. Can. Paschal. cit. a Gothofredo in Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. viii. leg. iii. (Vol. ii. p. 592.)

ΕΤΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΤΩ. Α. ΑΡΧΗ

ΑΙ ΚΤΡΙΑΚΑΙ ΤΟΤ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΚΑΤΑ

ΕΤΟΣ.

Item :

ΑΠΟΜΝΗΣΤΗΣΕΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙ

ΟΤΑΝ ΕΜΠΕΣΗ ΚΤΡΙΑΚΗ.

^r Book xv. chap. ix. sect. ii.

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was not forbidden, because it was an act of considerable charity and great mercy. This was the same respect as the old Roman laws had paid to their *feriæ*, or 'festivals,' in times of idolatry and superstition. But, as then the Lord's-day was of no account among the heathen, so no exemption was made in its favour; but this was juridical, as well as any other, till Constantine made the first law to exempt it. And now also the Christian laws, concerning the observation of the Lord's-day, which exempted it from being juridical, still admitted of some exceptions, as the heathen laws in relation to their *feriæ* had done before them. The exceptions made by the heathen laws are particularly specified by Ulpian,* out of the edicts of Trajan and Marcus Antoninus, where the hearing of all causes of absolute necessity and great charity, and about all military affairs, are allowed on their festivals: as the appointing of curators and guardians to orphans, and causes relating to matters of preservation and damage, and legacies and trusts, and exhibiting of wills, and maintenance of children, parents, and patrons: and all causes wherein a man might suffer great damage either by delay or by death, as in case of theft, or great injuries and losses by fire, or shipwreck, or piracies, or any cases of the like nature. Now, as the old Roman laws exempted the festivals of the heathen from all juridical business, and suspended all processes and pleadings, except in the forementioned cases; so Constantine ordered that the same honour and respect should be paid to the Lord's-day;

* Digest. lib. ii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. ii. iii. ix. Divus Marcus effecit de aliis speciebus prætorem adiri, etiam diebus feriaticis: ut puta, ut tutores aut curatores dentur, ut officiis admoveantur cessantes, excusationes adlegentur, alimenta constituantur, ætates probentur, ventris nomine in possessionem mittatur, vel rei servandæ causa, vel legatorum fidei, vel commissorum vel damni infecti: item de testamentis exhibendis, ut curator detur bonorum ejus, qui an hæres exstiturus sit, incertum est: aut de alendis liberis, parentibus, patronis, aut de adeunda suspecta hereditatē: aut ut aspectu atrox injuria æstimetur; vel fidei commissaria libertas præstanda. Solet etiam messis vindemiarumque tempore jus dici de rebus, quæ tempore vel morte perituræ sunt: morte, veluti furti, damni, injuriæ, injuriarum atrocium, qui de incendio, ruina, naufragio, rate, nave expugnata rapuisse dicantur, et si quæ similes sunt; item si res tempore perituræ sunt, aut actionis dies exiturus est. . . . Divus Trajanus Minucio Natali rescripsit, ferias a forensibus tantum negotiis dare vacationem: ea autem, quæ ad disciplinam militarem pertinent, etiam feriatis diebus peragenda.

that it should be a day of perfect vacation from all prosecutions, and pleadings, and business of the law, except where any case of great necessity or charity required a juridical process and public transaction: for such cases were always thought to be consistent with the design of the rest both of the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, as our Lord himself had interpreted the law of the Sabbath in many cases of beneficence and doing good, both by his doctrine and his example. Therefore Constantine peremptorily forbade all his judges to hear any causes, either criminal or civil, on this day,[†] except such as could not be deferred without entrenching upon the rules of charity: which sort of actions and causes the law calls *votiva*, 'good offices,' such as the emancipation or manumission of slaves, which he allows any one to perform, in a legal manner, on this day, and there should lie no prohibition against them. Honorius, in like manner, excepts the causes that were commenced against the *navicularii*,[‡] or 'masters of vessels,' transporting the public corn from Afric to Rome: if any fraud was suspected in them, they were to be examined by torture upon any festivals or days of devotion, without delay or molestation: because the preservation of the public corn was a matter of great concern to the public welfare of Rome,—bread being the staff of life: and therefore inquisition into such frauds was proper to be made upon any day whatsoever without exception. For the same reason, Honorius and Theodosius Junior, by another law,[§] ordered prosecution to be made against the

[†] Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 118.) Sicut indignissimum videbatur, Diem Solis, veneratione sui celebrem, altercantibus jurgiis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jucundum est, eo die, quæ sunt maxime votiva, compleri: atque ideo emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant, et super his rebus actus non prohibeantur. —Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. leg. ii. Ut in die Dominico emancipare ac manumittere liceat, reliquæ causæ vel lites quiescant, &c.

[‡] Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. v. de Naviculariis, leg. xxxviii. (v. 90.) Hujusmodi inquisitio etiam diebus feriatis et devotionum, absque ulla observatione, peragenda est.

[§] Ibid. lib. ix. tit. xxxv. de Quæstionibus, leg. vii. Provinciarum judices moneantur, ut in Issurorum latronum quæstionibus nullum quadragesimæ nec venerabilem Pascharum diem existiment excipiendum: ne differatur sceletorum proditionis consiliorum, quæ per latronum tormenta quærenda est; quum

Isaurian pirates on any day, not excepting Lent or Easter-day : lest the discovery of wicked designs should be delayed, which was to be effected only by putting the robbers to the rack in their examination ; which, it was to be hoped, the great God would readily pardon, seeing the preservation and safety of many innocent men was procured thereby. So that, in such cases, where mercy and charity, or the necessities of the public good, were concerned, all days were juridical ; and actions at law might be prosecuted on the Lord's-day as well as any other. But excepting these particular cases, the prosecution of lawsuits on this day was universally forbidden. Valentinian Senior prohibited all arrests of men for debt,* whether public or private, on this day. For no man might be convened, even by the exactors of the public revenues, under pain of incurring the emperor's highest displeasure for the breach of his law. Valentinian Junior speaks a little more expressly : † “ On Sunday, which our forefathers rightly called the Lord's-day, let all prosecution of causes, controversial business, and disputes, be wholly laid aside ; let no one demand either a public or a private debt : let there be no hearing of causes either before arbitrators appointed by law, or voluntarily chosen : and let him be accounted not only infamous, but sacrilegious also, whoever departs from the rule and custom of our holy religion.” And the same Valentinian, together with Theodosius the Great, has another law,‡ wherein he appoints all Sundays in the

facillime in hoc summi Numinis speratur venia, per quod multorum salus et incolumitas procuratur. (Lugd. iii. 255.)

* Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. viii. de Exsecutoribus, leg. i. Die Solis, qui dudum faustus habetur, neminem Christianum ab exactoribus volumus conveniri ; contra eos, qui id facere ausi sint, hoc nostri statuti interdicto periculum sancientes. (ii. 589.) (Et hæc lex repetitur Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. vii. de Exactionibus, leg. x.)

† Ibid. leg. iii. Solis die, quem Dominicum rite dixere majores, omnium omnino litium, negotiorum, conventionum quiescat intentio. Debitum publicum privatumve nullus efflagitet : ne apud ipsos quidem arbitros, vel in judiciis flagitatos, vel sponte delectos, ulla sit agnitio jurgiorum. Et non modo notabilis, verum etiam sacrilegus judicetur, qui a sanctæ religionis instituto rituve deflexerit. (Hæc lex repetitur Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. vii. de Exactionibus, leg. xiii.)

‡ Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.) Nec non et dies Solis, qui repetito in se calculo revolvuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus. See also, to the same purpose, the law of Leo and Anthemius.

year to be days of vacation from all business of the law whatsoever, according to the observation of other festivals.

SECT. III. — *All Secular Business forbidden, except such as Necessity or Charity compelled Men to, as Gathering of their Fruits in Harvest, by some Laws.*

Neither was it only business of the law, but all other secular and servile labour and employments that were super-seded on this day, except only such as men were called to by necessity or some great charity,—as earing and harvest, which at first were allowed on this day, that men might not be disappointed of their seasons; and the visiting of prisoners by the bishops and judges, which was so far from intrrenching upon the sacred rest of this day, that it was a necessary office of mercy and charity, which the laws enjoined them. Eusebius, in the Life of Constantine,^a takes notice of two laws made by him in relation to his army, whom he obliged to rest from all military exercise on this day. And whereas some of them were heathens, and some Christians, by the first law he obliged that part of his army, which were Christians, to repair with all diligence to the Church of God: and that they might have more liberty and leisure to attend their prayers there, he discharged them from all other business and employment on that day. As to the other part of the army, which were still heathens, he obliged them, by a second law, to repair into the open fields, and there, having laid aside their arms, with one consent, upon a signal given, with hands and minds lift up to heavens, to address their supplications to God, the supreme King of all. And, for this end, he gave them a form of prayer of his own composing; “Not willing,” says the historian, “that they should confide in their spears or armour, or in the strength of their bodies, but acknowledge the supreme God, who is the author

—Cod. Justin. lib. iii. c. xii. de Feriis, leg. xi. Dominicum itaque diem ita semper honorabilem decernimus et venerandum; ut a cunctis exsequutionibus excusetur: nulla quemquam urgeat admonitio: nulla fidejussionis flagitetur exactio: taceat appetitio: advocatio delitescat: sit ille dies a cognitionibus alienus: præconis borrida vox silescat: respirent a controversiis litigantes, et habeant fœderia intervallum, &c.

^a Euseb. Vit. Constantin. lib. iv. cc. xviii.—xx. tot.

of all good things; and that they should think it their duty to make solemn supplication unto him." Sozomen takes notice of the same thing,^b when he relates how Constantine appointed, that the Lord's-day (which the Hebrews call the first day of the week, and the Greeks dedicate to the sun), and also the day before the Sabbath, should be days of vacation from lawsuits and all other secular business, and that men should worship God on these days, with supplication and prayer: and this honour he shewed to the Lord's-day, because it was the day of our Lord's resurrection; and to the other, because it was the day of his crucifixion. Valesius thinks,^c that Sozomen was mistaken in saying, that Constantine made Friday a day of vacation from juridical business; and that he spake rather according to the usage of his own times, when the practice might be so: but as to the Lord's-day there is no dispute: for not only Eusebius, but the law itself, still extant in the Theodosian Code, makes it a day of vacation from all juridical actions; and there is another law in the Justinian Code, which not only forbids pleadings at law, and judges keeping courts on this day; but all other secular business in the city,^d and all working at any art or trade: only allowing husbandmen in the country to work at their agriculture, because it often happens that no time is more seasonable for

^b Sozom. lib. i. c. viii. (Vales. p. 336, C.) Τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν καλουμένην ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι πρῶτην τῆς ἑβδομάδος ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἕλλησι δὲ ἡλίῳ ἀνατίθισσι, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἐνομοθίτῃσι δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων σχολὴν ἄγειν πάντας, καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς καὶ λιταῖς τὸ θύον διαραύειν· ἰτίμα δὲ τὴν κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν τὴν δὲ ἰστίαν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρωθέντος.

^c Vales. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xviii. In Sozomeni verbis non-nihil difficultatis occurrit, quod quidem spectat ad diem Veneris. Vix enim mihi persuadere possum, Constantinum præcepisse, ut eo die a judiciis abstinerent. Certe Eusebius id non dicit de Veneris die, sed tantum de die Dominico. Exstat Constantini lex in Codice Theodosiano, titulo de Feriis, in qua dies tantum Dominicus excipitur. Itaque id de suo admensus est Sozomenus. Qui quum sua ætate id observari videret Constantinopoli, Constantinum ejus rei auctorem fuisse credidit.

^d Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. iii. Omnes judices, urbanæque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere licenterque inserviant: quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur: ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cælesti provisione concessa.

sowing corn, or planting vines; and he thought it not reasonable to let the commodious moment slip, which the providence of God put into their hands. By a law of Honorius,* the judges also were not only allowed, but enjoined, to visit the prisons every Lord's-day, and have the prisoners brought before them, to examine whether the keepers of the prison denied them any office of humanity, which the law allowed them: and they were to grant necessary subsistence to those that wanted it, allowing the gaoler two or three *sesterces*, or deniers, a-day, to provide food for the poor; and they were also to give orders that the prisoners should be carried out of prison, under a sufficient guard, to bathe or wash themselves on this day. And if any judges, or their officers under them, acted in contempt of these rules, they were to be fined twenty pounds of gold, and the city-magistrates three pounds. And the bishop of the place was also to contribute his laudable care, to put the judges in mind of their duty in this particular. We find a like rule made in France by the fifth Council of Orleans,' under King Childebert, anno 549, where it is ordered, "That the archdeacon, or provost of the church, should every Lord's-day visit the prisoners, for whatever crimes they were put in durance, that the necessities of those that lay bound in prison, might mercifully be relieved, according to the command of God: and the bishop was to appoint some faithful and diligent person to provide them necessaries, and to see that they had

* Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. iii. de Custodia Reorum, leg. vii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 40.) *Judices omnibus Dominicis diebus productos reos e custodia carcerali videant, interrogent, ne his humanitas clausis per corruptos carcerum custodes denegetur: victualem substantiam non habentibus faciant ministrari, libellis duobus (legend. duabus) aut tribus diurnis, vel quod (id est quodcumque) aestimaverint commentariensi decretis, quorum (leg. quarum) sumtibus proficiunt alimonie pauperum, quos ad lavacrum sub fida custodia duoi oportet: multa judicibus viginti librarum auri; et Officiis eorum ejusdem ponderis constituta; ordinibus quoque trium librarum auri multa proposita, si saluberrime statuta contemserint. Nec deerit antistitum Christiane religionis cura laudabilis, quae ad observationem constituti judicis hanc ingerat monitionem.*

' Conc. Aurel. V. c. xx. Qui pro quibuscumque culpis in carceribus deputantur, ab archidiacono seu a praeposito ecclesiae diebus Dominicis requirantur, ut necessitas vincitorum secundum praeceptum Divinum misericorditer sublevetur: atque a pontifice, instituta fidei et diligenti persona, qui necessaria provideat, competens victus de dono ecclesiae tribuatur.

a competent sustenance out of the Church." This was an act of great mercy, and therefore justly excepted from the common works and employments that were forbidden on the Lord's-day. However, in the Justinian Code,^s this work is transferred from the Lord's-day to Wednesdays and Fridays, which were days also of church-assemblies, but not so strictly observed as the Lord's-day. And by other laws,^b that liberty which Constantine granted to countrymen, to follow their works of husbandry on the Lord's-day, was, in a great measure, restrained. Private writers, and the canons of the Church, also run against it. Irenæus, expounding the law of the Sabbath, thus expresses his sense of it:ⁱ "Though the law did not forbid those that were hungry, to take meat, and eat of such things as were next at hand; yet *metere et colligere in horreum vetabat*, 'it did forbid men to reap and carry into barns.'" (Exod. xxxiv. 21); "Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in earing-time and harvest, thou shalt rest." Tertullian, in like manner, says,^k "The law of the Sabbath forbids all human works, but not Divine. Consequently it forbids all those works which are enjoined on the six days, namely, *thy* own works, that is, human works, or works of their daily vocation. But such a work, as the Levites' carrying about the ark on the Sabbath, was no human or common work, but sacred and Divine, by God's express command." St. Austin, or whoever was the author of the sermons *De Tem-*

^s Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. iv. de Custodia Reorum, leg. vi. Oportet autem episcopum per quartam feriam aut Parasceuen inquirere eos, qui sunt in custodia, &c.

^b Leo, Novell. liv. Neque agricolæ, neque quicumque alii, in illo die illicitum opus adgrediantur.

ⁱ Iren. lib. iv. c. xx. Escurientes accipere Sabbatis escas ex his, quæ adiacebant, non vetabat lex: metere autem et colligere in horreum vetabat.

^k Tertul. cont. Marcionem, lib. ii. c. xxi. Contrarietates præceptorum ei exprobras, ut mobili et instabili, prohibentis Sabbatis operari, et jubentis arcam circumferri per dies octo, id est, etiam Sabbato, in expugnatione civitatis Hiericho. Nec Sabbati enim inspicis legem, opera humana, non Divina, prohibentem. 'Si quidem sex,' inquit, 'diebus operare, et facies omnia opera tua.' Septima autem die Sabbata Domino Deo tuo; non facies in ea omne opus; quod utique tuum. Consequens enim est, ut ea opera Sabbato auferret, quæ sex diebus supra indixerat, tua scilicet, id est, humana et quotidiana. Arcam vero circumferre, neque quotidianum opus videri potest, neque humanum; sed et rarum et sacrosanctum, et ex ipso tunc Dei præcepto utique Divinum. (Hal. 1827, vol. i. p. 86.)

pore, says,¹ “The apostles transferred the observation of the Sabbath to the Lord’s-day; and therefore, from the evening of the Sabbath to the evening of the Lord’s-day, men ought to abstain from all country work and secular business, and only attend Divine service.” Some think this homily is one of Cæsarius Arelatensis, a French bishop, which is very probable; for the French councils, about his time, are very express in forbidding works of husbandry on the Lord’s-day. The third Council of Orleans distinguishes between the Jewish and Christian way of observing the Lord’s-day:^m “For whereas some people were persuaded, that it was unlawful to travel on the Lord’s-day, either with horses, or oxen, or chariots, or to dress any victuals, or to do any thing pertaining to cleanliness of house or man; which came nearer the Jewish than the Christian observation; they therefore decreed, that all things might lawfully be done that were used to be done before. But, however, men ought to abstain from all country work, as husbandry, dressing of vineyards, reaping, and mowing, and threshing, that they may have more liberty to come to church, and offer up their prayers to God.” So likewise the Council of Auxerre:ⁿ “It is not lawful, on the Lord’s-day, to yoke oxen, or do any works of the like nature.” And the second Council of

¹ Aug. Hom. ccli. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 307, (p. 1152, edit. Basil. 1569.) Ideo sancti doctores ecclesiæ decreverunt omnem gloriam Judaici sabbatismi in diem Dominicam transferre, ut, quod ipsi in figura, nos celebraremus in veritate. . . . Observemus ergo diem Dominicam et sanctificemus illam, sicut antiquis præceptum est de Sabbato, dicente Legislatore, ‘a vespere usque ad vespem celebrabitis Sabbata vestra.’ Videamus ne otium nostrum vanum sit, sed a vespere diei Sabbati, usque ad vespem diei Dominici, sequestrati a rurali opere et ab omni negotio, soli Divino cultui vacemus. (Bened. v. app. 330.)

^m Conc. Aurel. III. c. xxviii. (Labbé, vol. v.) Quia persuasum est populo, die Dominico cum caballis et bubus et vehiculis itinera non debere, neque ullam rem ad victum præparare, vel ad nitorem domus vel hominis pertinentem ullatenus exercere; (quæ res quia ad Judaicam magis quam ad observantiam Christianam pertinere probatur) id statuimus, ut die Dominico, quod ante fieri licuit, liceat. De opere tamen rurali, id est, [arato] agricultura, vel vineæ, vel sectione, vel messione, vel excussione, vel exsecta sepe [exarto, vel sepe,] censuimus abstinendum; quo facilius ad ecclesiam venientes, orationis gratiæ vacent.

ⁿ Conc. Antissiodor. [or Autis-] c. xvi. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 959.) Non licet die Dominico boves jungere, vel alia opera exercere.

Mascon :^o “ Let no one on this day prosecute a lawsuit, no lawyer plead any causes, no one put himself under the necessity of yoking his oxen. But be ye all intent and ready, both in body and mind, to sing hymns and praises to God. If any one condemn this admonition, he shall be punished according to the quality of his offence. If he be a lawyer, he shall lose his privilege of pleading ; if he be a countryman or slave, he shall be severely beaten with rods ; if a clergyman or monk, he shall be six months suspended from the communion of his brethren.” There are a great many other French and Spanish councils to the time of Charles the Great,^p that have canons prohibiting the same thing : which shew, that the liberty indulged by Constantine, of working at husbandry on the Lord’s-day, was never well approved by the Church : but it was no easy matter to restrain men from

^o Conc. Matiscon. II. c. i. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 980.) Nullus vestrum litium fomitis vacet : nullus causarum actiones exerceat : nemo sibi talem necessitatem exhibeat, quæ jugum cervicibus juvencorum imponere cogat. Estote omnes in hymnis et laudibus Dei animo corporeque intenti. . . . Si quis vestrum hanc salubrem exhortationem parvi penderit, aut contemtui tradiderit, sciat se pro qualitatis merito principaliter a Deo puniri, et deinceps sacerdotali quoque iræ implacabiliter subjacere. Si causidicus fuerit, irreparabiliter causam amittet : si rusticus aut servus, gravioribus fustium ictibus verberabitur : si clericus aut monachus, mensibus sex a consortio suspendetur fratrum.

^p Præceptionem Guntramni Regis ad Episc. et Judices Regni sui, ad calcem Conc. Matiscon. II. (tom. v. Conc. p. 991, seq. in primis, p. 992, B.) Idcirco hujus decreti ac definitionis generalis vigore decernimus, ut in omnibus diebus Dominicis, in quibus sanctæ resurrectionis mysterium veneramus, vel in quibuscumque reliquis sollemnitatibus, quando ex more ad veneranda templorum oracula universæ plebis conjunctio devotionis congregatur studio, præter victum quem præparari convenit, ab omni corporali opere suspendantur, nec ulla causarum præcipue jurgia moveantur.—— Conc. Arelat. VI. c. xvi. (L. vii. 1237.) Ne in diebus Dominicis publica mercata, neque causationes disceptationesque exercentur, et penitus a rurali et servili opere cessetur : his solummodo peractis, quæ ad Dei cultum et servitium pertinere noscuntur.—— Conc. Mogunt. sub Carolo M. c. xxxvii. Omnes dies Dominicos cum omni veneratione decrevimus observari et a servili opere abstinere : et ut mercatus in eis minime sit, nec placitum, ubi aliquis ad mortem vel penam judicetur.—— Conc. Turon. III. sub eodem, c. xl. (vii. 1267.) Interdicatur, ne mercata et placita usquam fiant die Dominica, qua oportet omnes Christianos a servili opere in laude Dei et gratiarum actione usque ad vesperam perseverare.—— Conc. Remens. c. xxxv. Ut diebus Dominicis, secundum Domini præceptum, nulla opera servilia quilibet perficiat, nec ad placita conveniat, nec etiam donationes in publico facere præsumat, neque mercata exerceat.

the use of that first liberty which the law had granted them; and therefore they continued to enjoy the indulgence, which had so plausible a pretence. And, in many places, the evil increased; for some kept courts, and pleaded causes, and kept fairs and markets, and traded on this day as well as any other, as appears from the several complaints made against these things in the time of Charles the Great, who endeavoured, among other things, to correct these abuses in his reformation.

But the Church did not only oppose the profaners of the Lord's-day, but all such as with a pharisaical superstition, on the other hand, pretended to carry the observation of it to an unreasonable rigour and strictness, in abstaining from all bodily labour. The Dositheans, among the Jews, are noted by Origen⁹ as putting a ridiculous sense upon the law of Moses, which said, "Abide ye every man in his place: let no man go out of his place on the seventh day." This they interpreted so literally and rigorously, as that whatever habit, place, or posture, a man was found in on the Sabbath day, he was to continue in it till the evening; that is, if he was found sitting, he must sit still all the day; or, if lying down, he must lie all the day. The Jewish rabbins were as ridiculous in their confutation of this dream of Dositheus; for they pretended to say, out of some fabulous and frivolous traditions, that every man's place was the space of two thousand cubits round him; and, therefore, he that travelled no further, was not reputed to move out of his place.^r They

⁹ Origen. *απελ' ἀρχῶν*, lib. iv. c. ii. p. 743, (p. 470, m. edit. Paris. 1604.) Alii, ex quibus Dositheus Samaritanus . . . ridiculosius aliquid statuunt, quia unusquisque, quo habitu, quo loco, qua positione in die Sabbati fuerit inventus, ita usque ad vesperam debeat permanere, &c. Repetitur hoc in 'Philocalia' Origenis, c. i. p. 14. Οἱ ἐκ περιστομῆς . . . φλυαροῦσιν εὐριτιλογοῦντες, ψυχρὰς παραδόσεις φέρουσι, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, φάσκοντες τέτοιον ἐκείνη εἶναι δυσχρίλιον σῆμα· ἄλλοι δὲ, ὡς ἐστι Δοσίθεος ὁ Σαμαριτὴς, καταγιγνώσκοντες τῆς τοιαύτης διγρησίας, οἰοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ὃ ὦν καταληφθῇ τις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου, μίσην μέχρις ἑσπέρας· ἄλλοι καὶ τὸ μὴ αἶρειν βάσταγμα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου, ἀμύχανον δύναιτο εἰς ἀπεικοντολογίαν εἰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδάσκαλοι ἐληλύθασι λέγοντες, βάσταγμα μὴ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ δέμας, εὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ἥλως ἔχον σπιδάλιον, εὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀνήλωτον καὶ τὸ τρωεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄμου φορούμενον, εὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ὤμων. (Cantab. 1766.)

^r Ibid. Fabulas autem inanes et frivolas commentantur, ex nescio quibus

were no less ridiculous in interpreting those other laws against working and bearing burdens on the Sabbath-day. They said,³ “ If a man had nails in his shoes, it was reputed a burden ; but, if he had no nails, it was no burden. If he carried any thing upon one shoulder, it was a burden ; but, if upon both shoulders, it was none.” And some of them were so superstitious, as if their lives lay at stake, they would not move a finger to help themselves, for fear they should be thought to break the Sabbath by working. Synesius gives a famous instance of this in a certain Jewish pilot, who was steering a ship in a violent tempest :⁴ he laboured hard till the Sabbath came on, but then he let go the helm, and left the ship to the mercy of the winds and sea ; and though a soldier threatened him with present death, unless he would resume his labour, yet he refused ; and, like a true Maccabee, was ready to sacrifice his life to his superstition. But afterwards, upon second thoughts, about midnight, he betook himself to his post, saying, Now the law allows it, because we run the hazard of our lives. Synesius elegantly calls him a Maccabee for his first resolution, because a thousand of the Maccabees suffered themselves to be cut in pieces by their enemies, rather than they would take the sword in hand to fight, or do any thing to

traditionibus proferentes de Sabbato, dicentes, ‘ Unicuique locum suum reputari intra duo millia ulnarum.’

³ Origen. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, lib. iv. c. i. p. 743, (p. 470, m. edit. Paris. 1604.) Ad fabulas devoluti Judæorum doctores dicentes, ‘ Non reputari onus,’ &c.

⁴ Synes. *Epist. iv. ad Euoptium*, (Paris. 1633, p. 161, D.) ‘ Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἦν, ἢ τινα ἔγινον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρασκευὴν τὴν δι’ ὅκα τῇ μισῇ αὐτὴν ἡμέρᾳ λογίζονται, καὶ ἢ οὐδὲν θίμις ἵσταν ἰνεργὸν ἔχουσιν τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ τιμῶντες διαφερόντως αὐτὴν, ἔγινον ἀπαραξίαν μισθῶν οὖν ἐν τῶν χειρῶν ὁ ευδαιμόνητος τὸ πηδάλιον, ἰσχυρὰ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκασιν ἀπολειπώσκειν τὴν γῆν καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἑαυτοὺς

Παυτὶν παρεῖχε τῇ θύλοντι ναυτίλῳ.

‘ Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν οὖσαν αἰσίαν οὐκ ἐθέτο (ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκκαλλόμεθα) ἀπύργουσι δὲ τὸ πρῶγμα οἰόμενοι, προσήμουν, ἰλυσκοῦμεν μὴ καταπερίσσειν μηδὲν τὰς ἰσχύας ἰσχύας καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἰαυτῶν αἱ τρικυμῶναι, τοῦ πλάγους καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς στασιάζουσιν. . . . Ἐπὶ δ’ οὖν συνήκαμεν τὸν ναῦ τῆς ἀπολείψας τῶν πηδάλιων . . . πεισθεὶς ἀπογνόντες, ἀνάγκην ἤδη προσήγαμεν. Καὶ τις στρατιώτης γινώσκων . . . τὸ ἔξιφος σπασάμενος, ἠπύλησε τ’ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψων, εἰ μὴ ἀντιλήψατο τοῦ σκάφους· ὁ δὲ ἀντίχρημα Μανναθαῖος οἷος ἦν ἰσχυροτέρησιν τῇ δόγματι μισούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς νυκτός, παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἀναπαύεται πρὸς τῇ καθύπερθε γινώσκων. οὗ γὰρ, φησιν, ὁ νόμος ἰσχύει, ἰσχυρὰς οὖν σκῶς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς θίμιον.

defend themselves, on the Sabbath day; which made Mattathias and his friends decree, that whoever should come to make battle with them on the Sabbath day, they would fight against him, and not die all, as their brethren that were murdered in the secret places (1 Mac. ii. 41). And the Jewish pilot wisely bethought himself in time of this example, and so saved the ship at last by working on the Sabbath. Josephus says, " This decree of Mattathias was observed by the Jews in part: for if they were in present danger of their lives, they would fight on the Sabbath; but, if the enemy only made preparation for an assault the next day, and did not actually assault them on the Sabbath, they would do nothing to oppose them on that day." And this gave occasion to Pompey first, and to Titus afterward, to overcome them. The Essenes were yet more rigorous: for they would not kindle a fire, nor move a vessel out of its place, on the Sabbath day. And the Dositheans exceeded all the rest, as we have heard before, in superstitious madness. The Christians, therefore, in opposition to these furies, were careful to observe a just medium in the celebration of the Lord's-day, neither to indulge themselves the liberty of unnecessary works on this day, nor wholly to abstain from working, if a great occasion required it. The Council of Laodicea thus determines the matter,* in settling the observation both of the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, between which they put this difference: that Christians should not Judaize, or rest from bodily labour on the Sabbath, but work on that day (that is, so far as Divine service would permit); but they were to give preference in this respect to the Lord's-day; and to rest, if possible, and abstain from working. But if any were found to Judaize, they were to

* Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xiv. c. viii. (Hudson. vol. i. p. 614, 5.) *Εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἢ ἡμῖν ἀργεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἔν ἡνέσθη τὸ χῶμα, καλυόντων ἱκεῖνων ἀρχοντας γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύνεσθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δὲ τι δοῶντας τοὺς πολέμιους οὐκ ἔσθ, κ. τ. λ.*

† Conc. Laodic. c. xxix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1501.) *"Οτι οὐ δι' Χριστιανούς 'Ιουδαΐζουσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαββάτῃ σχολάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δι' κοριακὴν προσημνύσαντα, εἴγε δύναιντο, σχολάζουσιν ὡς Χριστιανοί. Εἰ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 'Ιουδαΐσται, ἵστανται ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Χριστοῦ."*

be anathematized as great transgressors. Balsamon^w and Zonaras,^x upon this canon, very well observe, "That the words *εἴγε δύναιντο*, 'if possible,' suppose some special cases that may dispense with men's working on the Lord's-day, as extreme poverty and want; to which may be added all other cases of necessity, as fighting to preserve men's lives against an enemy, toiling at the helm and oar to escape the violence of a tempest, travelling to church for the service of God, dressing of food for the life of man, labouring to deliver a man or beast in manifest danger of death, and any the like cases; which are all so reasonable, that the greatest adversaries of our Saviour, when he proposed some such cases, could not but own the justness of his proceedings. And from his example the Christian Church took her measures, in stating the exceptions that were proper to be made to the law about working on the Lord's-day, in contradiction to the perverse way of observing the Jewish Sabbath.

SECT. IV. — *No public Games, or Shows, or ludicrous Recreations, allowed on this Day.*

Another thing, which the Christian laws took care of, to secure the honour and dignity of the Lord's-day, was, that no ludicrous sports, or games, or recreations, however allowable at other times, should be followed or frequented on this day. There are two famous laws of Theodosius Senior, and his grandson, Theodosius Junior, to this purpose in the Theodosian Code. The first peremptorily forbids any one, who, either by his office or otherwise, had any concern in exhibiting the public games to the people, to gratify them with any thing of this kind on the Lord's-day,^y whether it

^w Balsam. in loc. *Προσέβητο, εἴγε δύναντο οἱ πιστοὶ εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνάγκης, καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιώνυμον ἐργάσονται τῆς, οὐ προκριματισθήσονται.*

^x Zonar. in loc. *Ὁ μὲν κανὼν, εἰ δύναντο, προσέβητο· ὁ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας νόμος ἀπαραιτήτως τὴν ἀργίαν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἀπαιτεῖ, ἅντι τῶν γυμνασίων ἐκείνους γὰρ ἐν κυριακῇ ἐργάζεσθαι ἱφίσκειν, ὅτι ἴσως τῶν ἔργων κωστυγίτηται, οὐχ ἐνέχουσιν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οὕτως αὐταῖς εἰς τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν συμκαλλομένην.*

^y Cod. Theod. lib. xv. de Spectaculis, tit. v. leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. v. p. 350.) Nullus omnino judicium aut theatralibus ludis, aut circensium certamin-

were a gymnastical exercise of gladiators in the theatre, or a stage-play, or a horse-race in the circus, or a hunting and fighting of wild beasts, lest the worship of God should be disturbed and confounded with any such entertainments as these. And the other extends the prohibition of these pleasures,^a as well to the festival of Christ's Nativity, and Epiphany, and Easter, and Pentecost, as to the Lord's-day; and equally enjoins both Jews and Gentiles over all the world so far to shew a respect to these days, as to know how to make a distinction between times of supplication and times of pleasure. Nor should it be any excuse for any one to plead, he exhibited such diversions to the people in honour of the emperor's birthday, which might happen to fall in with some of these seasons: for they were given to understand, that no greater honour could be paid to his imperial majesty on earth, than to have a just respect and veneration shewn to the majesty of Almighty God in heaven. A like order was made by Leo and Anthemius, that no stage-play, nor games of the circus, nor hunting of wild beasts, should be performed on this day.^a And if it so happened that any of the emperors' birthdays fell upon the Lord's-day, the observation of their birthday should be put off to another day. And whoever transgressed this order,

ibus, aut ferarum cursibus vacet, nisi illis tantum diebus, quibus vel in lucem editi, vel imperii sumus sceptrā sortiti. . . . Nullus solis die populo spectaculum præbeat, nec Divinam venerationem confecta sollemnitate confundat.

^a *Cod. Theod. leg. v. p. 353. Dominico, qui septimanæ totius primus est dies, et Natale atque Epiphaniarum Christi, Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus . . . omni theatrorum atque circensium voluptate, per universas urbes earumdem populis denegata, totæ Christianorum ac fidelium mentes Dei cultibus occupantur. Si qui etiam nunc vel Judæi impietatis amentia, vel stolidæ paganitatis errore atque insania detinentur, aliud esse supplicationum noverint tempus, aliud voluptatum. Ac ne quis existimet, in honorem numinis nostri, veluti majore quadam imperialis officii necessitate compelli. . . . Nemo ambigat, quod tunc maxime Mansuetudini nostræ ab humano genere defertur, quum virtutibus Dei omnipotentis ac meritis universi obsequium orbis impenditur.*

^a *Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. xi. Nihil eodem die vindicet sibi scena theatralis, aut circense certamen, aut ferarum lacrimosa spectacula. Et si in nostrum ortum aut natalem celebranda sollemnitas inciderit, differatur. Amissionem militiæ, proscriptionemque patrimonii sustinebit, si quis umquam hoc die festo spectaculis interesse, vel cujuscumque judicis apparitor prætextu negotii publici, seu privati, hæc, quæ hac lege statuta sunt, crediderit temeranda.*

either by exhibiting these games, or by being present at them as a spectator only, if he were a military man, he should forfeit his office; if a private man, be liable to confiscation of all his goods. And the same penalty is imposed on all judges, advocates, and apparitors, that pretended to prosecute any business of the law upon this day. The Church was no less careful to guard the service of this day from the encroachment of all vain pastimes and needless recreations. The Jews, though they would not work on their Sabbath, yet made no scruple to spend it in idleness, or worse exercises than any innocent bodily labour, as dancing, and revelling, and other unlawful pleasures; against which the ancients often inveigh, and endeavour to dissuade their people from following so bad an example. "The Jews in our time," says St. Austin,^b "celebrate their Sabbath in a sort of rest, which is nothing but a corporal laziness, languid, vain, and luxurious. For they rest only for trifling vanities; and when God commands them to observe the Sabbath, they exercise the Sabbath in those things which God forbids. Our rest is from evil works, their rest is from good works; for it is better to go to ploughing, than, as they do, to dancing. They rest from good works, but rest not from works of vanity and trifling." So, in another place;^c "A Jew would do better to work in his field at some useful labour, than spend his time at the theatre in a seditious manner: and their women had much better spin on the Sabbath, than spend the whole day on their new-moons in immodest dancing; therefore God

^b Aug. in Psalm. xci. tom. viii. p. 417, (p. 1020, edit. Basil. 1569), (Bened. Antwerp. 1700, vol. iv. p. 737, E.) Sabbatum, in præsenti tempore, otio quodam corporaliter languido et fluxo et luxurioso celebrant Judæi: vacant enim ad nugas: et quum Deus præceperit [observari] Sabbatum, illi in his quæ Deus prohibet, exercent Sabbatum. Vacatio nostra a malis operibus; vacatio illorum a bonis operibus est. Melius est enim arare quam saltare. Illi a bono opere vacant; ab opere nugatorio non vacant.

^c Ibid. de Decem Chordis, c. iii. tom. ix. p. 920, (p. 290, edit. cit.) Dicitur tibi, ut spiritaliter observes Sabbatum; non quomodo Judæi observant carnali otio: vacare enim volunt ad nugas atque luxurias suas. Melius faceret Judæus in agro suo aliquid utile, quam in theatro seditiosus exsisteret. Et melius feminae eorum die Sabbati lanam facerent, quam totam diem in neomeniis suis impudice saltarent.

commands thee to observe the Sabbath spiritually; not as the Jews do, in carnal rest, to satisfy their vanity and luxury." Prudentius brings the same charge against the Jews,^d objecting to them their misemploying the Sabbath in lascivious dancing. And Ruffin,^e on those words of Hosea (ii. 11), "I will cause all her mirth to cease, her feast-days, her new-moons, and her Sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts," says, "These were the feasts, in which the whole nation spent their time in dancing, singing, and lascivious banquetings." St. Chrysostom also objects it to them,^f "That when they were delivered from secular cares, they had no regard to spiritual things, sobriety, modesty, and hearing the word of God, but did all things contrary, serving their belly, indulging drunkenness, stuffing themselves with meat and delicacies, and spending their time in banquetings and pleasures." This was their way of keeping the Sabbaths, which St. Chrysostom, following the Septuagint (Amos, vi. 3), calls *Σάββατα ψευδῆ*, "False Sabbaths," when they lay upon beds of ivory, and stretched themselves upon their couches, and ate the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; chanting to the sound of the viol, and inventing to themselves instruments of music, like David; drinking wine in bowls, and anointing themselves with the chief ointment, but were not grieved for the affliction of Joseph." Which agrees with the character which another prophet gives of them: "The harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, nor consider the operation of his hands" (Isaiah, v. 12). Theodoret, in like manner, reflects

^d Prudent. *Apotheosis*. ver. 420, seq.

. . . in pecude stultum est sic credere sacrum,
Sanguine balantis summos contingere postes,
Lascivire choris, &c.

^e Ruffin. in Hos. ii. 11. Posuit nomina feriarum, in quibus plurimum lætabantur, quum tota regio choreis, canticis, epulisque lasciviret.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Lazaro, tom. v. p. 32, C. (p. 29, edit. Francof. 1698.)

Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν βιωτικῶν ἀπαλλαγίντες πραγμάτων, τοῖς πνευματικοῖς οὐ προσέτιχον, σφραγισμένη, καὶ ἰσχυρισμένη, καὶ ἀκροάσει θείων λόγιων ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἰστίουν, γαστριζομένοι, μεθύοντες, διαβήγηγύμνοι, τρυφῶντες.

upon their abuse of the sabbatical rest in lascivious dancing.^s And, again, on the effeminacy and luxury^b wherein they indulged themselves on this day. Upon which account both heⁱ and Cyril of Alexandria^j apply to them the forementioned words of Amos, and charge them with keeping false Sabbaths. Their luxury and banqueting on this day was become so extravagant and infamous, that it was noted even to a proverb. Cotelierius^k thinks the phrase, *luxus Sabbatarius*, in Sidonius Apollinaris,^l has reference to this; though Savaro^m interprets it as spoken of Theodoric, and his Arian Goths, keeping Saturday as a feast, in opposition to the Roman Church, who made it a weekly fast, as we shall see more in the next chapter. The heathens, indeed, had a quite contrary notion of the Jews; for they thought they fasted on their Sabbath, which was a vulgar mistake in them, arising merely from a misapprehension of their laws and practice: for because they kindled no fires, nor dressed any

^s Theodoret. Quæst xxxii. in Levit. (Hal. 1771, vol. i. p. 210.) Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ σκυθρωπάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ γιλῶσι, καὶ παίζουσι, καὶ χορεύουσι, καὶ ἀκολάστοις ῥήμασι καὶ πράγμασι κίχρηται, ἀντικρὺς τῷ νόμῳ μαχόμενοι.

^b Ibid. in Phil. iii. 19, (ibid. vol. iii. p. 465.) Διαφερόντως οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὰν ποιοῦνται τροφῆς ἐπιμίλιαν, καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὄρον νομίζουσι τὴν ἐν σαββάτῳ χλιδὴν δόξαν ταῦτα ὑπολαβεύοντες, ἵφ' οἷς ἴδιαι αἰσχύνισθαι.

ⁱ Ibid. in Amos, vi. 3, (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1435.) Οἱ ἐγγιζόντες καὶ ἱφαπτόμενοι σαββάτων ψυδῶν] οἱ τῷ δοκίῳ τιμῶντες τὰ σάββατα, μυρία δὲ αὐτοῖς πρᾶγμα δρῶντες. κ. τ. λ.

^j Cyril. Alex. in Amos, vi. 3. Ἐφαπτόμενοι σαββάτων ψυδῶν] ἐπιτρέβου τὰς ἐν σαββάτοις ἀργίας, πλὴν οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἡρεῖσθαι, ἀτμηλῶς δὲ πᾶσαν καὶ βαθύμως κομιδῇ.

^k Cotelier. in Pseudo-Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. sect. ix. p. 59, not. lx. Certe in proverbium abiit 'sabbatarius luxus' Apollinari Sidonio, lib. i. ep. ii.

^l Sidon. lib. i. ep. ii. De luxu autem illo sabbatario narrationi meæ superse-dendum est.

^m Savaro in Loc. (Paris. 1609, p. 16.) Quid sit 'sabbatarius luxus,' liquido non liquet; si locus conjecturæ, sabbatarius luxus est, ita dictus, quod Gothi Arriani Sabbato genio indulgerent, et opipare convivarentur, (quo die Catholici et Romani jejunabant), more Arrianorum Aërianorumque, qui diebus, quibus Christiani abstinebant, odio fidei Catholicæ epulabantur. . . . Atque ita quum in universo orbe Romano die Sabbati jejunium celebraretur, et Arriani studia in contrarium destinarent, hac die helluabantur, diemque Saturni otio et victui decernebant, more Sabbatariorum, idcirco dixit Sidonius 'sabbatarium luxum.' Die autem Solis, quum lætitiæ Christiani indulgerent, et jejunare nefas ducerent, illi abstinebant.

meat, on the Sabbath, they wrongfully concluded that they spent the day in fasting. Whereas the Christian writers, who better understood their practice, charge them every where with making it a day of rioting, and drunkenness, and excess of unlawful pleasures; and, as such, they earnestly caution those of their own religion against imitating the Jews in such perverse and abominable corruptions of the law, by turning a day of spiritual rest into a day of carnal pleasure.

But beside the example of the Jews, Christians were under another temptation from the practice of the Gentiles. Therefore the fourth Council of Carthage made a decree,ⁿ "That if any one forsook the solemn assembly of the Church on the Lord's day to go to a public show, he should be excommunicated." St. Chrysostom threatens the same punishment,^o copiously declaiming against the public games as the conventions of Satan. The African fathers, in one of their general synods,^p petitioned the Emperor Honorius, that the spectacles both of the theatre, and other games, might be wholly omitted on the Lord's day, and all other noted festivals of the Christian religion, because they had found, by sad experience, that even upon the Sunday, called the octaves of Easter, the people met more at the horse-races in the circus than at church: and therefore they thought, if any such days as were devoted to these pleasures,

ⁿ Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxviii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Qui die sollemni, prætermisso sollemni ecclesiæ conventu, ad spectacula vadit, excommunicatur.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 53, line 10, (p. 45, edit. Francof. 1698.) "Ὅπως μὴ πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπίπτῃ, μηδὲ, μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην ἡμῶν παραίνεσιν, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ Σατανικὰ συνῆδη ἐκίνα δράμῃντι, ἀναγκαῖον διαμαρτύρεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντοτε καλὸν προσηνὴ φάρμακα ἐπιπίπτειναι, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἢ τὸ ἔλκος δυσίνδοτον, δι' καὶ τὰ στυφοντα καὶ τὰ δάκνυν δυνάμεια προσάγιν, ἵνα ταχέια γίνηται ἡ διόρθωσις. μαθίστως τοίνυν ἅπαντες, οἱ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπιύθνουν, ὅτι εἰ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν παραίνεσιν πάλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐπιμείνωσιν, οὐκ ἀνέξομεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρυσάμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς αὐτοῦς τῆς σφοδρότητος διδάζομεν, μὴ ταῦτα πλημμυλῖν, κ. τ. λ.

^p Cod. Can. Afric. c. lxi. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1086.) Κάκυνο ἵτι μὴν δι' αἰτῆσαι, ἵνα τὰ θύρια τῶν διατρικῶν παιγνίων ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς φαιδαῖς τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιως κωλύονταί· μάλιστα, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὀγδοᾷ τοῦ ἁγίου πάρχα οἱ ὄχλοι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον ἥπερ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνέρχονται· ἐφίλειον μιστινέχθηναι τὰς ὥρισμένας αὐτῶν ἡμέρας, ὅτι ἀπαντήσῃ, καὶ μὴ ἐφίλειον τιὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸς τὰ θύρια ταῦτα ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

as the emperors' birthdays, or the like, happened to fall upon a Sunday, it ought to be transferred to some other day; and no heathen should have power to compel a Christian to be a spectator of them upon any occasion. For by the ecclesiastical law these sorts of diversions were universally forbidden to all Christians,^q for the extravagances and blasphemies that were committed in them. What care was taken by Honorius to satisfy these demands, and remedy the abuses here complained of, appears not from any law of his in either of the Codes, but rather that he refused to comply with their request to prohibit the games and shows upon any other festivals beside the Lord's-day, which had been prohibited before. For by one of his laws^r (an. 399), he granted license to the people to solemnize and frequent their usual games and diversions on any public days of rejoicing, only forbidding sacrifice and other superstitious rites of the heathen. But not long after Theodosius Junior published that famous law, called Dominico,^s wherein he not only restrained the people from celebrating their games on the Lord's-day, but on all other solemn festivals, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost; and obliged both Jews and Gentiles, over all the world, to shew a respect to these days, by putting a distinction between days of supplication and days of pleasure. And this became the standing law of the Roman empire.

SECT. V.—*All Fasting prohibited on this Day, even in the Time of Lent.*

But we are here to note, that such recreations and relaxations, or refreshments, as contributed only to the preserva-

^q Conc. Carth. III. c. xi. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1169.) Ut filii episcoporum vel clericorum spectacula sacularia non exhibeant, sed nec spectent, quandoquidem a spectaculo et omnes laici prohibeantur. Semper enim Christianis omnibus hoc interdictum est, ut ubi blasphemii sunt, non accedant.

^r Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xvii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. vi. p. 284.) Ut profanos ritus jam salubri lege submovimus, ita festos conventus civium et communem omnium lætitiā non patimur submoveri. Unde absque ulla superstitione damnabili, exhibere populo voluptates, secundum veterem consuetudinem: inire etiam festa convivia, si quando exigunt publica vota, decernimus.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. xv. de Spectaculis, leg. v. See before, note (r), p. 30.

tion or convenience of the life of man, or had any tendency to promote the performance of Divine worship with greater decency or perfection, were noways comprehended in this prohibition of recreations and diversions on the Lord's-day. Therefore, though the ancient Church was very strict in observing her stated and solemn fasts, yet she never allowed any fast to be held on the Lord's-day, no, not even in Lent, out of which the Sabbath and Lord's-day were generally excepted, and made days of common recreation and refreshment. Tertullian says, in general,[†] that they counted it a crime to fast on the Lord's-day. And he remarks, in particular, concerning the Montanists,[‡] "That though they were more rigid than others in observing their fasts, yet they omitted every Sabbath and Lord's-day throughout the year." St. Ambrose says,[§] "They fasted not even in Lent either on the Sabbath or the Lord's-day; but condemned the Manichees particularly for fasting on the Lord's-day, as in effect denying the Lord's resurrection:"[¶] which is also noted by St. Austin;[‡] and Pope Leo^a condemns the Priscillianists for the

[†] Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus.

[‡] Ibid. de Jejun. c. xv. (Paris. 1664, p. 532.) Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum? duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo; abstinentes ab eis, quæ non rejicimus, sed differimus.

[§] Ambros. de Elia et Jejun. c. x. Quadragesima totis præter Sabbatum et Dominicam jejunantur diebus.

[¶] Ibid. Epist. lxxxiii. (In edit. Paris. 1542. Enarratio de Pasch. Celebr. Rat. tom. iv. p. 305, e.) Die Dominica jejunare non possumus, quia Manichæos etiam ob istius diei jejunia damnamus. Hoc est enim in resurrectionem Christi non credere, &c.

^a Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. tot. inprimis sub fin. p. 391, edit. Basil. 1569. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 60, F.) Nunc vero postea quam hæretici, maxime impiissimi Manichæi, jejunia diei Dominici non aliqua necessitate occurrente peragere, sed quasi sacra sollemnitate statuta dogmatizare cœperunt, et innotuerunt populis Christianis; profecto nec tali necessitate, qualem Apostolus habuit, (actor. xx.) existimo faciendum esse quod fecit: ne majus malum incurratur in scandalo, quam bonum percipiatur ex verbo, &c.

^a Leo, Epist. xciii. ad Turribium, c. iv. (Lugd. 1700, p. 228.) Quarto capitulo continetur, quod natalem Christi, quem secundum susceptionem veri hominis Catholica ecclesia veneratur, quia 'Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis,' non vere isti honorent, sed honorare se simulent, jejunantes eodem die, sicut et die Dominico, qui est dies resurrectionis Christi. Quod utique ideo faciunt, quia Christum Dominum in vera hominis natura natum esse non credunt, sed per

same practice. The fourth Council of Carthage reckons him no Catholic^b that fasts upon this day. The first Council of Braga particularly anathematizes the Cerdonians, Marcionites, Priscillianists, and Manichees, for their perverseness in this particular.^c And there are more general anathemas in the Apostolical Canons,^d and the Council of Gangra,^e and the Council of Saragossa and Agde,^f and the Council of Trullo,^g against all that, under any pretence whatever, presumed to make the Lord's-day a fasting-day; which was not allowed to those who led an ascetic life, without suspicion of some perverse and heterodox opinion. Whence Epiphanius observes,^h "That the true ascetics of the Church never

quandam illusionem ostentata videri volunt, quæ vera non fuerint; sequentes dogmata Cerdonis atque Marcionis, et cognatis suis Manichæis per omnia consonantes. Qui sicut in nostro examine detecti atque convicti sunt, Dominicum diem, quem nobis Salvatoris nostri resurrectio consecravit, exigunt in mœore jejunii; solis (ut proditum est) reverentiæ hanc continentiam devoteutes; ut per omnia sint a nostræ fidei unitate discordes; et dies, quæ a nobis in lætitia habetur, ab illis in addictione ducatur. Unde dignum est, ut inimici crucis Christi et resurrectionis talem excipiant sententiam, qualem elegerunt doctrinam.

^b Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1205.) Qui Dominico die studiose jejunat, non credatur Catholicus.

^c Conc. Bracar. I. c. iv. (ibid. vol. v. p. 837.) Si quis natalem Christi secundum carnem non bene honorat, sed honorare se simulat, jejunans eodem die, et in Dominico; quia Christum in vera hominis natura natum esse non credit, sicut Cerdon, Marcion, Manichæus, et Priscillianus; anathema sit.

^d Can. Apost. c. lxxv. (ibid. vol. i. p. 40.) Εἰ τις κληρικὸς εὐρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων, ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἰνὸς μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθω εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.

^e Conc. Gangrens. c. xviii. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 424.) Εἰ τις διὰ νομιζομένην ἄσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύει, ἀνάθιμα ἔστω.

^f Conc. Cæsaraugust. c. ii. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1009.) Ne quis jejunet die Dominica, causa temporis, aut persuasionis, aut superstitionis. — Conc. Agath. c. xii. (ibid. vol. iv. p. 1385.) Placuit, ut omnes ecclesiæ filii, exceptis diebus Dominicis, in quadragesima, etiam die Sabbato, sacerdotali ordinatione, et distractionis comminatione jejunent.

^g Conc. Trul. c. lv. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 1167.) Ἐπειδὴ μιμηθήκαμεν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τῆς τρισσακκοστῆς νηστεύειν τοῖς ταύτης σάββασι νηστεύον, παρὰ τὴν παραδοξίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ἰδοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ὥστε κρατῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρασχιούτως τὸν κανόνα τὸν λήγοντα, Εἰ τις κληρικὸς εὐρεθῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ κυριακῇ νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἰνὸς καὶ μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθω εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.

^h Epiphanius. Exposit. Fidei, sect. xxii. Προαιρίσει ἀγαθῇ οἱ αὐτῆς ἀσκηταὶ διαπαντὸς, χωρὶς κυριακῆς καὶ Πεντακοστῆς, νηστεύουσι, καὶ ἀγρυπνίας διαπαντὸς ἱστειλοῦσι τὰς δὲ κυριακὰς ἀπάσας τρυφερὰς ἡγύται ἡ ἀγία αὕτη καθολικὴ

fasted on the Lord's-day, no, not in Lent, because it was against the custom of the Catholic Church." And the like observation is made by Cassian of all the monks in the East,ⁱ "That they fasted five days in the week; but on the Hebdomas and Ogdoas, that is, 'the seventh and eighth day' (so he terms the Sabbath and the Lord's-day), they always abstained from fasting, and kept them festival." Nor would the Council of Gangra allow the Eustathians to fast on the Lord's day, as ascetics, under pain of anathema.

The reason of this observation, the same Cassian tells us,^k "Was the respect they had to our Saviour's resurrection from the dead on this day, which they always commemorated with joyfulness, and therefore neither fasted on this day, nor the whole fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, which were all kept festival in memory of our Saviour's resurrection." The same is said by the author of the Constitutions,^l "Every Sabbath except one" (viz. the great Sabbath before Easter), "and every Lord's-day ye shall keep festival. For he is

ἐκκλησία, καὶ συνάξεις ἀφ' ἡμετέρων ἐπιτιλιῖ, οὐ ημετέρων ἀνακλόουθον γὰρ ἴσθιν ἐν κυριακῇ ημετέρων τὴν δὲ τισσαρακοστὴν τὴν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα ὡσαύτως φυλάττειν ἵνα ἡ αὐτὴ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ημετέροις διατιλοῦσα τὰς δὲ κυριακάς οὐδ' ἕως, οὗτοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τισσαρακοστῇ. — Hieron. Ep. xxviii. Nec hoc dico, quod Dominicis diebus jejunandum putem, et contextas quinquaginta diebus ferias auferam, &c.

ⁱ Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ix. (Paris. 1669, p. 45.) Ideoque et absolutio jejunii post vigiliarium laborem, totidem apostolicis viris in die Sabbati statuta, non immerito præsumitur per universas Orientis ecclesias secundum illam quoque Ecclesiastæ sententiam, quæ licet habeat et alium mysticum sensum, tamen ab hoc quoque non abhorret; quo utrique diei, id est, hebdomadi pariter et ogdoadi, eandem partem sollemnitatis impartire præcipimur, ita dicentis, Da partem his septem, et quidem his octo. Non enim ad communionem festivitatis Judaicæ absolutio ista jejunii reputanda est, his præsertim qui ab omni Judaicâ superstitione alieni monstrantur, sed ad refecionem, quam diximus, lassi corporis pertinere; quod per totas anni septimanas jugiter quinis diebus jejunans, nisi duobus saltem interpositis refocillatum fuerit, facile lassescit ac deficit.

^k Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xx. Per omnia eandem in illis (L diebus) sollemnitatem, quam die Dominica custodimus, in qua majores nostri nec jejunium agendum, nec genu esse flectendum, ob reverentiam resurrectionis Dominicæ tradiderunt. (P. 566.)

^l Constitut. lib. v. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 371.) Πᾶν μὲν τοι σάββατον ἔνι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, καὶ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν ἐπιτιλοῦντες συνόδους, εὐφραίνεσθαι ἡμετέροις γὰρ ἀμαρτίας ἴσθαι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ημετέρων, ἡμετέροις ἀναστάσις οὖσαν, ἢ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν, ἢ ἕως ἡμετέρας ἡμετέροις Κυρίου κατηφῶν εὐφραίνεσθαι γὰρ δι' ἐν αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ συνήθειαι.

guilty of sin that fasts on the Lord's-day,^f as being the day of his resurrection; or whoever makes Pentecost or the Lord's-day a day of sorrow. For in these days we ought to rejoice, and not to mourn." So again:^m "Keep the Sabbath and the Lord's-day festival; because the one is the commemoration of the creation, and the other of the resurrection." In like manner, Peter, bishop of Alexandria,ⁿ "We keep the Lord's-day as a day of joy, because of him who rose upon it." And Cotelierius cites a fragment of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, to the same purpose:^o "Both custom and decency require us to keep the Lord's-day a festival, and to give honour to it, because on this day our Lord Jesus Christ procured for us the resurrection from the dead." Yet this rule was not so strictly binding, but that when a necessary occasion required, and there was no suspicion of heretical perverseness or contempt, men might fast upon this day: as St. Jerom observes that the apostle Paul sometimes did;^p and that famous monk, who, for the space of forty years, never ate till the sun was set; and Celerinus, the confessor in Cyprian, speaking of his sister's lapsing into idolatry in time of the persecution, says,^q "For this fact I went day and night in the midst of the joyful festival of Easter, and spent many days sorrowing, in sackcloth and ashes." But such exceptions as these were no derogation to the general practice, which prevailed universally over the whole Church, and was observed with great exactness.

^m Constitut. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (Labbé, vol. i.) Τὸ σάββατον μὴν τοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἱερτάζεις, ὅτι τὸ μὴν δημιουργίας ἱστῶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσις.

ⁿ Pet. Alex. c. xv. (ibid. vol. i. p. 967.) Κυριακὴν χαρμονύτης ἡμέραν ἄγομεν διὰ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐν αὐτῇ.

^o Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. lib. v. c. xx. p. 328. Καὶ τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτοῦ πάσαν κυριακὴν τιμᾶν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πανηγυρίζειν, ἐκτιδήναι ἐν ταύτῃ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἡμῶν ἱερυτάμενος.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxviii. ad Lucinium Bæticum. Utinam omni tempore jejuna-
re possimus, quod in Actibus Apostolorum, diebus Pentecostes et die Dominico,
apostolum Paulum, et cum eo credentes fecisse legimus. (Venet. vol. i. p. 434, E.)

^q Celerin. Epist. xxi. apud Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682, p. 45.) Pro cujus factis ego
in lætitia Paschæ flens die et nocte, in cilicio et cinere lacrimabundus dies
exegi.

SECT. VI.—*And all Prayers offered in the Standing Posture on the Lord's-Day, in Memory of our Saviour's Resurrection.*

Another custom, as generally prevailing, was always to pray standing, and never kneeling, on the Lord's-day, in memory also of our Saviour's resurrection. And we scarce meet with any exception to this, except it were in the case of penitents under public discipline,^r whom the canons oblige to pray kneeling, even upon days of relaxation. But setting aside this case, which only respected the penitents in their own particular prayers, the general custom was for all the faithful or communicants to pray standing. For which we have the concurrent testimony of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, the Council of Nice, Hilary, Basil, Epiphanius, St. Jerom, St. Austin, Cassian, the author of the Questions under the name of Justin Martyr, Martin Bracarenis, the Council of Trullo, and the Council of Tours in the time of Charles the Great. All which testimonies I have had occasion to recite at large once before,^s and therefore spare the repetition of them in this place; only observing from the two last of them, that this custom was not only general, but of long continuance in the Church; and when or how it came to be altered or laid aside, I think is not very easy to determine.

SECT. VII.—*The great Care and Concern of the Primitive Christians in the Religious Observation of the Lord's-Day. This demonstrated, first, from their Constant Attendance upon all the Solemnities of Public Worship.*

The last thing to be noted in this matter, is the great care and concern of the Primitive Christians for the religious observation of the Lord's-day: of which they have left us several demonstrations: first, in that they paid a ready and constant attendance upon all the offices and solemnities of

^r Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxii. *Pœnitentes etiam diebus remissionis genua flectant.*

^s Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. iii.

public Divine worship. They did not only rest from bodily labour and secular business, but spent the day in such employments as were proper to set forth the glory of the Lord, to whose honour the day was devoted: that is, in holding religious assemblies for the celebration of the several parts of Divine service, psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, praying, and receiving the communion, all which were the constant service of this day: and such was the flaming zeal of those pious votaries, that nothing but sickness, or a great necessity, or imprisonment, or banishment, could detain them from it; and then also care was taken that the chief part of it, the communion, was administered to them by the hands of the deacons, who carried it to those that were sick or in prison, that, as far as was possible, they might communicate still with the public congregation. This is plain from the account which Justin Martyr gives of their worship,¹ “On the day called Sunday, all that live in city or country meet together, and the writings of the apostles and prophets are read to them, after which, the bishop or president of the assembly makes a discourse to the people, exhorting them to follow the good things they have heard: then we all rise, and make common prayer; and when prayers are ended, bread, and wine, and water are brought to the president, who prays and gives thanks with all possible fervency over them, the people answering, ‘Amen.’ After which, distribution of the elements is made to all that are present, and they are sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons.” By this account, it appears that all Christians joined, as far as was possible, in the public service of the Lord’s-day, and particularly in receiving the communion,

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λειτουργίᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μινόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνίλισις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκονται μίχρως ἡχοῦ ἢ ἰσακροῦ τοῦ παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προϊστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῶνται ἱκευτὰ ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν καὶ παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προϊστῶς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἰκευφῆμαί λίγων τὸ Ἀμήν. καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπονται.

from which the absent were not exempt, if there was any possibility of their receiving it.

SECT. VIII. — *Secondly, From their Zeal in frequenting Religious Assemblies even in Times of Persecution.*

Neither was it any pretence of danger, in times of difficulty and persecution, that could abate their zeal for the public worship on the Lord's-day. For when they could not meet by day to serve God, without hazard of their lives, they kept their nocturnal convocations, or morning-assemblies, for this purpose. Which is evident from the account which Pliny gives of them,^u "That they were used to meet before it was light on this solemn day, and sing their morning-hymns to Christ." So Tertullian,^v in answer to one asking how they should celebrate the Lord's-day solemnities for fear of the soldiers coming in to discover them? replies, first, "That they should do it as the apostles did, by faith, and not by bribing them. For if faith could remove mountains, it would much more easily remove a soldier out of the way. But if they could not meet by day, they had the night sufficiently clear, with the light of Christ, to protect them." The same author tells the heathen who maliciously objected to them the murdering of an infant in their assemblies,^w "That they were often beset, they were often betrayed, they were daily seized, in their meetings and congregations: but no one ever found them acting such a tragedy, no one ever made evidence of their being such bloody Cyclopes and Sirens before a judge." Nay, they were sometimes barbarously murdered in their assemblies, whilst the laws forbade their meetings under the name of *hetæriæ*, and denied them their

^u Plin. lib. x. Ep. xcvii. See chap. ii. sect. i. note (b), p. 14.

^v Tertul. de Fuga, c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 543.) Quomodo colligemus, quomodo Dominica sollempnia celebrabimus? Utique quomodo et apostoli; fide, non pecunia tuti; quæ fides si montem transferre potest, multo magis militem. . . . Si colligere interdum non potes, habes noctem, luce Christi luminosa adversus eam.

^w Ibid. Apolog. c. vii. (Paris. 1664, p. 8, A.) Quotidie obsidemur, quotidie prodimur: in ipsis plurimum cætibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur. Quis umquam taliter vagienti infanti supervenit? Quis cruenta, ut invenerat, Cyclopum et Sirenarum ora judici reservavit?

areæ, or 'places of worship,' as unlawful cabals, where they met only to plot treason and rebellion against the government. Under which pretence, Lactantius^x and Eusebius^y tell us, one of the heathen judges burnt a whole city of people in Phrygia, together with their church, where they were met together to worship God. And the laws forbidding their assemblies, are mentioned both by Pliny and the Christian writers.^z So that, in these times of difficulty, the Christians could not meet for Divine worship, but at the hazard of their lives; and yet they did not think this a sufficient excuse to forsake the assembling of themselves together, but met continually to solemnize the Lord's day, in spite of all danger and opposition to the contrary.

SECT. IX. — *Thirdly, From their Studious Observation of the Vigils, or Nocturnal Assemblies, preceding the Lord's-Day.*

A further instance of their zeal was shewn in the studious observation of the long vigils, or nocturnal assemblies preceding the Lord's-day. For though these were first begun in times of persecution, yet they continued them as a useful exercise of piety when the persecutions were over: and the greatest personages did not refuse to frequent and encourage them, as Sidonius Apollinarius particularly notes of Theodoric, king of the Goths,^a that he usually came with a small

^x Lactant. lib. v. c. xi. Aliqui ad occidendum præcípites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

^y Euseb. lib. viii. c. xi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 249.) "Ἦδη γοῦν ἔλην Χριστιανῶν πολὺν αὐτὰνδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύβελι περιβαλόντες ὀπλίται, πῦρτι ὑφάψαντες, κατίφλιξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξί, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβουμένους.

^z Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvi. . . . quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum, tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum laudata tua hetærias esse vetueram. — Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iii. (Paris. 1664, p. 70, A.) Doleamus necesse est, quod nulla civitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem. Sicut et sub Hilariano præside, quum de areis sepulchrorum nostrarum acclamassent, 'Areæ non sint;' areæ ipsorum non fuerunt: messes enim suas non egerunt, &c. — Euseb. lib. ii. c. ii. Πρῶτον μὲν εἰργαίει ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις συνόδου διὰ προφάσεως περιῶνται.

^a Sidon. lib. i. ep. ii. (Paris. 1609, p. 6.) Antelucanos sacerdotum sacrorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit: grandi sedulitate veneratur: quamquam (si

guard to the morning, or antelucan, assemblies of his party (for he was by sect an Arian) : which he did to promote the cause of the Arians, who commonly vied in zeal with the Catholics in this service. And this made the Catholics, both clergy and laity, princes and people, express a more earnest concern for the particular way of introducing the great service of the Lord's-day, as I have had occasion more fully to demonstrate in a former Book.^b All that I shall remark further here is, that though this morning-service was very long (for it commonly continued in psalmody, hymns, and prayers from midnight till break of day), yet it was generally attended with great alacrity and assiduity by men of all ranks, who voluntarily resorted to it without any necessity or compulsion laid upon them. And this was another instance of their great zeal in the religious observation of the Lord's-day.

SECT. X. — *Fourthly, From their Attendance upon Sermons in many Places twice on this Day.*

It is worth our remarking also, that in many places, especially in cities and churches of greater note, they had usually sermons twice on this day, and men resorted with diligence to the evening as well as the morning-sermon. St. Chrysostom^c sometimes commends the people of Antioch for their zeal in this matter. And there are several passages in St. Austin, St. Basil, Theodoret, and Gaudentius, which plainly refer to the same practice; of which I need say no more here, because I have more fully represented them, in discoursing of the ancient manner of preaching, in another place.^d

sermo secretus) possis animo advertere, quod servet istam pro consuetudine potius, quam pro religione reverentiam.

^b Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. and chap. x. sect. xi. xii.

^c Chrysostom. Hom. x. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 132, (p. 116, fin. edit. Francof.) See Book xiv. chap. iv. sect. viii. note (P).

^d Book xiv. chap. iv. sect. viii. vol. iv. p. 538.

SECT. XI. — *Fifthly, From their Attendance on Evening-Prayers, where there was no Sermon.*

In such churches as had no evening-sermon, there was still the common service of evening-prayer; and men generally thought themselves obliged to attend this as a necessary part of the public worship and solemnity of the Lord's-day. Some, indeed, in these primitive ages, had their objections against this, which St. Chrysostom, in one of his homilies,^e mentions, and smartly answers. "Why should we go to church," said they, "if we cannot hear a preacher?" "This one thing," says Chrysostom in his reply, "has ruined and destroyed all religion. For what need is there of a preacher, except when that necessity arises from our sloth and negligence? What need is there of a homily, when all things necessary are plainly revealed in Scripture? Such hearers as desire to have something new every day, only study to delight their ears and fancy. Tell me, what pompous train of words did St. Paul use? And yet he converted the world. What eloquent harangues did the illiterate Peter make? But the Scriptures are dark and hard to be understood, without a sermon to explain them. How so? Are they read in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange language? Are they not read in Greek to you that understand Greek? What difficulties do the histories contain? You may understand the plain places, and take some pains about the rest.

^e Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in 2 ad Thessal. p. 1502, (p. 381, edit. Francof.) Τί εἰσέρχομαι, φησιν, εἰ οὐκ ἀκούω τινὸς ὁμιλοῦντος; τοῦτο πάντα ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθιρε. τίς γὰρ χρεία ὁμιλητοῦ; ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας βιβυμίας αὕτη ἡ χρεία γίγνεται διὰ τὴν γὰρ ὁμιλίαν χρεία; πάντα σαφὴ καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἔχον· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τέρψινός ἐστιν ἀκροῦσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῦτα ζητοῦσι. Εἰπὶ γὰρ μοι, ποίῳ κόμῳ λόγου Παῦλος ἔλεγεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπίσχεψι· ποίῳ δὲ Πέτρος ὁ ἀγαμέμνων; ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' αὖ, φησι, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κείμενα διὰ τί [οὐκ οἶδας]; μὴ γὰρ Ἑβραϊστὶ; μὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖστι; μὴ γὰρ Ἑλληστίστι; εἰρηται; οὐχὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ λίγεται; ἀλλ' ἀσαφῶς, φησι· πῶς ἀσαφῶς, εἰπέ μοι; οὐχὶ ἱστορίαι εἰσι; τὰ γὰρ σαφῆ οἶδας, ἵνα περὶ τῶν ἀσαφῶν ἐρωτήσης; μυρία ἱστορίαι εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς· εἰπέ μοι μίαν ἐξ ἐκείνων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς· πρόσφατος ταῦτα καὶ λόγοι. Καθ' ἡμέραν, φησι, τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν ἀκούειν· τί δὲ, εἰπέ μοι, ἐν τοῖς διατέροις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀκούεις; ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐρεῖς; τὰ δὲ πρῶτα πάντα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἴσθιν; ὁ δὲ ἥλιος οὐχὶ αὐτὸς αἰὶ ἀναστὰς; τροφαῖς δὲ οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρώμεθα; . . . πάντοθεν βιβυμίας καὶ σπῆψιν τὰ ῥήματα.

Oh, but we have the same things read to us out of Scripture. And do you not hear the same things every day in the theatre? Have you not the same sight at the horse-race? Are not all things the same? Does not the same sun rise every morning? Do you not eat the same meat every day?" Hence he concludes, that all these were but pretences for idleness, or mere indications of a sceptical temper. So again, when some would have excused themselves from these prayers of the Church, by this frivolous plea, that they could pray at home, but they could not hear a sermon in their own houses; and therefore they would come to sermon, but not to prayers: he makes this handsome reply:^f "You deceive yourself, O man: for though you may pray at home, yet you cannot pray there in the same manner as you may in the church, where there are so many fathers together, and where the cry of your prayers is sent up to God with one consent. You are not heard so well, when you pray to God by yourself alone, as when you pray with your brethren. For there is something more here, consent of mind, and consent of voice, and the bond of charity, and the prayers of the priests together. For the priests, for this very reason, preside in the church, that the people's prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may, together with them, mount up to heaven." In another place, answering the same vulgar plea, that men could pray at home, he tells them,^g "You may pray at home indeed;

^f Chrysostom. Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 363, B. (p. 321, edit. Francof.) Εὐχασθαί φησι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας δύναμαι, ἐμιλίας δὲ ἀκούσαι καὶ διδασκαλίας οὐ δυνατόν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἀπατᾷς σαυτὸν, ἄνθρωπε· εὐχασθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας δυνατόν, οὕτω δὲ εὐχασθαι, ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδύνατον, ὅπου πατέρων πλῆθος τσαύτων, ὅπου βῆθ' πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπύμπνται. οὐχ οὕτως ἀκούη, κατὰ σαυτὸν τὸν δισπότην παρακαλῶν, ὥς μιτὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν σὺν ἱναῦθα γὰρ ἰστί τι πλῖον, οἷον ἡ ὁμόνοια καὶ συμφωνία, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδιςμος, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερέων εὐχαὶ διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱερεῖς προεστήκασιν, ἵνα καὶ αἱ τοῦ πλῆθους εὐχαὶ ἀσυνέστισται οὔσαι, τῶν δυνατωτέρων τοῦτων ἐπιλαβόμεναι, ὁμοῦ συναγέλωσιν αὐταῖς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

^g Ibid. Hom. ii. de Obscurit. Prophet. tom. iii. p. 946, (p. 821, edit. cit.) Δύνασαι μὲν εὐχασθαι [ἐν οἰκίᾳ] οὐ τσαύτην δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει ἡ εὐχή, ὥς ἔστιν μιτὰ τῶν μιλιῶν τῶν οἰκίῳ γίνηται, ὥς ὅταν ὁλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπύμπνη τὴν δόξην μιᾷ φωνῇ, ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ κοινῷ πλῆθους ἀναφέροντων.

but your prayers are not of that efficacy and power, as when the whole body of the Church, with one mind, and one voice, send up their prayers together; the priests assisting, and offering up the prayers of the whole multitude in common." This was the sense which that holy man had of public prayer on the Lord's-day, though there was no sermon; and the method he took to shew men their obligation to frequent the church for public prayer, which, when men had opportunity to frequent it, was always to be preferred before private devotion. They might both very well consist together, and both be performed as proper exercises for the Lord's-day: but the one was not to jostle out the other, or to be pleaded as a rational excuse for absenting from the public service. He that would see this matter more fully stated, may look back to the discourse of Church-unity,^h where men's obligation to preserve the unity of worship, in joining with the Church in prayers, and administration of the word and sacraments, has been amply considered.

SECT. XII. — *Sixthly, From the Censures inflicted on those who violated the Laws concerning the Religious Observation of the Lord's-Day.*

I shall but mention one instance more of their great zeal and concern for the religious observation of the Lord's day, and that is the Church's care in making many good laws of discipline, for the censure and punishment of those who, in any considerable degree, violated the just observation of it. If any one absented for three Lord's-days from the public assembly of the Church, without any just reason or necessity to compel him, this was an offence thought worthy of excommunication, as may be seen in the Canons of the Council of Eliberis,ⁱ and Sardica, and Trullo. If any one went to the public games in the theatre or the circus on this day, he was liable to excommunication also for

^h Book xvi. chap. i. sect. v.

ⁱ Conc. Illiber. c. xxi. Si quis in civitate positus tres Dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit, pauco (al. tanto) tempore abstineat, ut correptus esse videatur. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 973.)—Conc. Sardic. c. xi. *Μίμνησθι, κ. τ. λ.* See Book xvi. chap. i. sect. v. note (b).—Conc. Trul. c. lxxx. See *ibid.* note (c).

a single offence after a first admonition, as appears from the Councils of Carthage,¹ and the denunciations of St. Chrysostom. If any one left the church whilst the bishop was preaching, by a rule of the fourth Council of Carthage,² he was liable to the same condemnation and censure. If any one came to church to hear the Scriptures read and the sermon preached, but refused to join in prayers, or the reception of the communion, which in those times was administered to all in general every Lord's-day; he was to be excommunicated for his offence, and reduced to the state of a penitent; as one who brought confusion and disorder into the Church. This we learn from the Apostolical Canons,³ and the Councils of Antioch, Eliberis, and Toledo. If any one held a separate assembly, or frequented or encouraged any such, he was to be treated as a heretic or schismatic, for despising the service of the Lord's-day. The Apostolical Canons excommunicate all such;^m and the Council of Gangra lays the heaviest censure of anathema upon them.ⁿ If any one perversely chose to make the Lord's-day a day of fasting; because this was contrary to the general rule and practice of the Church, and gave suspicion of some heresy denying the resurrection of the Lord; the Apostolical Canons,^o and the Council of Gangra,^p and the fourth Council of Carthage,^q and the first of Braga,^r peremp-

¹ Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxviii. Qui die solemnī, prætermisso solemnī ecclesiæ conventu, ad spectacula vadit, excommunicatur. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1206.) — Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 53, (p. 45, edit. Francof.) See sect. iv. note (°).

² Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxiv. Sacerdote verbum faciente in ecclesia, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicatur. (ii. 1204.)

³ Can. Apost. c. vii. Conc. Antioch. c. ii. Conc. Illiber. c. xviii. See Bingham, vol. v. pp. 388–391. — Conc. Tolet. I. c. xiii. Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1225.

^m Can. Apost. c. xxxii. (Bingham, vol. v. p. 390.)

ⁿ Conc. Gangrens. c. v. Εἴ τις διδάσκει, τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκαταφρένησθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνάξεις, ἀνάθημα ἴστω. — Can. vi. Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ ἐκκλησιάζει, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰδίᾳ πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθημα ἴστω.

^o Can. Apost. c. lxxv. See sect. v. note (d), p. 38.

^p Conc. Gangrens. c. xviii. Ibid. note (°), p. 38.

^q Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxiv. Ibid. note (b), p. 38.

^r Conc. Bracar. I. c. iv. Ibid. note (°), p. 38.

torily denounce such a one excommunicate, and anathema, and no Catholic, as herding with the impious Manichees, Marcionites, and Priscillianists, and such other heretics, as purposely chose to fast on the Lord's-day, to shew despite to the doctrine of our Saviour's humanity and resurrection. I have discoursed these things at large, in giving an account of the unity and discipline of the Church in a former Book ;^a and therefore only just touch them here, to shew with what zeal and concern the ancients laboured to establish the observation of the Lord's-day, which they esteemed the queen and empress of all days, in which our life was raised again, and death conquered by our Lord and Saviour; as the author of the Epistle to the Magnesians, under the name of Ignatius, words it,^b who, in this, speaks the language of the ancients,^c who often style this day 'the queen of days;' as Buxtorf^w observes the rabbins were used to term the Jewish Sabbath *Malchah*, that is, 'the queen of days;' from whom the Christians took the name, and transferred it to the Lord's-day, which is the proper Christian Sabbath.

^a Book xvi. Bingham, vol. v. chap. i. sect. v.; and chap. viii. sect. iii.

^b Pseudo-Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. sect. ix. *Μιστὰ τὸ σαββατίζαι, ἱερταζίζω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδα, τὴν ὑπαρτον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν . . . ἡ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνίσταται, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γίγναι νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ.* (Cotelier. vol. ii. Amstel. p. 57.)

^c Nazianz. Orat. xliii. in Novam Dominicam. *Ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν ὡρῶν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν ἡμερῶν πομπεύει.* (Colon. 1690, vol. i. p. 703, B.)

^w Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. c. x. p. 246. Rabbini Sabbatum *מלכה*, *Malchah*, sive reginam nominarunt. Jam si quis vestes regales, ante reginam illam compariturus, non indueret; quales alias causa regum honorandorum quilibet induere soleret; per id regina talis dedecore magno adficeretur.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE OBSERVATION OF THE SABBATH OR SATURDAY AS
A WEEKLY FESTIVAL.SECT. I. — *The Saturday or Sabbath always observed in the
Eastern Church as a Festival.*

NEXT to the Lord's-day, the ancient Christians were very careful in the observation of Saturday, or the seventh day, which was the ancient Jewish Sabbath. Some observed it as a fast, others as a festival; but all unanimously agreed in keeping it as a more solemn day of religious worship and adoration. In the Eastern Church it was ever observed as a festival, one only Sabbath excepted, which was called 'the Great Sabbath,' between Good Friday and Easter-day, when our Saviour lay buried in the grave; upon which account it was kept as a fast throughout the whole Church. But, setting aside that one Sabbath, all the rest were kept as festivals in the Oriental Church. St. Austin, though he lived in a country where it was kept a fast, yet testifies for the contrary practice of the Eastern Church.^a For writing to St. Jerom, he asks him, Whether he thought an Oriental Christian, when he came to Rome, might not, without any dissimulation, fast on every Sabbath, as well as that one Sabbath called the Paschal vigil? "If we say it is a sin to fast on the Sabbath, we shall condemn not only the Roman Church, but many neighbouring Churches, and some at a greater distance, where that custom is kept and retained. But if we

^a Aug. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. p. 29, (p. 75, edit. Basil. 1569), (Antwerp. 1700, vol. ii. p. 147, A.) Vellem me doceret benigna Sinceritas tua, utrum simulate quisquam sanctus Orientalis, quum Romam venerit, jejundet Sabbato, excepto illo die Paschalis vigiliæ: quod si malum esse dixerimus, non solum Romanam ecclesiam, sed etiam multa ei vicina, et aliquanto remotiora damnabimus, ubi mos idem tenetur et manet. Si autem non jejungere sabbato malum putaverimus; tot ecclesias Orientis, et multo majorem orbis Christiani partem, qua temeritate criminabimur? Placetne tibi, ut medium quiddam esse dicamus, quod tamen acceptabile sit ei, qui hoc non simulate, sed congruenti societate atque observantia fecerit?

think it is a sin not to fast on the Sabbath, we shall rashly condemn all the Oriental Churches, and the greatest part of the Christian world. We should therefore rather say, it is a thing indifferent in itself, which a good man may perform either way without dissimulation, complying with the society and observation of the Church where he happens to be." From hence it is plain, that all the Oriental Churches, and the greatest part of the world, observed the Sabbath as a festival. And the Greek writers are unanimous in their testimony. The author of the Constitutions, who describes the customs chiefly of the Oriental Church, frequently speaks of it:^b "On the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, on which Christ rose from the dead, ye shall more carefully meet together, to praise God, who created all things by Jesus, to hear the Prophets and Gospel read, to offer the oblation, and partake of the holy supper." In another place, he says,^c "Christ commanded them to fast on the Sabbath before Easter: not that they were to fast on the Sabbath, on which God rested from the creation, but only on that one Sabbath when the Creator of the world lay under the earth." And again,^d "On every Sabbath except one, and the Lord's-day, ye shall hold festival assemblies. The Sabbath^e and the Lord's-day ye shall observe as festivals; because the one is a remem-

^b Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 300, B.) 'Εν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσει, τῇ κυριακῇ, σπουδαιότερως ἀπαντᾷ, αἶνοι ἀναπίμποντες τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰ ὅλα διὰ Ἰησοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔξαποστείλαντι καὶ συγχωρήσαντι παθεῖν, καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσαντι· ἵνα τί ἀπολογίσεται τῷ Θεῷ, ὁ μὴ συνερχόμενος ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀκούων τοῦ σωτηρίου περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγου; ἐν ᾗ καὶ τρεῖς ἑσθῶτες ἱππιτεύομεν, μετῆς χάριν τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάντος ἡμερῶν· ἐν ᾗ προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυξία, καὶ θυσίας ἀναφορὰ, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερᾶς δωρεά.

^c Ibid. lib. v. c. xiv. Παρηγγυεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς . . . αὐτὸ νησιῦσαι τὸ σάββατον, οὐχ ὅτι διὸ τὸ σάββατον νησιῦν, κατὰπαυσιν δημιουργίας ὑπάρχον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκείνο μόνον χρὴ νησιῦν, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτι ὑπὸ γῆν ὄντος. (P. 360.)

^d Ibid. c. xix. p. 372. Πᾶν μὲν τοι σάββατον, εἴη τοῦ ἰσθῆ, καὶ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν, ἱππιτεύοντες συνίδους, εὐφραίνεσθαι.

^e Ibid. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 426.) Τὸ σάββατον μὲν τοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἱορτάζειται, ὅτι τὸ μὲν, δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ, ἀναστάσεως· ἐν δὲ μόνον σάββατον ὡς φυλακτίον ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἡμερᾷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ταφῆς, ἔπει νησιῦν προσήκει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱορτάζειν· ἐν ὅσῃ γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ γῆν νυχθάνει, ἰσχυρότερον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πίνθος, τῆς κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν χαρᾶς· ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ δημιουργημάτων φύσει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ τιμιώτερος.

brance of the creation, and the other of the resurrection. But one Sabbath in the year, viz. that on which our Lord lay buried in the grave, ye shall keep as a fast and not a festival. For whilst the Creator lay under the earth, mourning was more becoming upon his account, than joy for the creation : because the Creator, in nature and dignity, is more honourable than all his creatures." Finally,^f he represents it as the order of the apostles Peter and Paul, that servants should work five days in the week, but on the Sabbath and the Lord's-day they should rest, that they might have liberty to go to church for instruction in piety ; on the Sabbath, in regard to the creation ; on the Lord's-day, in regard to the resurrection. Athanasius likewise tells us,^g that they held religious assemblies on the Sabbath, not because they were infected with Judaism, but to worship Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath. Epiphanius says the same,^h that it was a day of public assembly in many Churches, meaning the Oriental Churches, where it was kept a festival.

SECT. II.—*Observed with the same Religious Solemnities as the Lord's-Day.*

Other authors are more particular in describing the religious service of this day : and, so far as concerns public worship, they make it in all things conformable to that of the Lord's-day : which is a further evidence of its being a festival. They tell us, they had not only the Scriptures read, as on the Lord's-day, and sermons preached, but the communion administered also. Which is expressly said by

^f Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (vol. i. p. 497.) 'Εγὼ Πίτρος, καὶ ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἀποστόλοις· ἐργαζίσθωσαν οἱ δοῦλοι πίστει ἡμῶν· σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολαζίσωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπίας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον εἴπομεν, δημιουργίας λόγον ἔχον· τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν ἀναστάσεως.

^g Athanas. Hom. de Semente (Colon. 1686), tom. i. p. 1060, (tom. ii. p. 60, edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Εν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτου συνήχθημεν, οὐ νοσοῦντες Ἰουδαϊσμόν· οὐ γὰρ ἱερατεμὶδα σάββατον ψευδῶν παραγιγόναμεν· δι' ἐν σαββάτῳ, τὸν Κύριον τοῦ σαββάτου Ἰησοῦν προσκυνήσομεν.

^h Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. sect. xxiv. tom. i. p. 1107. "Εν τισὶ δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν συνάξεις ἐπισιτοῦσιν.

Socrates,ⁱ and Cassian,^k and St. Basil,^l and Timothy of Alexandria,^m and St. Austin,ⁿ and the Council of Laodicea;^o which Council particularly forbids the offering of the eucharistical oblation; or solemnizing any memorials of martyrs on any other days in Lent, beside the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, because all other days were days of fasting; but these, even in Lent, were kept as festivals and days of relaxation. I have once before had occasion to produce the testimonies of these several writers at large;^p and therefore it is sufficient here to make a short reference to them, to shew the ancient manner of keeping the Sabbath festival in the Oriental Church.

SECT. III. — *But, in some other Respects, the Preference was given to the Lord's-Day.*

Only here we are to observe, that though the substance of the service for the Sabbath and the Lord's-day was the same, yet in rites and ceremonies a difference was made; and, in some other respects, the preference was given to the Lord's-day above the Sabbath. For, first, we find no ecclesiastical laws obliging men to pray standing on the Sabbath. For that was a ceremony peculiar to the Lord's-day, in memory of our Saviour's resurrection. Nor, secondly,

ⁱ Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Vales. p. 231), lib. vi. c. viii. p. 255.

^k Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ii. (Paris. 1609, p. 30.)

^l Basil. Ep. cclxxxix.

^m Timoth. c. xiii.

ⁿ Aug. Ep. cxviii. (vol. ii. p. 93.)

^o Conc. Laodic. c. xlv. et ci. — Cassian. Institut. lib. v. c. xxvi. Vidimus alium in solitudine commorantem, qui numquam se sibi soli indulsisse cibum testatus est, sed etiam si per totos quinque dies ad ejus cellulam nullus e fratribus advenisset, refectionem jugiter distulisse, donec Sabbato vel Dominico die devotæ congregationis obtentu procedens ad ecclesiam, peregrinorum quempiam reperisset, quem exinde reducens ad cellulam, consorte eo refectionem corporis . . . adsumeret. (Paris. 1609, p. 95.) — Aster. Amasen. Hom. v. ap. Combesis. Auctar. tom. i. p. 78. Καλὴ συνῆξις τῶν δύο τούτων ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶς καὶ φιλοπῶνις τυγχάνει, τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ τῆς κυριακῆς λέγω, ἣν καὶ ἐκείνην ἰσομάδα ὁ χρεὶνος ἀνακυκλῶν περιφέρει ὡς γὰρ μητίεις ἢ τροφεὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀθροίζουν, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς παιδευτὰς προκαθίζουσι· δημαγωγῶσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους εἰς τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρίαν.

^p Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iii. (Bingham, vol. iv. p. 354.)

are there any imperial laws forbidding lawsuits and pleadings on this day. Nor, thirdly, any laws prohibiting the public shows and games, as on the Lord's-day. Nor, fourthly, any laws obliging men to abstain wholly from bodily labour. But, on the contrary, the Council of Laodicea⁹ has a canon forbidding Christians to Judaize, or rest on the Sabbath, any further than was necessary for public worship: but they were to honour the Lord's-day, and rest on it as Christians. And if any were found to Judaize, an anathema is pronounced against them. The like direction is given by the author of the Epistle to the Magnesians, in conformity to this rule,^r "Let us not keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, rejoicing in idleness: 'For he that will not work, neither let him eat: and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread,' say the Divine oracles: but let every one of you keep the Sabbath spiritually, rejoicing in the meditation of the law, not in the rest of the body; admiring the workmanship of God, not eating things dressed the day before, nor drinking lukewarm drink, nor walking within a certain space, the limits of a Sabbath-day's journey, nor taking pleasure in dancing and shouting, which things have no sense or reason in them." Here are several superstitions and vanities in the Jewish observation of the Sabbath reflected on by this author; but I only note the opposition he makes between the Christian and Jewish way of observing the Sabbath in point of working. The Jews abstained wholly from working on the Sabbath; the Christians only so far as was necessary for their attendance upon Divine service in the church. And in this sense, I think, we are to understand the author of the Constitutions, when he says,^s "Let servants work five days in the week; but on the Sabbath and the Lord's-day let them rest in the Church for

⁹ Conc. Laodic. c. xxix. See chap. ii. sect. iii. note (*), p. 29.

^r Pseudo-Ignat. ad Magnes. n. ix. Μηκίτι οὖν σαββατίζομεν Ἰουδαϊκῶς, καὶ ἀργίας χαίροντες· ἡ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ, μὴ ἰσθίτω· ἐν ἰδρώτι γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου σου φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σου, φασὶ τὰ λόγια· ἀλλ' ἵκαστος ὑμῶν σαββατίζειτω πνευματικῶς, μιλήσῃ νόμου χαίρων, οὐ σώματος ἀνίστι, δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐκ ἰῶλα ἰσθίων, καὶ χλιαρὰ πίνων, καὶ μιμητημίμια βαδίζων, καὶ ἀρχήσι καὶ κρότοις νῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων. (Cotel. p. 57.)

^s Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. See sect. i. note (*).

their instruction in piety." But if any think with Cotelierius, that he extends the rest of the Sabbath as far as that of the Lord's-day, because he joins them both together; I will not contend about it, but only say, he then contradicts the Laodicean fathers, who plainly forbid a total rest upon the Sabbath, to give some preference, in this respect, to the Lord's-day, which was of greater esteem in the Christian Church.

SECT. IV.—*Why the Ancient Church continued the Observation of the Jewish Sabbath.*

If it be inquired, why the ancient Church continued the observation of the Jewish Sabbath, when they took it to be only a temporary institution given to the Jews only, as circumcision, and other typical rites of the law (which is expressly said by many of the ancient writers, particularly by Justin Martyr,[†] Irenæus,[‡] Tertullian,[§] Eusebius,[¶] to name no more); it is answered by learned men,[‡] that it was to comply with the Jewish converts, as they did in the use of many other indifferent things, so long as no doctrinal necessity was laid upon them: "For the Jews being generally the first converts to the Christian faith, they still retained a mighty reverence for the Mosaic institutions, and especially for the Sabbath, as that which had been appointed by God himself, as the memorial of his rest from the work of creation, settled by their great master Moses, and celebrated by their ancestors for so many ages, as the solemn day of their public worship, and were therefore very loth it should be

[†] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 245, 246, tot. et passim.

[‡] Iren. lib. iv. c. xxx. Quia non per hæc justificabatur homo, sed in signo data sunt populo, ostendit, quod ipse Abraham circumcisione et sine observatione Sabbatorum creditur Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam et amicus Dei vocatus est.

[§] Tertul. cont. Jud. c. iv. (Paris. 1664, p. 186.) Sequitur, ut quatenus circumcisionis carnalis, et legis veteris abolitio expuncta suis temporibus demonstratur, ita Sabbati quoque observatio temporaria fuisse demonstretur.

[¶] Euseb. lib. i. c. iv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 11, C.) Οὐτε σώματος αὐτοῖς περιτομῆς ἵμιλλιν, ὅτι μὴ δι' ἡμῖν· οὐ σαββάτων ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅτι μὴ δι' ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τοιῶνδε τροφῶν παραφυλακῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, ὅσα τοῖς μετέπειτα πρώτοις ἀπάντων Μαῦσῆς ἀρχάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τιλιῖσθαι παραδίδωκεν, ὅτι μὴ δι' ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ταιῦτα.

[‡] Cave's Primitive Christianity, book i. chap. vii. p. 174.

wholly antiquated and laid aside. For this reason it seemed good to the prudence of those times, as in other of the Jewish rites, so in this, to indulge the humour of that people, and to keep the Sabbath as a day for religious offices, viz. public prayers, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, celebration of the sacraments, and suchlike duties." But when any one pretended to carry the observation of it further, either by introducing a doctrinal necessity, or pressing the observation of it precisely after the Jewish manner, they resolutely opposed it, as introducing Judaism into the Christian religion. For this reason the Ebionites were condemned for joining the observation of the Sabbath,^a according to the law of the Jews, with the observation of the Lord's-day, after the manner of Christians. Against such the Council of Laodicea pronounces anathema;^b that is, such as taught the necessity of keeping the Sabbath a perfect rest with the Jews. And in this sense we are to understand what Gregory the Great says,^c "That Antichrist will renew the observation of the Sabbath." He must needs mean the observation of it after the Jewish manner, since, in the Christian way, it was observed as well by the Latin Church as the Greek; only with this difference, that the Latins kept it a fast, and the Greeks a festival.

SECT. V. — *Why it was kept as a Festival in the Oriental Church.*

If it be inquired, what was the occasion of this difference, why the Greek Church observed it as a festival, and the Latin as a fast; I answer, the Greek Church received it as they found it delivered to them by the Jews, among whom it was always a festival. But, besides this, there was another reason inclining them to do it: for Marcion, the heretic, made it a part of his heresy to fast on the Sabbath, in opposition to the God of the Jews, pretending that there was

^a Theodoret. de Fabul. Hæret. lib. ii. c. i. (Schulze, 1772, vol. iv. p. 328.) Τὸ μὴ εἰσέλασθαι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊστικὸν νόμον, τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν καθιεροῦσι παραπλησίως ἡμῖν.

^b Conc. Laodic. c. xxix. See chap. ii. sect. iii. note (*), p. 29.

^c Gregor. lib. xi. ep. iii.

another God to be worshipped beside the Creator of the world, who was the God of the Jews; and, therefore, he appointed the Sabbath to be kept a fast, that he might not seem to comply with the rites of the God of the Jews, who rested from his work of creation on the Sabbath, or seventh day. This is expressly said by Epiphanius:^d “Marcion, for this reason, fasted on the Sabbath; for,” said he, “since that day is the rest of the God of the Jews, who made the world, and rested on the Sabbath-day; we therefore fast on that day, that we may not do any thing in compliance with the God of the Jews.” Now this made the Catholics more zealous to keep the Sabbath a festival, that they might not seem to give any countenance to the wicked blasphemy and impiety of Marcion, or anyways reflect upon the God of the Old Testament, whom they owned and honoured as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which Marcion did not: since he, in spite to the true God, made the Sabbath a fast, they thought it proper to keep it a festival, as it had always been from its first institution. And in opposition to his heresy, soon after it began to spread, a canon was made in the Church, which now we have among those called the Apostolical Canons,^e that if any clergyman was found to fast on the Lord’s-day, or on the Sabbath, one only excepted, he should be deposed; or, if he was a layman, be cast out of the communion of the Church. After Marcion there arose many other sects, who followed him in this particular singularity of keeping the Sabbath as a fast, though they did not all agree in the same reasons for doing it. The Eustathians did it for the exercise of an ascetic life, and the Massalians, or Euchites, on the same pretence; yet the Church would not allow them in their practice. The Marcianists, who were a distinct sect from the Marcionites, for they were so called from one Marcianus Trapezita, in the time of Justinian, kept the Sabbath also a fast. So did also

^d Epiph. Hæres. xlii. sect. iii. (Paris. 1622, vol. i. p. 304, B.) Τὸ δὲ εὐχέλαιον νηστίου, διὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐκτελεῖται, φησὶ, τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔστιν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ πτωχευμένου τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναπαυσάμενός, ἡμῖς νηστίζομεν ταύτην, ἵνα μὴ τὸ καθήκον τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐργαζώμεθα.

^e Can. Apost. lxx. See chap. ii. sect. v. note (^d), p. 38.

the Sabbatians, Lampetians, Choreutæ, and Adelphians, who are condemned by Maximus,^f and Anastasius,^g and Timotheus of Constantinople,^h and Nicephorus Patriarcha;ⁱ whose testimonies, collected and corrected out of manuscripts, the curious reader may find at large in Cotelierius^k and Combefis.^l I only observe, that the Council of Trullo, which was held an. 692, or 707, censures the Roman Church itself for fasting on this day, and orders them to correct their practice. The words of the canon are remarkable:—"Forasmuch as we understand, that in the city of Rome the Sabbath in Lent is kept as a fast, contrary to the rule and custom of the Church, it seemed good to the holy synod, that in the Roman Church also the ancient canon should be revived and enforced, which says, 'If any clergyman be found to fast on the Lord's-day, or on the Sabbath, one only excepted, let him be deposed; if a layman, let him be excommunicated.'" From whence we may observe, that this custom of celebrating the Sabbath as a festival, was constantly and inviolably maintained in the Greek Church without any variation.

^f Maxim. in Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarchia, c. vi. *Σημύσαις κατὰ Λαμπητιανῶν, ἡνὶ Μισσαλιανῶν ἢ Ἀδελφιαῶν, ταῦτ' ἐν δὲ εἰσιῖν Μαρκανιστῶν, κ. τ. λ.*

^g Anastas. quæst. lxiiv. *Ὡς καὶ τινες πάλιν ηἰστούουσι τισσαρακοστὴν ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν ληγομένων Εὐσταθιανῶν, καὶ Μαρκανιστῶν, καὶ Λαμπητιανῶν, καὶ Μισσαλιανῶν, τῶν ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ ποτὶ ἀναφίντων.*

^h Timoth. de iis qui ad fidem Catholicam accedunt. *Μαρκανιστοὶ, οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκανοῦ τοῦ τραπιζίτου, καὶ Μισσαλιανοὶ, καὶ Εὐσυχῖται [potius Εὐχῖται] καὶ Ἐνούσιαι, καὶ Χοριυταὶ, καὶ Λαμπητιανοὶ, καὶ Ἀδελφιανοὶ, καὶ Εὐσταθιανοὶ.*—Ita in apparatu Posseвинi. Exemplari autem regio 2336 aliter. — Vid. Cotelier. ad Constitut. lib. v. c. xv. p. 322.

ⁱ Niceph. Antirrhetic. *Ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς Τιμοθίου περιστυρίου τῆς κατὰ Μαρκανιστῶν, ἥτοι Ἀσιθάων καθ' ὃν ἠγωνισατο Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Φλαβιανός, καὶ Θιδότος Ἀντιοχείας, κ. τ. λ.* (Cotel. p. 323.)

^k Cotelier. in Constitut. lib. v. c. xv.

^l Combefis. Histor. Monothelit. p. 461.

^m Conc. Trul. c. lv. al. lvi. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1167.) *Ἐπειδὴ μεταβήκαμεν, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τισσαρακοστῆς ηἰστιάταις τοῖς ταύτης σαββάσι ηἰστούμεν, παρὰ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ἴδομεν τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ὅστις κρατῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρσαλεύτως τὸν κανόνα τὸν λήγοντα· Ἐὰν τις κληρικὸς εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ κυριακῇ ηἰστούων ἢ τὸ σαββατοῦ, πλὴν τοῦ ἱνὸς καὶ μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθαι εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριεῖσθαι.*

SECT. VI. — *And why a Fast in the Roman, and some other of the Latin Churches.*

And there are some learned men of the Roman communion, who think it was so originally in the Latin Church also. Albaspinæus is so clearly of this opinion,ⁿ that he thinks the Church of Rome herself at first observed the Sabbath as a festival. And it appears plainly from Tertullian, who, writing against the orthodox in favour of the Montanists, says expressly, that both the Catholics and the Montanists excepted the Sabbath out of their fasts. “The Catholics,” he says,^o “kept no Sabbath a fast, except the great Sabbath before Easter: and the Montanists, who observed twice in the year two weeks of *xerophagiæ*, or ‘fasts upon dry meats only,’^p yet never fasted in them either on the Sabbath or the Lord’s-day.” So that it is next to impossible that the Sabbath should have been a fast in the Roman Church at this time, and yet not have been discerned by so acute a man as Tertullian, when it was so much for his cause in this dispute to have taken notice of it. However it is certain, that not long after in the Roman, and some other of the Latin Churches, a change was made; but, then, the very manner of the change sufficiently discovers the novelty of it. The Council of Eliberis,^q which first introduced the Saturday fast into Spain, plainly intimates that it was not observed there before, till they first intro-

ⁿ Albaspin. Observat. lib. i. c. xiii. Quod ad Sabbata attinet, Græci et Orientales eandem pene rationem sequuti sunt. Nam ut ex antiquioribus auctoribus, constat, festa celebritate colebatur, jejuniumque interdicebatur. Latinorum autem varius in ea re usus fuit. Ea enim alias perinde ac Græci celebrarunt, sed sensim inductus est mos, ut jejunaretur, tristicæ dies haberentur.

^o Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 532, C.) Et jejunii Parasceuem? quamquam vos etiam Sabbatum, si quando continuatis, numquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum, secundum rationem alibi redditam, &c.

^p Ibid. c. xv. (ibid. p. 532.) Duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo; &c.

^q Conc. Illiber. c. xxvi. Errorem placuit corrigi, ut omni Sabbati die [jejuniorum] superpositiones celebremus. — Albaspin. in loc. ‘Superpositiones,’ id est, imponere jejunia, quæ solita non essent observari. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 995.) — Conc. Agath. c. xii. Placuit, ut omnes ecclesiæ filii, exceptis diebus Dominicis, in quadragesima, etiam die Sabbato, sacerdotali ordinatione, et districtiois comminatione jejunent. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1385.)

duced it, and that, most probably, from the example of the Roman Church, where it had been settled a little before. St. Austin long after this observes,^r that only the Roman, and some of the Western Churches, not all of them, kept the Sabbath a fast; and he notes more particularly,^s in Afric, how they were divided in their practice: for in the Churches of the same province, and sometimes among the people of the same Church, it was very common for some to dine, and some to fast, on the Sabbath. But at Milan, which was a much nearer neighbour to Rome, the ancient custom still continued of keeping Saturday always a festival. So that even in Lent, as St. Ambrose himself assures us,^t not only the Lord's-day, but every Sabbath, except the great Sabbath before Easter, were observed as festivals, and days of relaxation: and for this reason, as the author of his Life tells us, he was used to dine upon Saturday as well as the Lord's-day. Which is often noted also by St. Austin,^u in answering a scruple, which perplexed his mother Monnica, and some others, concerning the observation of this day, when they could not well account for the different practices of different Churches, some of which kept it as a fast, and others as a festival. To satisfy their doubts, he told them, that in all things of this nature, where the Scripture had determined nothing positively one way or other, the custom of the people of God, and the rules of our forefathers, were to be taken for a law: and to dispute about such things, and condemn the practice of one Church from the contrary custom of another, was to raise endless debates, and lose charity in the heat of contention. He added, "That for

^r Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. (p. 392, edit. Basil. 1569), (Antwerp. 1700, vol. ii. p. 61, D.) Hinc exorta est ista in reginæ illius veste varietas, ut alii, sicut maxime populi Orientis, propter requiem significandam mallent relaxare jejunium: alii propter humilitatem mortis Domini jejunare, sicut Romana et nonnullæ Occidentis ecclesiæ.

^s Ibid. p. 149, (p. 393, edit. Basil.) Contingit maxime in Africa, ut una ecclesia vel unius regionis ecclesiæ, alios habeant Sabbato prandentes, alios jejunantes. (P. 62, A.)

^t Ambros. de Elia et Jejunio, c. x. Quadragesima totis præter Sabbatum et Dominicam jejunatur diebus.

^u Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. (p. 393, a. b. edit. Basil. 1569.)—(Bened. vol. ii. p. 61, F.)—Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. (p. 557, a. b. edit. cit.)

the sake of his mother Monnica he once went to consult St. Ambrose upon this particular question; who told him, he could give no better advice in the case than to do as he himself did: 'For when I go to Rome,' said he, 'I fast on the Saturday, as they do at Rome; when I am here, I do not fast. So likewise you, whatever Church you come to, observe the custom of the place, if you would neither give offence to others, nor take offence from them.' With this answer," he says, "he satisfied his mother, and ever after looked upon it as an oracle sent from heaven." Nothing can be plainer now, than that the Saturday fast was not received in all the Churches of the West, since even at Milan it always continued to be a festival. And even those Churches, which turned it into a fast, could not agree about the reason and original of it. Some said it was instituted by St. Peter at Rome, upon a particular occasion: for when he was to contend with Simon Magus on the Lord's-day,* for the danger of the great temptation he held a fast with the Church at Rome the day before; and having obtained a prosperous and glorious success thereby, he continued the same custom, and some of the Western Churches followed his example. But many among the Romans themselves rejected this as a mere fiction, even in St. Austin's time, though others continued still in the belief of it, as appears from what is said in Cassian,† and some later writers, about

* Aug. Epist. lxxvi. ad Casulan. p. 146, (p. 386, edit. Basil. 1569.) Est quidem et hæc opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam esse falsam perhibeant plerique Romani, quod apostolus Petrus, cum Simone Mago die Dominico certaturus, propter ipsum magnæ tentationis periculum, pridie cum ejusdem urbis ecclesiæ jejunaverit, et consequto tam prospero gloriosoque successu, eundem morem tenuerit, eumque imitatur sint nonnullæ Occidentis ecclesiæ. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 58.)

† Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. x. (p. 46.) Cujus moderaminis causam nonnulli in quibusdam Occidentalibus civitatibus ignorantes, et maxime in Urbe, idcirco putant absolutionem Sabbati minime debere præsumi, quod apostolum Petrum in eodem die contra Simonem confictaturum adserunt jejunasse, &c.—Anonymus de Francis et reliquis Latinis ap. Combesii. Histor. Monothelitar. p. 429. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ηστυίουσι τὰ σάββατα, οἵτινες Σαββατιανοὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ ἐρωτῶμενοι, διὰ τί ταύτην ηστυίουσι, προσφασίζονται, ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ ἡμίση ἔβριψι [ὁ Σίμων Πίστερ] τὸν Σίμονα Μάγον, ὃς καὶ συντριβίς διήρῳα καὶ τοῦτου χάριν ηστυίουσι τὰ σάββατα· ψεύδονται δὲ ἀπὸ γὰρ τινος Σαββατίου, τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῇ ἀκρίσει τοῦ Μάνντος ὑπαρχοῦς, ἐξίμισι καὶ αὐτοῖς βλασφημίας ῥήματα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐκ τῶν προγραφιστῶν αἰρίσεων ἐκέρυξιν ὁ ἄθλιος· ὅστις ἐπαινίθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀλιμάνων,

this fast in the Roman Church. Pope Innocent gives another reason for it,* “Because on this day our Saviour lay buried in the grave, and the apostles were in deep sorrow for their master, and hid themselves for fear of the Jews.” Which is the usual reason now assigned by the learned writers of the present Roman Church, Baronius, Bellarmine,^a Combefis,^b and others. Yet this was only a conjecture of Pope Innocent, which may serve for a reason why the Roman Church might turn the Saturday into a fast before his time, but does not prove that to have been the original practice. Socrates makes the Roman Church to vary once more in this matter:^c for, he says, in his time they did not fast on Saturdays at Rome, even in Lent, but only five days in the week. And Valesius and Menardus go further,^d and assert, that in the time of Pope Leo they kept but three days in the week

καὶ Ἀφρικανῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰσπανίων οἰκούντων, καὶ πολλῶν διατόντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τελευτῶντος δι' αὐτοῦ, διατάξατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, νηστύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ εἰκόβητα, διότι Σαββάτιος κέκληται καὶ ἐκ τῆς τριαύτης νηστίας μνήμην αὐτοῦ ποιῶντες, μέμνηται καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ.

* Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decentium, c. iv. Si sexta feria propter passionem Domini jejunamus, Sabbatum prætermittere non debemus, quod inter tristitiam atque lætitiā temporis illius (Paschatis) videtur inclusum. Nam utique constat, apostolos biduo isto in mœreore fuisse, et propter metum Judæorum se occuluisse. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1246.)

^a Baron. ad an. 57. n. c. xvii. tot. — Bellarm. lib. ii. de Bonis Oper. c. xviii. (tom. iv. p. 469, edit. Colon. 1615.) Romana ecclesia et Occidens universus . . . jejunit Sabbato . . . in memoriam humilitatis Domini, qui die Sabbati jacuit mortuus et clausus in sepulchro.

^b Combefis. Histor. Monothelit. p. 431. Probabilior videtur (ratio) quam Humbertus ex sancto Silvestro refert, ut Latini in memoriam sepulturæ Dominicæ ac luctus discipulorum Domini Sabbatis omnibus jejunent.

^c Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. Οἱ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἑβδομάδας, πλὴν αὐτῆς τοῦ καὶ κυριακῆς, συντημῆνας νηστύουσιν. (Vales, p. 234, C.)

^d Vales. in loc. (p. 55.) Immerito Baronius Socrati opponit testimonium Gregorii Magni. Aliter enim Socratis ætate, aliter Gregorii Magni temporibus, Romani per Quadragesimam jejunabant. Temporibus Leonis Papæ, quibus fere æqualis fuit Socrates, Romani tribus duntaxat diebus hebdomadis jejunabant in Quadragesima, secunda scilicet, quarta et sexta feria, ut patet ex sermonibus ejusdem Papæ de Quadragesima. — Menard. in Sacrament. Gregorii, apud Pagium, p. 43, edit. Antwerp. 1705. Hugo Menardus Sacramentarium S. Gregorii commentans, istam explicationem merito rejicit, ostenditque quatuor illos dies Gregorii ipsius ætate in usu non fuisse, nedum Leonis temporibus. In eam autem it ipse sententiam, non plures revera dies Romæ tunc temporis jejunio fuisse consecratos, quam qui in sermone a B. Leone designantur.

fasting in Lent at Rome: for which they allege the words of Pope Leo himself, in one of his Lent Sermons: "On the second, and fourth, and sixth days of the week, that is, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, let us fast: and on the Sabbath celebrate our vigil at St. Peter's Church." But since Mr. Quesnel^f and Pagi^g have shewn this passage to be foisted into Leo's Sermon by some later hand, from the authority of several manuscripts that want it; and since it is possible Socrates, being a Greek writer, might sometimes mistake the Roman customs, we will charge the Romans with no more alterations in this matter, because the Council of Trullo,^h and all the modern Greeks, rather accuse them for keeping Saturday a fast, when all other Churches kept it a festival. It is sufficient to have shewn, that both the Greek and Latin Church originally agreed in the same practice, observing the Sabbath, together with the Lord's-day, as weekly festivals, and that even in Lent, the great Sabbath before Easter only excepted.

* Leo, Sermon. iv. de Quadragesima. Secunda, et quarta, et sexta feria jejuniemus: Sabbato autem apud B. Petrum apostolum vigilias celebremus.

^f Quesnell. Dissertat. vi. de Jejuniis Sabbati, &c.

^g Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 55, n. ii. (n. viii. p. 43, edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Ait vir eruditissimus (Quesnellus) Leonis non esse verba illa, quæ obijciuntur, sed sermoni ejus esse superaddita, occasione ac ratione mox explicanda. Nam penes antiquiores et melioris notæ codices arbitrium est et jus et norma de dubiis veterum scriptorum fœtibus, aut interpolationibus decernendi, et in quinque vetustissimis MSS., uno nempe regio, duobus Thuaneis, Navarrico et San-Germanensi, verba illa absunt, totusque ille pannus a nobis descriptus desideratur. Eum itaque insititum esse non dubitandum. Norunt omnes in more fuisse apud monachos et clericos, homilias sermonesque SS. Patrum suis usibus aptare, atque aliqua addere, quæ propriæ sollemnitati convenirent. Quare arbitratu Quesnellus simile quid contigisse huic Sermoni iv. de Quadragesima; ab ea scilicet ad aliud jejunium translatum esse: atque ut pro more Leonis, et pro loci etiam consuetudine, feriarum quæ istis jejuniis deputatæ erant, sollemnis inter Officia fieret indictio, concinnata est præfata formula, quam bona fide transcripserunt ex libris Lectionariis, qui de S. Leonis sermonibus in unum corpus colligendis et publicæ luci dandis primi cogitaverunt. Testis enim est Gregorius Turonensis, (lib. x. c. xxxi.) Perpetuum illius urbis episcopum, qui Leonis æqualis erat, aut suppar, terna in septimana jejunia instituisse a Martini depositione usque ad natale Domini, quod postea in Concilio Matisconensi primo (L. 5, 968), his verbis confirmatum, 'Ut a feria Sancti Martini usque ad natale Domini, secunda, [quarta], et sexta Sabbati jejunetur, et sacrificia quadragesimali debeant ordine celebrari.' Hinc sumta illa verba, in quibus explicandis ante Quesnellum frustra sudatum est.

^h Conc. Trul. c. lv. See sect. v. note (m), p. 59.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE FESTIVAL OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY AND EPIPHANY.

SECT. I.—*The Nativity of Christ, anciently by some, said to be in May.*

HITHERTO we have considered the weekly festivals of the ancient Church, and now we are to speak of those that were annual, or only celebrated once a-year, such as the festivals of our Saviour's Nativity and Epiphany, and Easter, and Pentecost, and Ascension, and the anniversary commemorations of the apostles and martyrs. The nativity of our Saviour was not anciently fixed to the same day by all Churches, though Baronius^a and other writers commonly assert, that both in the Greek and Latin Churches it was always observed on the twenty-fifth of December: which is a very great mistake in those learned men. For, not to mention what Clemens Alexandrinus says of the Basilidian heretics,^b that they asserted, that Christ was born on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of the month, which the Egyptians call Pharmuthi, that is, April; he says a more remarkable thing of some others,^c who were more curious about the year and the day of Christ's nativity, which they said was in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus Cæsar, and the twenty-fifth day of the month Pachon; which, though Pamelius artfully calls December, to serve the common hypothesis,^d and impose upon his reader, yet nothing is more certain than it

^a Baron. Appar. n. cxxi. Tam Latinorum quam Græcorum ecclesiæ pari consensione in eam conveniunt sententiam, ut Redemptor noster sit natus vigesima quinta mensis Decembris. (Antwerp. 1612, vol. i. p. 39.)

^b Clement. Stromat. i. Oxon. 1715, p. 408. Ναὶ μὴν τινὲς αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γαγενῆσθαι καὶ, ἢ καί.

^c Ibid. p. 407, 18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενίσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστίθενται.

^d Pamel. Not. in Tertul. cont. Judæos, c. viii. n. 78. Deinde addit (Clemens) aliorum sententiam, qui subtilius (inquit) natali Domini non solum annum sed et diem addunt, quem dicunt xxix. anno Augusti (sic enim legendum pro eo, quod mendose iterum est xxviii.) in xxv. mensis Pachon (quem nos Decembrem dicimus) natum.

signifies the month of May,* as Mr. Basnage has at large demonstrated out of Epiphanius and Theophilus Alexandrinus, who usually follow the Egyptian Calendar, where Pachon answers to our May; as every one knows, who has any understanding in the several styles, by which the ancient writers made their chronological computations.

SECT. II.—*By others fixed to the Day of Epiphany, or sixth of January.*

But what is more considerable in this matter is, that the greatest part of the Eastern Church, for three or four of the first ages, kept the feast of Christ's Nativity on the same day, which is now called Epiphany, or the sixth of January, which denotes Christ's manifestation to the world in four several respects, which at first were all commemorated upon this day, viz.: 1. By his nativity or incarnation, which was the appearance of God manifested in the flesh. 2. By the appearance of the star, which guided the Wise men unto Christ at his birth, and was the Epiphany, or 'manifestation of him to the Gentiles.' 3. By the glorious appearance that was made at his baptism, when the heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, like a dove, and lighted upon him, and a voice came from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well

* Basnag. Critic. in Baron. pp. 216–224. Ecclesiæ suæ disciplina imbutus, Pamelius Ægyptium Pachon Decembri vindicat notis in Tertullianum: 'Pachon quem nos Decembrem dicimus,' n. 78, advers. Judæos. Quo concessio admirabili consensu Latinorum sententia cum Ægyptiorum opinione conspiraret. Sed Pamelius maxime fallitur: constat enim ab edito Christo sic menses esse dirigendos.

<i>Ægypt.</i>	<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Syro-Græco ex Epiphanio.</i>
Tybi	Januarius	Αὔθυναῖος
Mechir	Februarius	Πιερίτιος
Phamenoth	Martius	Δύστηρος
Pharmuthi	Aprilis	Εἰαντικος
Pachon	Maius	Ἀεϋτημῖσιος
Payni	Junius	Δαίσιος
Epiphi	Julius	Πάπμιος
Mesori	Augustus	Λῶσις
Thoth	September	Γορπαιῖος
Paophi	October	Ῥαϋεχρηταῖος
Athyr	November	Διός
Choiac.	December.	Ἀσιλλαῖος, κ. τ. λ.

pleased." 4. By the appearance or manifestation of his Divinity, when by his first miracle he turned the water into wine at the marriage of Cana, in Galilee. That this day was kept as our Saviour's birth-day for several ages by the Churches of Egypt, Jerusalem, Antioch, Cyprus, and other Churches of the East, is so evident from good authorities,^f that among learned men it is now a thing beyond all dispute. Cassian^g says expressly, that in his time all the Egyptian provinces, under the general name of Epiphany, understood as well the nativity of Christ as his baptism; and, therefore, they did not commemorate those two mysteries upon two distinct days, as was usual in the Western provinces, but celebrated both of them together upon that one day's festival. And Gennadius mentions one Timothy, a bishop,^h who composed a book concerning the nativity of the Lord, which he supposed to be on the day of Epiphany. Cotelierius not improperly conjectures,ⁱ that this was no other than Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, though Dr. Cave^k speaks of him as a later writer. But before the time of the Council of Ephesus (an. 431), the Egyptians had altered the day of Christ's nativity, and fixed it to the twenty-ninth day of their month Chœac, which is the twenty-fifth of December: as appears from the homily of Paulus Emisenus,^l

^f Cotelier. in Constitut. Apost. lib. v. c. xiii. pp. 312, 313.

^g Cassian. Collat. x. c. ii. (Paris. 1609, p. 383.) Epiphaniarum diem provincie illius sacerdotes, vel Dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatibus esse definiunt; et id circo utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in Occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant.

^h Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lviii. Timotheus episcopus composuit librum de Nativitate Domini secundum carnem, quam credit in Theophania factam.

ⁱ Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. lib. v. c. xiii. p. 316. Ægyptii, referente Cassiano (Collat. x. c. ii.) diem Epiphaniarum definiebant diem baptismi Dominici et Dominicæ nativitatibus. Unde forsitan Timotheus ille episcopus, qui a Gennadio dicitur composuisse librum de Nativitate Domini, quam credebatur in Epiphania factam, est Timotheus Alexandrinus.

^k Cave, Histor. Liter. tom. i. p. 304, (p. 216, edit. Genev. 1693.) Timotheus, episcopus, cujusnam urbis non constat. Claruit circa annum 415. Scripsit librum 'de Nativitate Domini secundum carnem,' quam in die Epiphaniæ contigisse arbitratus est. (Basil. 1741, vol. i. p. 393.)

^l Paul. Emisen. Homil. in Actis Conc. Ephesin. part. iii. c. xxxi. (Labbé, iii. Conc. p. 1095.) 'Ὁμιλία Παύλου ἐπισκόπου Ἐμίσης, λεχθεῖσα πρὸς Χοῖαν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καθήμενου τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου, εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ζωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

spoken before Cyril of Alexandria, and related in the Acts of that Council. It was not long before this, that the Churches of Antioch and Syria came into the western observation. For Chrysostom, in one of his homilies to the people of Antioch, tells them,^m "That ten years were not yet past since they came to the true knowledge of the day of Christ's birth, which they kept before on Epiphany, till the Western Church gave them better information." And from that time the Nativity and Epiphany were distinct festivals, as appears from other homilies of this writer,ⁿ where he speaks distinctly of them as two days, which had been thought one and the same before. Epiphanius, who was bishop of Salamis or Constantia, the metropolis of Cyprus, often speaks of Christ's nativity, and always follows the eastern calculation, fixing it to the same day with Epiphany, in the month of January. In one place he says,^o "It is not lawful to fast on the day of Epiphany, on which day the Lord was born in the flesh." In another he^p takes a great deal of pains to make his reader understand that Christ was born in January; "That is," says he, "on the eighth of the Ides of January, which is the fifth^q of January, according to the Romans; and the eleventh of Tybi, according the Egyp-

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxxi. de Natali Christi, tom. v. p. 466, (Hom. xxxiii. p. 417, edit. Francof.) Οὕτω δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἵστος, ἔξ οὗ ὅλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γιγνέται . . . παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἰστίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθι γνωρίζομένη, πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ κομισθεῖσα νῦν, καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀθρόον οὕτως ἀνιδραμι, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xxiv. de Baptism. Christi. tom. i. p. 311, (p. 276, edit. cit.) "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐπιφάνια ἡ παρούσα λίγεται ἰορτῇ, δηλόν ἐστι πᾶσιν.— A little after: 311, A. 5. Ἀλλὰ τίνες ἔνικεν οὐχὶ ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐτίχθη, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐκαπτίσθη, ἐπιφάνια λίγεται; αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐκαπτίστατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἡγίασι φύσιν.

^o Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. xxii. Οὗτοι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἐπιφανίων, ὅτι ἰγνιῆθη ἐν σαρκὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἔξιςτι νηστεύσαι.

^p Ibid. Hæres. li. Alogor. n. xxiv. (Paris. 1622, vol. i. p. 446, D.) Γεννηθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν Ἰαννουαρίων μηνῶν, τουτίστι πρὸ ἐκτὰ εἰδὼν Ἰαννουαρίων, ἥτις ἐστὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους πέμπτη τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς, κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους Τυβὶ ἰνδικάτη, κατὰ Σύρους, εἴθουν Ἑλληνας, Λύδουαίου [ἱκτου] ἥκτη, κατὰ Κυπρίους, εἴθουν Σαλαμινίους, πέμπτου πέμπτη, κατὰ Παφίους Ἰούλου τισσαρισκαδικάτη, κατὰ Ἀραβῶν Ἀλιὼμ κά, κατὰ Καππαδόκας Ἀταρτᾶ ἰγ', κατὰ Ἑβραίους Τιτὶθ' ἰγ', κατὰ Ἀθηναίους Μαιμακτηριῶνος ε'. παρ' ἡλθε τὰς προσηρημένας ὑπατίας ἑκοσινετία πλήρης, κ. τ. λ.

^q Some think this should be written the sixth of January, because the eighth of the Ides of January is the sixth of January in the Roman Calendar: but St.

tians; and the sixth of Audynæus, according to the Syro-Macedonians; and the fifth of the fifth month, according to the Cypriots, or Salaminians; and the fourteenth of Julius, according to the Paphians; and the twenty-first of Aleom, according to the Arabians; and the thirteenth of Atarta,^r according to the Cappadocians; and the thirteenth of Tibeth, according to the Hebrews; and the sixth of Maimacterion, according to the Athenians." Nothing could be more particular in fixing the day of Christ's nativity to that of Epiphany, or Epiphany to the fifth or sixth of January, than this so minute account of Epiphanius. Which is confirmed by St. Jerom, who, though he differed from Epiphanius as to the day of Christ's nativity, yet intimates^s that there were some who still believed that Christ's nativity was upon the Epiphany, which was the fifth of January, which the prophet Ezekiel called the fifth day of the fourth month, reckoning the first month from October, when the tithes were carried to the temple, after the harvest and vintage were gathered in, according to the custom of the Oriental nations. The author of the Homily upon the Epiphany among the works of Origen says the same,^t " That there were different opinions and traditions in the world about it: some said he was born upon that day, others said it was only the day of his baptism." Pagi adds^u Clemens

Jerom also places Epiphany upon the fifth of January, Comment. in Ezek. i. p. 459. And the Asiatics did so likewise. See Usser. de Anno Solari Macedonum et Asianorum, lib. ii.

^r Epiphan. Hæres. li. Alogor. n. xvi. (Paris. 1622, vol. i. p. 439, A. 5.) *Πρώτον μὲν βαπτισθέντος αὐτοῦ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Ἄδύρ δωδικάτῃ πρὸ ἡξ ἰδῶν Νομβερίων, συντίσσει πρὸ ἡξήκοντα ἡμερῶν [πλήρης] τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἐπιφανίων, ἢ ἴσστιν ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτοῦ γεννήσεως κατὰ σάρα.*

^s Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. i. p. 459, (Bened. Venet. vol. v. p. 6, A.) Apud Orientales October erat primus mensis, et Januarius quartus. Quintam autem diem mensis adjungit, ut significet baptismum, in quo aperti sunt Christo cœli, et Epiphaniarum dies huc usque venerabilis est; non, ut quidam putant, natalis in carne; tunc enim absconditus est, et non apparuit: quod huic tempori congruit, quando dictum est, 'Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui.'

^t Origen. Hom. viii. de Diversis, tom. ii. p. 446. Sive hodie natus est Dominus Jesus, sive hodie baptizatus, diversa quippe opinio fertur in mundo.

^u Pagi Appar. Chronol. ad Baron. n. xcv. (n. cxlvi. p. 37, edit. Antwerp. 1705.) [Not. de Eusebio quidem hic dicit Pagius, sed de Clemente Alexandrino prorsus alia.—Grischov.]

Alexandrinus and Eusebius to the number of those who believed the nativity of Christ to be on the Epiphany, or sixth of January: and considering where and when they lived, it is very probable they did so, though he cites no authority out of them: for not only the Alexandrians, but the Churches of Jerusalem and Palestine, where Eusebius lived, observed the Nativity of Christ on the same day with Epiphany for several ages; and pretended the authority of an epistle of St. James for their practice, till Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, upon better information, reduced it to the twenty-fifth of December; as Cotelierius shews at large out of Basiliius Cilix, Joannes Nicænus, and a homily under the name of St. Chrysostom, and other writers.*

SECT. III.—*In the Latin Church always observed on the twenty-fifth of December.*

Thus stood the case in the Eastern Church for several ages; in those of the West it was generally observed, as now it is, a distinct festival from Epiphany, on the twenty-fifth of December. For so, St. Austin says,† the current tradition was, that Christ was born on the eighth of the Kalends of January; that is, on the twenty-fifth of December. And both Cassian‡ and St. Jerom say,§ the Nativity

* Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. lib. v. c. xiii. p. 312, seqq.

† Aug. de Trinit. lib. iv. c. v. Natus traditur octavo Kalendas Januarias.

‡ Cassian. Collat. x. c. ii. See sect. ii. note (ε), p. 67.

§ Hieron. in Ezech. l. See before, note (*), p. 69. — Constitut. lib. v. c. xii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 355.) Τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἱερῶν φυλάσσει, ἀδελφοί, καὶ πρῶτην γιὰ τὴν γενέθλιον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐπιτελείσθω ἐκάδι πέμπτη τοῦ ἰνῆτου μηνός· μὴ ἢ ἡ ἐπιφάνιος ὑμῖν ἴστω τιμωτάτη, καθ' ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἀνάδειξεν ἡμῖν τῆς [οἰκίας] θείας τοῦ ἐκείνου γενέθλιον διὰ καὶ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνός.—Lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (ibid. p. 498.) Τὴν τῶν γενεθλίων ἱερὰν ἀργίωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπερὸ δόκτου χάριν [α. χάριν] διδοῦσθαι ἀνθρώποις, γινεσθῆναι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου ἐκ σωτηρίας τοῦ κόσμου τὴν τῶν ἐπιφανίων ἱερὰν ἀργίωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνάδειξιν γενεσθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θείας, κ. τ. λ. — Opus Imperfect. sub nomine Chrysostomi ad Matth. xxiv. 23. Ab æquinoccio vernali duodecimi mensis incipiunt paulatim tepescere aëres per singulos dies, usque ad mensem tertium, et dies fieri noctibus longiores. Item ab æquinoccio autumnali mensis septimi incipiunt paulatim iterum frigescere aëres per singulos dies, et noctes fieri longiores diebus, usque ad mensem nonum, quando celebratur Christi natalis. (Paris. 1836, p. 955, B.)

and Epiphany were kept on different days in all the Western Churches. And both these were indifferently called *Theophania, et Epiphania, et prima et secunda Nativitas*, 'the Epiphany, or manifestation of God, and his first and second Nativity:' that being the first, whereon he was born in the flesh; and that his second Nativity, or Epiphany, whereon he was baptized, and manifested by a star to the Gentiles, as the reader may find largely demonstrated by Cotelarius* and Suicerus,^a out of Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Basil, Theodorus Studita, and several other writers.

SECT. IV.—*The Original of this Festival derived from the Apostolical Age by some Ancient Writers.*

Now the original of this festival is by many learned men carried as high as the age of the apostles. Dr. Cave says,^b the first footsteps he can find of it, are in the second century, though he doubts not but that it might be celebrated before. His authority is Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, who lived about the reign of the Emperor Commodus (an. 192), But he quotes no book of Theophilus: therefore we are left to conjecture that he meant his paschal epistle, mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerom, out of which Hospinian before had alleged these words, importing, that the French observed the nativity of Christ on the twenty-fifth of December: for they, says Hospinian,^c argued thus for the observation of the Paschal festival: *Sicut Domini natalem quocunque die viii. Kalendarum Januarii venerit, ita et viii. Kalendarum Aprilis, quando resurrectio accidit, Christi debemus Pascha celebrare*: 'As we celebrate the Nativity of Christ on the eighth of the Kalends of January (that is, the twenty-

* Cotelar. ubi supra, p. 312.

^a Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *Ἐπιφάνια*, tom. i. p. 1199.

^b Cave's Primitive Christianity, part. i. chap. vii. p. 194. For the antiquity of the first footsteps I find of it are in the second century, though I doubt not but it might be celebrated before, mentioned by Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, about the time of the Emperor Commodus.

^c Hospin. de Festis Christianor. p. 110. *Sicut Domini natalem, quocumque die Kalend. viii. Januarii (id est, vicesimus quintus Decembris) venerit, ita et viii. Kalend. Aprilis (hoc est, vicesimo quinto Martii) quando resurrectio accidit Christi, debemus Pascha celebrare.* [Not. In editione Genev. 1674, hæc verba non leguntur.—Grischov.]

fifth of December), whatever day of the week that happens to fall upon, so we ought to keep the Paschal feast on the eighth of the Kalends of April (that is, the twenty-fifth of March), because the resurrection of Christ happened upon this day.' But still I am at a loss to find these words in Theophilus: for Bede, who relates the letter, has no more than these words in his synodical epistle: ^d *Galli quacunque die octava Kalendarum Aprilium fuisset, quando Christi resurrectio tradebatur, semper Pascha celebrabant.* But there is no mention made at all of the nativity of Christ throughout the whole epistle, which seems to be spurious also, and of no credit. Certain enough, it is not that which is mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerom: so that I lay no stress upon this authority, as being neither full to the point, nor authentic. Hospinian and Dr. Cave allege further for its antiquity that sad story, which is related by Nicephorus^e and Baronius^f out of the ancient martyrologies, where it is said, "That when the persecution raged under Diocletian, at Nicomedia, among other acts of his barbarous cruelty, he finding multitudes of Christians, young and old, met together in the church upon the day of Christ's nativity, to celebrate that festival, commanded the church-doors to be shut up, and fire to be put to it, which in a short time reduced them and the church to ashes." This is probable enough, because we have the like instances of barbarity committed upon them in other places on the Lord's-day; as has been related before out of Lactantius and Eusebius.^g But it is more material, that Chrysostom says,^h "That this day was of great antiquity

^d De Ordinatione Feriarum Paschalium per Theophilum Cæsariensem ac reliquorum Episcoporum Synodum, ap. Bedam de Æquinoctio Vernali, tom. iii. p. 232. Galli, quacunque die octava Kalendarum Aprilium fuisset, quando Christi resurrectio tradebatur, semper Pascha celebrabant. Habetur etiam ap. Bucherium, Com. in Canon. Paschal. Victorii, et ap. Labbeum, Conc. tom. i. p. 596.

^e Niceph. lib. vii. c. vi. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν Χριστοῦ γενεθλίων ἐνίστατο ἱερὰ, καὶ σύμπεαν τὸ Χριστῶνυμον πλῆθος ἐκ πάσης ἡλικίας ᾧ ἐκύβητο νῆφ ἤθροιστο πανηγυρίζοντες τὰ γενέθλια, ἀρπάσας ἐκείνος ὡς ἔμελλεν τὸν καιρὸν, ὥστε τὴν ἱαυτοῦ μαρίαν ἐκπλῆσαι, πύρνας συνέκλινε καὶ περιέκλεψε πῦρ ἀνῆπταν ἐνθῦς. κ. τ. λ. (Paris. 1630, vol. i. p. 466.)

^f Baron. ad an. 301, n. xli.-xlvi.

^g Lactant. lib. v. c. xi. — Euseb. lib. viii. c. xi. See chap. ii. sect. viii. note (x) and (y), p. 44.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. xxxi. de Baptismo Christi, tom. v. p. 467, (p. 417, edit.

and of long continuance, being famous and renowned in the Church from the beginning, far and wide from Thrace, as far as Gades, in Spain." It is certain it was observed religiously in the time of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, for they have both sermons upon the occasion; and Ammianus Marcellinus says,¹ "Julian, in the time of Constantius, pretending to be a Christian, when in his heart he was a heathen, and had secretly revolted,—to conceal his apostasy, which was known only to a few of his confidants, went with the Christians to church, and performed the solemn worship of God with them, on the festival which they call Epiphany, and celebrate in the month of January." Zonaras, in telling the same story, says it was on the nativity of Christ: which makes some conclude, that the Nativity and Epiphany were still in France the same festival. But, considering that France was one of the Western provinces, where these festivals were always kept apart, it is more probable that Zonaras was mistaken in the day. However we may safely conclude, that at this time both the Nativity and Epiphany were kept as festivals in France; and that is enough, so far as we are concerned, to ascertain the antiquity of their observation.

SECT. V. — *This Festival observed with the same Religious Veneration as the Lord's-Day.*

As to the manner of keeping this festival, we may observe, they did it with the greatest veneration. For they always speak of it in the highest terms, as the principal festival of Christians, from which all others took their original. Chrysostom styles it 'the most venerable and tremendous of all festivals:' and 'the metropolis or mother of all festivals:' adding,² "That from this both the *Theo-*

Francof.) Τῶν δὲ ἀπολογουμένων, ὅτι παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαία ἱστῶν, καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἀπὸ θεότητος μίχρῃ Γαδίρων οἰκῶσι κατὰ δὴλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γίγνεται.

¹ Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 195. Ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter numine orato, discessit.

² Chrysostom. Hom. xxxi. de Philogonio, tom. i. p. 399, D. 8, (p. 353, edit. Francof.) Καὶ γὰρ ἱερὰ μίλλῃ προσιλαύνειν, ἢ πασῶν ἱερῶν σιμνοτάτη καὶ φρικωδιστάτη, ἣν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμάροτοι, μητρόπολιν πασῶν τῶν ἱερῶν προσηπὼν τίς δὲ

phania (so he styles Epiphany), and the holy Paschal feast, and the Assumption, or Ascension, and Pentecost, took their original. For if Christ had not been born according to the flesh, he had not been baptized, which is the *Theophania*, or Epiphany: neither had he been crucified, which is the Paschal festival: neither had he sent the Holy Ghost, which is our Pentecost. But we do not give this festival the preference merely upon this account, but because the thing that was done upon this day, was more tremendous than all others. For that Christ should die, when he was a man, was a thing of natural consequence: but that when he was God, he should be willing to be made man, and condescend to humble himself beyond all imagination and conception; this is indeed wonderful and astonishing in the highest degree. In admiration of this, St. Paul, as it were in a rapture, says, 'Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh.' For this reason chiefly I love and embrace this day, and propound it to you, that I may make you partakers of the same inducement of love. I therefore pray and beseech you, come with all diligence and alacrity, every man first purging his own house, to see our Lord wrapt in swaddling-clothes and lying in a manger; a tre-

ἰστιν αὕτη; ἡ κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησις· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης τὰ Θεοφάνια, καὶ τὸ πάσχα τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις, καὶ ἡ πινυτηκοστή τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔλαβον. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἰτίχθη κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἱσαπτίσθη, ὅτι ἰστὶ τὰ Θεοφάνια· οὐκ ἂν ἱσταυρώθῃ, ὅτι ἰστὶ τὸ πάσχα· οὐκ ἂν τὸ πνῦμα κατετίμωμιν, ὅτι ἰστὶν ἡ πινυτηκοστή· ὥστε ἰντιϋθῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος πηγῆς ποταμοὶ διάφοροι βρύνται, αὗται ἰτίχθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἰσραταί· οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόσιον δικαία ταύτης ἂν εἴη τῆς προσεδρίας ἀπολαύειν ἡ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γινόμενον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πολὺ φρικωδέστερόν ἰστί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γινόμενον τὸν Χριστὸν ἀποθανεῖν, τῆς ἀκολουθίας λειπὸν ἦν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἁμαρτιαν οὐκ ἰποίησιν· ἀλλὰ θνητὸν σῶμα ἀνίστασθαι· καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ Θεὸν ὄντα ἄνθρωπον διελθεῖν γινέσθαι καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι καταλῆναι τοσοῦτον, ἵσον οὐδὲ διάνοια διέσθαι δύναται, τοῦτό ἰστι τὸ φρικωδέστατον, καὶ ἐκπληξίως γίμην, ὃ δὴ καὶ Παῦλος θαυμάζων ἔλεγεν, Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μίγα ἰστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐτελείας μυστήριον· πῶον μίγα; Θεὸς ἰφανερῶθαι ἐν σαρκί· καὶ πάλιν ἄλλαχού· Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ἱπταμβάνεται ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ στίγματος Ἀδραμ ἱπταμβάνεται ὅτι ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἡμεῖς ταύτην καὶ φιλοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα εἰς μῖσον προτίθημι, ἵνα κοινωνοὺς ὑμᾶς ποιήσω τοῦ φίλτρου διὰ τοῦτο δίομαι πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας παραγινέσθαι, τὴν οἰκίαν ἱκαστον κινώσαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἵνα ἴδωμεν τὸν Διοπάτην ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φάτης κείμενον, ἱσπεργαυόμενον, τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκείνο καὶ παραδόξον Δίαμα.

mendous and wonderful sight indeed!" Thus the holy father invites his auditory, five days beforehand, to celebrate the Nativity of Christ. And we may observe, that the day was kept with the same veneration and religious solemnity as the Lord's-day. For they had always sermons on this day; of which there are many instances in Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Basil, Ambrose, Austin, Leo, Chrysologus, and many others. Neither did they let this day ever pass without a solemn communion. For Chrysostom, in this very place, invites his people to the holy table, telling them,^k "That if they came with faith, they might see Christ lying in the manger: for the holy table supplied the place of the manger; the body of the Lord was laid upon the holy table, not, as before, wrapt in swaddling-clothes, but invested on every side with the Holy Spirit." And that the solemnity might be more universally observed, liberty was granted, on this day, to servants to rest from their ordinary labours, as on the Sabbath and the Lord's-day. This is particularly mentioned by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions:^l "Let servants rest from their labour on the day of Christ's Nativity, because on this day an unexpected blessing was given unto men, in that the Word of God, Jesus Christ, was born of the Virgin Mary for the salvation of the world." And all fasting was as strictly prohibited on this festival as on the Lord's-day: and no one, without suspicion of some impious heresy, could go against this rule, as appears from what Pope Leo says of the Priscillianists,^m that they dishonoured the day of Christ's

^k Chrysostom. Hom. xxxi. de Philogonio, tom. i. p. 400, D. 6, (p. 402, edit. Francof.) Καὶ γὰρ ἂν μετὰ πίστει παραγινώμεθα, πάντας αὐτὸν ἐβέβηκα ἐπὶ τῆς φάτνης κείμενον· ἡ γὰρ τράπεζα αὐτῇ τᾶξιν τῆς φάτνης πληροῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα κίσσεται τὸ σῶμα τὸ διανοητικόν· οὐχὶ ἐσπαργαννόμενον, καθάπερ τότε, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ἅγιον Πνεύματι περισσευόμενον.

^l Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. See before, sect. iii. note (r), p. 70.

^m Leo, Epist. xciii. ad Turibium, c. iv. (Labbé, iii. p. 1412.) Natalem Christi quem secundum susceptionem veri hominis Catholica ecclesia veneratur, quia 'Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis,' non vere isti honorent, sed honorare se simulent, jejunantes eodem die sicut et die Dominico, qui est dies resurrectionis Christi. Quod utique ideo faciunt, quia Christum Dominum in vera hominis natura natum esse non credunt, sed per quamdam illusionem ostentata videri volunt, quæ vera non fuerint; sequentes dogma Cerdonis atque Marcionis, et cognatis suis Manichæis per omnia concordantes. — Conf. Conc. Bracar. I. c. iv. (tom. v. p. 873), ubi eadem leguntur.

Nativity and the Lord's-day by fasting, which they pretended they did only for the exercise of devotion in an ascetic life ; but in reality it was to affront the days of his nativity and resurrection, because with Cerdon, and Marcion, and the Manichees, they neither believed the truth of our Saviour's incarnation nor his resurrection. Therefore, in opposition to these and suchlike heresies, the Church was always very jealous of any who pretended to make a fast of the Nativity of Christ.

Finally, to shew all possible honour to this day, the Church obliged all persons to frequent religious assemblies in the city-churches, and not go to any of the lesser churches in the country, except some necessity of sickness or infirmity compelled them so to do.^a And the laws of the state prohibited all public games and shows on this day, as on the Lord's-day. For though at first the prohibition only extended to the Lord's-day, yet Theodosius Junior, by a new law, restrained them on the Lord's-day, and Epiphany, and the Paschal festival, and the fifty days of Pentecost,^o because at these times the minds of Christians ought to be wholly employed in the worship and service of God. Some also think,^p the very design of appointing the feast of Christ's Nativity and Epiphany at this season of the year, was chiefly to oppose the vanities and excesses which the heathen indulged themselves in upon their Saturnalia and Kalends of January at this very time of the year. Nazianzen's exhortation to his people on the Nativity of Christ seems directly intended against them, when he thus endeavours to guard his auditory from running into the same abuses :^q " Let us

^a Conc. Aurel. I. c. xxvii. Ut nulli civium Paschæ, natalis, vel quadragesimæ sollemnia in villa liceat celebrare, nisi quem infirmitas probabitur tenuisse.

^o Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. (Theodos. Lugd. 1665, vol. v. p. 353.) Dominico et Natali, atque Epiphaniarum Christi, Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus . . . omni theatrorum atque circensium voluptate, per universas urbes, eorumdem populis denegata, totæ Christianorum ac fidelium mentes Dei cultibus occupantur. &c.

^p Hospin. de Festis Christianor. p. 111. [Not. In mea edit. nihil hujus exstat. Grischov.]

^q Nazianz. Orat. xxxviii. in Theophaniam sive Natalem Christi, pp. 614, 615. C. Τυγαρεῦν ἰορτάζωμιν, μὴ πανηγυρικῶς, ἀλλὰ θείκως· μὴ κοσμικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑπερκοσμίως· μὴ τὰ ἡμετέρα, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ ἡμιτέρου, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τοῦ Δισπότου μὴ

celebrate this festival, not after the way of the world, but in a Divine and celestial manner ; not minding our own things, but the things of the Lord ; not the things that tend to make us sick and infirm, but those things which will heal and cure us. Let us not crown our doors with garlands, nor exercise ourselves in dances : let us not adorn our streets, nor feed our eyes, nor gratify our ears with music, nor any of our senses, touching, tasting, smelling, with any of those things that lead the way to vice, and are the inlets of sin. Let us not effeminately adorn ourselves with soft clothing, nor jewels, nor gold, nor artificial colours invented to destroy the Divine image in us : let us not indulge rioting and drunkenness, which are frequently attended with chambering and wantonness ; let us not set up our lofty canopies or tables, providing delicacies for the belly ; nor be enamoured with the fragancy of wines, or niceties of cookery, and precious ointments : let not sea and land present us with their precious dung,—for that is the best name I can give their delights ; nor let any of us strive to outdo one another in luxury and intemperance. But let us leave these things to the heathen, and to their heathenish pomps and festivals, who give the name of gods to those who delight in the

τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς ἰατρείας· μὴ τὰ τῆς πλάσσεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς ἀναπλάσεως. ἴσται δὲ τοῦτο πᾶσι· μὴ πρόθυρα στιφαίνωμεν, μὴ χοροὺς συστήσωμεθα, μὴ κοσμήσωμεν ἀγύας, μὴ ὀφθαλμὸν ἱστιάσωμεν, μὴ ἀκοὴν καταυλίσσωμεν, μὴ ὁσφρησιν ἐκδηλύωμεν, μὴ γυῖον καταπορεύσωμεν, μὴ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν χάρις αἰσῶμεθα ταῖς προχείροις εἰς κακίαν ὁδοῖς, καὶ εἰς ὁδοῖς τῆς ἀμαρτίας· μὴ ἰσθῆτι μαλακισθῶμεν, ἀπαλῇ τι καὶ περιβρίουσθαι, καὶ ἥς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀχρηστία· μὴ λίθων διαυγείας, μὴ χρυσοῦ περιλάμψαι, μὴ χρωμάτων σοφίσμασι ψευδομένων τὸ φυσικὸν κάλλος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς εἰκότος ἐξηρημαίνων μὴ κόμοις καὶ μίθαις, οἷς κοίτας καὶ ἀσιλγίας οἶδα συνιζιγυρίνας· ἐκ τῆς κακῆς διδασκαλίας κακὰ τὰ μαθήματα· μᾶλλον δὲ πονηρῶν σιγισμάτων πονηρὰ τὰ γινώγματα· μὴ στιβίδας ὑψηλὰς πηξάμεθα σκηνοποιούντες τῇ γαστρὶ τὰ τῆς θρύψεως· μὴ τιμῶμεν οἶνον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὁψοποιῶν μαργαρίτας, μύρων πολυτιμίας· μὴ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα τὴν τιμίαν ἡμῖν κόπρον δωροφειρόμεναι· οὕτως γὰρ ἰγὼν τιμᾶν οἶδα τρυφὴν· μὴ ἄλλος ἄλλον ἀκρασίᾳ νικᾶν σπουδάζωμεν ἀκρασίᾳ γὰρ ἰσοί πάντες τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ χρείαν· καὶ ταῦτα πεινῶντων ἄλλων, καὶ διόμων, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ τι καὶ κράματος. Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν Ἑλλήσι παρέμεινεν, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς κόμπαις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν· οἱ καὶ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσι κύνισσαι χεῖρας, καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσι τὸ θεῖον τῇ γαστρὶ θρασυνοῦσι· πονηροὶ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων καὶ πλάσται, καὶ μυσταγωγοί, καὶ μύσται τυγχάνοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ, οἷς λόγος τὸ προσκυνεῖν, κἂν τι δι᾽ τρυφῆς, ἐν λόγῳ τρυφῶμεν, καὶ δι᾽ ὀνόμα, καὶ διηγήμασι τοῖς τι ἄλλοις καὶ ἔξ ὧν ἡ παρούσα πανήγυρις.

smell of sacrifices, and agreeably worship their deities with the belly, being wicked makers of wicked devils, and as wicked priests and worshippers of them. But let us, who worship the Word of God, place our delights in the Divine law, and such discourses as are proper and agreeable to the present festival."

SECT. VI. — *Of Epiphany as a distinct Festival.*

As to Epiphany, they who observed it as a distinct festival from the Nativity, did it chiefly upon the account of our Saviour's baptism, and the appearing of the star which conducted the Wise men of the East to come and worship our Saviour. To which some added two other reasons, that of our Saviour's first miracle, wrought at Cana in Galilee, when he turned the water into wine; and that other miracle of his feeding five thousand men with five loaves. All which are put together in one of the sermons, which go under the name of St. Austin, upon this day. "On this day," says he, "we celebrate the mystery of God's manifesting himself by his miracles in human nature; either because on this day the star in heaven gave notice of his birth; or because he turned water into wine at the marriage-feast at Cana in Galilee; or because he consecrated water for the reparation of mankind by his baptism in the river Jordan; or because with the five loaves he fed five thousand men. For each of these contains the mysteries and joys of our salvation." Petrus Chrysologus^s and Eucherus Lugdunensis^t mention the three first reasons, but not the last. Pope Leo has eight

^s Aug. Serm. xxix. de Tempore, (Bened. 1700, vol. v. App. 171, F.) Hodie illud sacramentum colimus, quo se in homine Deus virtutibus declaravit, pro eo quod in hac die, sive quod in cœlo ortus sui nuntium præbuit; sive quod in Cana Galilææ in convivio nuptiali aquam in vinum convertit; sive quod in Jordanis undis aquas ad reparationem humani generis suo baptismo consecravit; sive quod de quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiavit: in quolibet horum salutis nostræ mysteria continentur et gaudia.

^s Chrysol. Serm. clvii. de Epiphania et Magis. (tom. vii. Bibl. Patr. Max. edit. Lugd. 1677, pp. 964, 965. Per Epiphaniam Magi Christum Dominum muneribus mysticis confitentur, &c. Per Epiphaniam Christus in nuptiis aquas saporavit in vinum, &c. Per Epiphaniam Christus Jordanis undas ad baptismum nostrum consecratas intravit, &c.

^t Euch. Hom. in Vigil. S. Andreæ.

sermons upon this festival," in which he insists upon no other reason but the manifestation of Christ's birth to the Wise men, by the appearance of the star. St. Jerom,* on the other hand, makes it to be celebrated chiefly in commemoration of our Saviour's baptism, and the manifestation of him to the world by the voice that came from heaven, saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And the Greek writers commonly insist upon this reason. "Why," says Chrysostom,† "is not the day on which Christ was born, called Epiphany, but the day on which he was baptized? Because he was not manifested to all when he was born, but when he was baptized. For to the day of his baptism he was generally unknown: as appears from those words of John the Baptist, 'There standeth one among you, whom ye know not.' And what wonder that others should not know him, when the Baptist himself knew him not before that day. 'For I knew him not,' says he, 'but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.'" Gregory Nazianzen assigns the same reason for the observation of this festival:‡ "This holyday of lights, to which we are come, and which we this day celebrate as a festival, had its original from the baptism of Christ, the true Light 'that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'" In like manner, Gregory Nyssen entitles

* Leo, Sermon in Epiphany. p. 25, (tom. vii. Bibl. Patr. Max. pp. 1004-1011.)

† Hieron. in Ezech. p. 459. See sect. iii. note (*), p. 70.

‡ Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. de Bapt. Christi, tom. i. p. 311, A. 5, (p. 276, edit. Francof.) Τίνας ἵκεν οὐχὶ ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἐτίχθη, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν ἱεραγίστη, Ἐπιφάνεια λέγεται; . . . ἰσχυρὸν οὐχ' ὅτι ἐτίχθη, τότε πᾶσιν ἰγνέτω κατὰ θεόν· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἱεραγίστατο· μίχρη γὰρ ταύτης ἠγνοῦτο τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς. καὶ ὅτι ἠγνοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν ὅστις ποτε ἦν, ἀκουσον τοῦ βαπτισατοῦ Ἰωάννου λέγοντος, Μίσος ὁμῶν ἴσθηται, ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε· καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἠγνοῦν, ὅσους καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βαπτιστὴς αὐτὸν ἠγνέει ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης; Καὶ γὰρ ἰγώ, φησιν, οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὁ πίμπρας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, ἰακίμους μοι εἶπεν, Ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς Πνῦμα καταβαίνειν, καὶ μένον ἰα' αὐτὸν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν Πνύματι ἁγίῳ.

§ Nazianz. Orat. xxxix. in Sancta Lumina, Colon. 1690, tom. i. p. 624, B. 'H ἀγία τῶν φώτων ἡμέρα, εἰς ἣν ἀφίγμιστα, καὶ ἣν ἱεραγίστην ἡμεῖς σήμερον, ἀρχὴν μὲν τοῦ τοῦ ἰμοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα λαμβάνει, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός, τοῦ φωτίζοντος πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

his sermon on the baptism of Christ,^a *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν φώτων*, &c., a discourse ‘on the day of lights, on which our Lord was baptized.’ And Asterius Amasenus, speaking of the chief Christian festivals, says,^b “We celebrate the Nativity, because at this time God manifested his Divinity to us in the flesh. We celebrate the ‘feast of light,’ *φῶτα πανήγυριν*, because, by the remission of our sins (in baptism) we are brought, as it were, out of the dark prison of our former life, to a life of light and virtue.”

SECT. VII. — *Why this Day is called by some the Second Epiphany, and Dies Luminum, ‘the Day of Lights.’*

For baptism being generally called *φῶς* and *φωτισμα*, ‘light’ and ‘illumination,’ from the great and admirable effects consequent to it; this day, being the supposed day of our Saviour’s baptism, was thereupon styled *ἡμέρα φώτων*, or *ἅγια φῶτα*, ‘the day of lights,’ or ‘illumination,’ or ‘baptism.’ As appears not only from the forementioned passages of Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssen, but several other Greek writers noted by Suicerus,^c who justly reproves Xylander and

^a Nyssen. Orat. de Bapt. Christi, tom. iii. p. 366. *Εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν φώτων, ἡ ᾗ ἱεραποτίσθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν.*

^b Aster. Hom. iv. in Festum Kalendarum ap. Combefis. Auctar. tom. i. p. 57. *Γενέθλια ἱερτάζομεν, ἰσχυδὲν τὰ ἐν σαρκὶ διαφάνια κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἰδυζῖν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός. φῶτα πανήγυριν ἄγομεν, ἰσχυδὲν τῇ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐφίστι, οἷον ἐκ σκοτεινοῦ τινὸς διαμωτηρίου, τοῦ προτέρου βίου, πρὸς τὸν φωτεινὸν καὶ ἀνούθουν ἀναγόμεθα.*

^c Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 1487. *Dies baptismi Christi vocatur ἡμέρα τῶν φώτων*, a Gregorio Nazianzeno, Orat. xxxix. p. 624. ‘*Ἡ ἅγια, κ. τ. λ.* (See note (*), p. 79.) *Ipsius orationis titulus est: Εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα τῶν ἱεραφανίων λόγος.* Nicetas ad hæc: ‘Baptismus ‘luminum’ nomine appellatur, quod purget et illustret. Quo etiam fit, ut facies eo tempore in lætitiæ signum accendamus. Ac principium quidem et causa hujus festi, baptismus Christi est.’ Id satis etiam perspicuum ex titulo Orationis Gregorii Nysseni in Baptismum Christi, tom. iii. p. 366. (See note (*), p. 79.) Pantoleon hoc festum vocat *τὰ ἅγια φῶτα*. Typicum: *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τῇ παραμoτῇ τῶν ἁγίων φώτων.* Cedrenus in Romano Læcapeno, p. 509. ‘*Ρωμανὸς δὲ ταινιωθεὶς τῇ βασιλικῇ διαδήματι, στίφυ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἁγίων φώτων καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύζυγον θεωῶσαν.* Xylander in notis ad hunc locum: ‘*Diem sacrorum luminum puto esse, quem alias purificationis Mariæ vocant, Leichtmess.*’ Pamelius, in Ep. xxxiv. Cypriani, n. xiii. p. 65. ‘*Festum etiam, quod hodie Purificationis, olim, teste Bedæ, ὑπαπαντῇ dicebatur, celebrat Homilia de Luminibus sive secundis Epiphaniis D. Gregorius Nazianzenus.*’ Eadem aliorum etiam est sententia. Sed

Pamelius for interpreting this 'day of lights,' Candlemas-day, because now it is usual, in the Church of Rome, to consecrate their wax candles on this day, which is otherwise called 'the purification of the Virgin Mary:' whereas there was no such festival in use in the Church in the time of Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssen, nor many years after them, until the reign of Justinian, when it was first instituted by the Greek Church, under the name of *Hypapante*. And, therefore, when Nazianzen,^d in another place, brings in some giving this reason why they deferred their baptism; one saying, μένω τὰ φῶτα, 'I stay till the feast of lights come;' another, "He had a greater respect for Easter;" and a third, "That he had waited till the time of Pentecost;" it is plain, 'the feast of lights' cannot signify the purification of the Virgin Mary (which was no solemn time of baptism), but Epiphany, on which the Greek Church allowed persons to be baptized, as one of the three solemn times of baptism, and that in regard to our Saviour's baptism (which they called his 'second Nativity,' or 'second Epiphany'),^e when his Divinity was more clearly manifested by the voice which came from heaven, saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

SECT. VIII. — *Celebrated as all other great Festivals, and in one respect more Noted, as being in the Greek Church one of the three solemn Times of Baptism.*

So that we may observe, that in the Greek Church, in one respect, it was more taken notice of than even the

nihil minus. Purificatio enim Virginis, Græcis ὑπαντή sive ὑπαπαντή, secundo Februarii die celebratur: baptismi vero Christi festum, sexto Januarii, tam apud Græcos, quam Latinos celebratur, &c.

^d Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 654, A. 4. Τὸ καὶ τὸ σήμερον, καὶ προφασίζη προφάσεις ἰν' ἀμείβεταίς· μένω τὰ φῶτα, τὸ πάσχα μοι τιμώτερον, ἐπὶ πνευματικῇν ἰνδιζομαι.

^e Cotelier. Not. in Constit. lib. v. c. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 315.) Epiphania divisa fuit in primam et secundam. 'Dux sunt autem Epiphaniæ,' ait Isidorus Originum, vi. 18, 'prima, in qua natus Christus pastoribus Hebræorum angelo nuntiante apparuit: secunda, in qua ex gentium populis stella indice præsepis cunabula Magos adoratos exhibuit.' Cui partitioni suffragatur Rufinus, dum Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationi xxxix. titulum facit, 'de Secundis Epiphaniis,' in codice Divionensi, quem ad Virgilium Tapsensem laudat Chiffletius, &c.

Nativity itself; being allowed as one of the three solemn times of baptism, which the Nativity was not. In the Latin Church, indeed, it wanted this privilege. For as I have shewn elsewhere,^f the Roman, French, and Spanish Churches, for many ages, would allow of no other solemn times of baptism but only Easter and Pentecost, except in case of sickness and extremity. But the Greek and African Churches made Epiphany also a day of baptism, as appears not only out of the forementioned place of Nazianzen, but Victor Uticensis,^g and Joannes Moschus,^h and the ancient ritual, called *Typicum Sabæ*. To which we may add what Chrysostom says,ⁱ “That in this solemnity, in memory of our Saviour’s baptism, by which he sanctified the nature of water, they were used, at midnight, to carry home water from the church, and lay it up, where it would remain as fresh and uncorrupt for one, two, or three years, as if it were immediately drawn out of any fountain.” And Fronto Ducæus^j observes the like custom in the Syriac Kalendar, published by Genebrard, upon this very day: which argues it to be a peculiar rite of the Eastern Church. As to other things, the observation of this day was after the same manner as that of the Nativity and other great festivals. For they had sermons and the communion on this day; and servants had liberty to rest from their bodily labour, to attend the religious service of the day. In regard to which usage, the author of the Constitutions gives this direction:^k “Let

^f Book xi. chap. vi. sect. vii. vol. iii. p. 509.

^g Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. ii. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 603, (p. 1908, d. edit. 1589.)

^h Mosch. Prat. Spirituale, c. cexiv. ibid. note (°).

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. de Bapt. Christi, tom. i. p. 311, A. 9, (p. 276, edit. Francof.) Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ μισοιουκτιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἱερωτὴν ταύτην ἄπαντες ὑδρευσάμενοι εἶπαδι τὰ νάματα ἀποτίθενται, καὶ εἰς ἱναυτὸν ἐλόκληρον φυλάττουσιν, ἅτε δὴ σήμερον ἀγιασθῆναι τῶν ὑδάτων· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον γίνεται ἱεραγίς, οὐ διαφθερομένης τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκείνων φύσεως πᾶς μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἱναυτὸν ἐλόκληρον καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πολλάκις ἔτη τοῦ σήμερον ἀντηλθόντος ἀκίρατον καὶ νηροῦ μίοντος, καὶ μὴ τὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τοῖς ἄρτι τῶν πηγῶν ἐξαερασθῆναι ὑδασι ἀμιλλωμένον.

^j Fronto Duc. in loc. p. 65, D. 13, (p. 46, edit. Francof.) Nota veterem Christianorum morem, cujus vestigium etiamnum restat in Calendario Syrorum apud Genebrardum vi. Januarii, ‘Ea nocte,’ inquit, ‘aqua consecratur in totum annum.’

^k Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 498, E. 6.) Τὴν τῶν ἱεραγίων

servants rest from their labour on Epiphany, because on that day the Divinity of Christ was declared, when the Father gave testimony to him at his baptism, and the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, shewed him to those that stood by, and heard the testimony that was given him." And though at first this day was not exempt from juridical acts and prosecutions at law; nor were the public games and shows forbidden, for some time, to be exhibited thereon; yet at length, Theodosius Junior gave it an honourable place among those days on which the public games should not be allowed;¹ "Forasmuch as men ought to put a distinction between days of supplication and days of pleasure." And Justinian,^m reciting one of the laws of Theodosius the Great, makes both the Nativity and Epiphany days of vacation from all pleadings at law, as well as from popular pleasures. And so it is in the laws of the Visigoths,ⁿ published out of the body of the Roman laws by Reciswindus and other Gothic kings, and the old Gothic interpreter of the laws in the Theodosian Code.^o From whence we may conclude, that this was become the standing rule and custom throughout both the Roman and the Visigoth dominions, to keep this festival of Epiphany with great veneration; neither allowing the courts to be open on this day for law, nor the theatre for pleasure.

ἱερὴν ἀργίαν [οἱ δοῦλοι] διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνάδειξιν γιγνῆσθαι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Διότητος, μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τῇ βαπτίσματι, καὶ τοῦ Παρακλήτου ἐν ἰδίῳ περιστοιχῇ ὑποδείξαντος τοῖς παριστάσει τὸν μαρτυρηθῆντα.

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectac. leg. v. See before, chap. ii. sect. iv. note (9), p. 30.

^m Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. vii. Dies etiam Natalis atque Epiphaniarum Christi, et quo tempore commemoratio Apostolicæ passionis, totius Christianitatis magistræ, a cunctis jure celebratur: in quibus etiam prædictis sanctissimis diebus neque spectaculorum copiam reseramus.

ⁿ Leges Visigoth. lib. ii. tit. i. leg. xi. (cit. Gothofred. ad Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. p. 124.)

^o Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, in Interpretat. leg. ii. Nec non et dies natalis Domini nostri, vel Epiphaniæ, sine forensi strepitu volumus celebrari. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.)

SECT. IX.—*Notice usually given on Epiphany concerning the Time of Easter in the ensuing Year.*

I have but one thing more to note, as it were, by the way, concerning this day: that they, to whom the care of the Paschal cycle, or rule for finding out Easter, was committed, were obliged, on or about the time of Epiphany, to give notice what time Easter, and Lent, and all the movable solemnities were to be kept the ensuing year. The letters sent from the metropolitan to the provincial bishops, upon this occasion, are commonly called *epistolæ Paschales*, and *heortasticæ*, 'Paschal' and 'festival epistles;' which are usually a short discourse upon some useful and important subject, closed with an intimation or notice of the day when Lent should begin, and of Easter-day, and Whitsunday. As those three Paschal epistles of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, which were translated by St. Jerom, and are now among St. Jerom's works, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.^p Concerning which, and the rest of the same kind, Cassian says,^q "It was an ancient custom in Egypt, for the bishop of Alexandria, as soon as Epiphany was past, to send his circular letters to all the churches and monasteries of Egypt, to signify to them the beginning of Lent and Easter-day." And there are some such of Dionysius, Athanasius, and Cyril, and Pope Innocent,^r and Leo;^s and some orders of council,^t that the primates of provinces should send their

^p Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 79, (tom. v. p. 843, seqq. edit. Lugd. 1677.)

^q Cassian. Collat. x. p. 383, (Paris. 1669.) Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniarum die . . . epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur ecclesias, quibus initium quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates, sed etiam per universa monasteria significantur.—Sozom. lib. viii. c. xi. (Vales. 1693, p. 624, A. 5.) Καὶ Θέοφιλος δι ταύτης ἔχουσιν τῆς διέξης, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεπιλεύσαντο, καὶ ἐν πιστοῦν, ἢ ἐξ Ἰθους περὶ τῆς Πασχαλίας ἱερτῆς ἔγραφον, καὶ ἀσώματον χρεῖναι τοῖν τὸν Θεὸν εἰσηγύσε, καὶ ἀνθρώπου σχήματος ἀλλότριον.

^r Innocent. Epist. xi. de Ratione Paschali, (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1264.)—Dionys. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xx. tot.—Athanas. Epist. Heortastic.—Cyril. Sermon. xxx.

^s Leo, Epist. xciii. al. xcv. ad Episcopos Gallos.

^t Conc. Arelat. I. c. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1427.) Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominicæ, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et juxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas.—Conc. Carth. III.

circular letters to give timely notice of these things to the several churches under their jurisdiction. Particularly the fourth Council of Orleans, speaking of the time of keeping Easter uniformly by the Paschal *laterculus*, or ‘table,’ made by Victorius (Victor they call him), say, “The bishops of France shall, every year, on the day of Epiphany, give notice of the time when the festival is to be kept in their churches. And if any doubt arise about the time, they shall have recourse to their metropolitan, and he to the apostolical see, for resolution.” And this leads us to the consideration of the next great festival, which was that of Easter.

CHAPTER V.

OF EASTER, OR THE PASCHAL FESTIVAL.

SECT. I. — *The Paschal Solemnity anciently reckoned Fifteen Days, the whole Week before, and the Week after Easter Sunday.*

IN speaking of the Paschal solemnity, I shall here only consider that part of it which was properly festival. For we are to know, the ancients commonly included fifteen days in the whole solemnity of the Pasch, that is, the week before Easter Sunday, and the week following it: the one of which was called *Pascha* σταυρώσιμον, ‘the Pasch of the cross;’ and the

c. i. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1167.) Placuit in principio propter errorem, qui sæpe solet oboriri, ut omnes Africanæ provinciæ episcopi observationem Paschalem ab ecclesia Carthaginensi curent accipere.— Can. xli. Adjicimus, de die Paschæ nobis esse mandatum, ut de ecclesia semper Carthaginensi instruamur, et non sub angusto temporis spatio. — Conc. Carth. V. c. vii. Placuit, ut dies venerabilis Paschæ formatarum subscriptione omnibus intimetur. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1216.)

▪ Conc. Aurelian. IV. c. i. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 381.) Placuit, ut sanctum Pascha secundum laterculum Victorii ab omnibus sacerdotibus uno tempore celebretur. Quæ festivitas annis singulis ab episcopo Epiphaniarum die in ecclesiâ populis denuntietur. De qua sollemnitate quoties aliquid dubitatur, inquisita vel agnita per metropolitanos a sede apostolica sacra constitutio teneatur. — Conc. Antisiodor. c. ii. (ibid. p. 957.) Ut omnes presbyteri ante Epiphaniam missos suos dirigant, qui eis de principio quadragesimæ nuntient, et in ipsa Epiphania ad populum indicent.

other *Pascha ἀναστάσιμον*, 'the Pasch of the Resurrection.' Suicerus will furnish the learned reader with examples of both.^a The general name *Pascha*, which is of Hebrew extract from *Pesach*, which signifies 'the Passover,' will comprise both. For the Christian Passover includes as well the Passion as the Resurrection of our Saviour, who is the true Paschal Lamb, or Passover, that was sacrificed for us. And, therefore, though our English word, 'Easter,' be generally used only to signify the Resurrection, yet the ancient word *Pascha*, was taken in a larger sense, to denote as well the Pasch of the Crucifixion, as the Pasch of the Resurrection. And, for this reason, the ancients commonly speak of the Pasch as containing fifteen days in its solemnity, including the Passion-week, together with that of the Resurrection. Thus, in one of the laws of Theodosius,^b where he decrees what days shall be days of vacation from all business of the law, he reckons into the number of them the holy days of the Pasch : seven going before, and seven following after. And Gothofred, in his learned commentary upon the place, says, both Papianus,^c in his body of laws, collected by him out of the Roman, for the use of the Burgundians ; and Anianus, in his collection for the use of the Visigoths,^d keep to the same phrase of fifteen Paschal days. To which we find also a plain reference made by St. Austin,^e in a sermon preached by him on the *Dominica in Albis*, or Sunday following Easter-day, wherein he thus addresses himself to his audience : — " The days of vacation are now over ; and those of

^a Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 304 ; et tom. ii. p. 1014.

^b Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.) Sanctos quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero, vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus.

^c Papian. Lib. Responsor. tit. xii. Paschalibus etiam quindecim diebus.

^d Leg. Visigoth. lib. ii. tit. i. leg. xi.

^e Aug. Serm. xix. ex editis a Sirmondo, (tom. x. p. 811), (Bened. 1700, vol. v. p. 741, C.) Peracti sunt dies feriat : succedent jam illi conventionum, exactionum, litigiorum : videte quomodo in his vivatis, Fratres mei. De vacatione dierum istorum mansuetudinem debetis concipere, non jurgiorum consilia meditari. Sunt enim homines, qui propterea vacaverunt per dies istos, ut cogitarent malitias, quas exercerent post dies istos. Petimus vos, ut ita vivatis, tamquam qui Deo rationem reddituros vos sciatis de tota vita, non de solis istis quindecim diebus.

convening, exactions, and lawsuits, succeed in their room. Take care, my brethren, how ye spend these days. From the vacation of the foregoing days, ye ought to learn meekness, not to meditate subtle devices : for some men rest on those days only to plot wickedness, which they may practise when the festival days are over. We desire you may so live, as they that are to give account to God, not only of those fifteen days, but of their whole life." And Scaliger mentions a law of Constantine,^f wherein the Paschal weeks, the one before, the other after the Pasch, are ordered to be days of vacation from all proceedings at law. But because the former of these Paschal weeks belongs to the Lent fast, we will consider it under that head ; and here only speak of the Paschal solemnity, as it was properly festival.

SECT. II.—*Great Disputes in the Church concerning this Festival, some observing it on a fixed Day every Year.*

Now, concerning this, there were anciently very great disputes in the Church: though all agreed in the observation of it in general, yet they differed very much as to the particular time when it was to be observed ; some keeping it precisely on the same stated day every year ; others on the fourteenth day of the first moon in the new year, whatever day of the week that happened to fall upon ; others deferring it to the first Sunday after the first full moon ; and those often differing in the Sunday, on which they celebrated it, by the difference and variety of their calculations. Epiphanius says,^g " Some of the Quartadecimans in Cappadocia always kept their Pasch on the eighth of the Kalends of April, that is, the twenty-fifth of March, pretending certain information from the Acts of Pilate, that that was the day

^f Scaliger. de Emendat. Tempor. p. 776. Τὰς πασχαλίας δύο ἰσομάδας ἀπρέμκτους τιλεῖν τὴν τι πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτό.

^g Epiphan. Hæres. l. Quartadeciman. n. i. " Ἐστὶν δὲ ἰξ αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ἄγοντες, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μίαν ἡμέραν νηστεύοντες, καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκτων δῆθεν Πιλάτου αὐχοῦσι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν εὐρηκεῖναι, ἢ οἷς ἰμφίρεται, τῇ πρὸ οὐκὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πικποθῖναι καὶ ἢ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βούλονται ἄγειν τὸ πάσχα, ὅποια δ' ἂν ἰμπάση ἡ τισσαρισκαδικάτη τῆς σιλήνης. . . Ἰτι δὲ εὐρομαι ἀντίγραφᾳ ἐκ τῶν Πιλάτου, ἢ οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δικαπίντι καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γιγνησθαι. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 420, A.)

of our Saviour's passion ; yet other copies of those Acts said the sixteenth of the Kalends of April ; that is, the seventeenth of March." The Christians of Gaul also, till the time of Pope Victor, if Bede may be credited,^h kept their Pasch always on the eighth of the Kalends of April, that is, the twenty-fifth of March, taking that to have been the day of our Saviour's resurrection. Bede cites the authority of Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and the synod held under him for this. But considering that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who lived in the time of Pope Victor, says no such thing of the French Churches, but the contrary, that they fixed their Easter to no certain day, but kept it as other Western Churches did, on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the moon ; it is more likely that Bede was imposed upon by some spurious epistle of Theophilus, and false act of his synod, which charged the Gallican Churches with what they were not really guilty of.

SECT. III. — *Others observing it, with the Jews, on the fourteenth Day of the Moon, whatever Day of the Week that happened upon.*

However we are sure, that in the second century there happened a great dispute between the Asiatic Churches and the rest of the world concerning this day. Pope Pius, who lived about the year 147, had made a decree, that the annual solemnity of the Pasch should be kept only on the Lord's-day ; and in confirmation of this he pretended, that Hermes, his brother, who was then an eminent teacher among them, had received instruction from an angel,ⁱ who commanded that all men should keep the Pasch on the Lord's-day. Yet, notwithstanding this, the Asiatics kept to their ancient custom ; and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome to confer with Anicetus upon it. They could come to no agreement upon the time : "for Anicetus could not

^h Bed. de Ratione Temporum, c. xlv. Galli quacumque die viii. Kalend. Aprilis fuisset, quando Christi resurrectio fuisse tradebatur, Pascha semper celebrabant. — Id. de Æquinoctio Vernali, tom. ii. p. 232.

ⁱ Pii Ep. i. Hermæ angelus Domini in habitu pastoris apparuit, et præcepit ei, ut Pascha die Dominico ab omnibus celebraretur.

persuade Polycarp^j to alter a custom which he had observed with St. John the apostle, and the rest of the apostles of the Lord, with whom he had lived, and familiarly conversed. Neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to recede from a custom, which he had received from the elders that were before him. Yet they continued to communicate with each other, and Anicetus did Polycarp the honour to let him consecrate the eucharist in his Church: and so they parted from each other in peace; all Churches, as well those that observed it on the Lord's-day as those that did not, still agreeing to preserve Christian peace and communion one with another."

Not long after the death of Polycarp, the controversy was revived again at Laodicea, upon which Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote his two books, *De Paschate*, wherein he defended the opinion of the Asiatics, as is evident from the testimony and character which, not long after, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, gives of him. For when the dispute was set on foot again by the fierceness of Pope Victor, Polycrates wrote to him, and told him,^k "They observed the Pasch on the fourteenth day of the moon, as it had been kept and handed down to them by St. Philip the apostle, who died at Hierapolis; and St. John the apostle, who died at Ephesus; by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; by Thraseas the martyr, bishop of Eumenia; by Sagaris the martyr, bishop of Laodicea; by Papirius; and Melito, bishop of Sardis; and many others, whose custom was to celebrate the Pasch on the same day that the Jews were wont to put away their leaven." This did not satisfy Pope Victor: but he, in a great paroxysm of intemperate zeal, immediately excommunicated all the Asiatic Churches, and sent his

^j Iren. Epist. ad Victor. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 157, A. 12.) Οὗτοι γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πῦσαι ἰδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἱ συνδι-
τριψιν, αἱ τιτηρηκότα· οὗτοι μὲν ὁ Πολύκρως τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἱκναιοι τηρεῖν, λίγοντα
τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρισκυτίων ὀφείλιν κατέχιν· καὶ τούτων οὕτως
χρίτων, ἰκοινώθησαν ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν ὑ-
περιστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μισ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
ἀπηλλάγησαν.

^k Polycrates, Epist. ap. Euseb. ibid. pp. 155, 156.

circular letters to all Churches that were of his opinion, that they should hold no communion with them. But this rash and bold act of his was ill resented by all wise and sober men of his own party, several of whom wrote sharply to him, advising him rather to take such measures and resolutions as were proper to preserve charity, unity, and peace, among the Churches. Particularly Irenæus¹ (whose nature, by what the Greeks call *pheronymy*, corresponded to his name, being of an irenical, or pacific temper) wrote to him in the name of the Church of Gaul, and in a decent manner admonished him not to excommunicate whole Churches of God for observing an ancient custom which they had received by tradition from their ancestors: "Forasmuch as that there had been disputes of old in the Church, not only about the day, but about the manner of the fast preceding it: some fasting one, some two, some more days; yet all these kept peace one with another, as we now do, and the difference in the manner of fasting only commended their unanimity in the faith." He added, "That Polycarp and Anicetus, though they could not agree upon the point, yet parted friends, and continued to communicate with each other, notwithstanding this difference," as has been related before. Athanasius also tells us further,^m that the Churches of Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, were in the same sentiments with the Asiatic Churches in his time: though it is a dispute between Bishop Usherⁿ and Vale-

¹ Iren. ap. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 156, C. 8. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἔτους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰοῦται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν· οἱ δὲ δύο· οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τισσαράκοντα ἄρας ἡμερίδας τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμιτρεῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πατρῶν . . . Καὶ οὐδὲν ἴλαστον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρηνοῦσάν τε, καὶ εἰρηνοῦσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι.

^m Athanas. *Epist. ad Africanos* (Colon. 1686, tom. i. p. 933, B), (p. 892, edit. Paris. 1698.) Οἱ κατὰ Συρίαν, καὶ Κιλικίαν, καὶ Μισσοποταμίαν διφώνουσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῷ καιρῷ, ἐν ᾧ ποιούμεν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ αὐτοί. — Id. de Synodis Arimin. et Seleuc. p. 872, C. 10, (p. 719, edit. cit.) Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ Κιλικίας, καὶ Μισσοποταμίας ἰχθάλουσι περὶ τὴν ἱερὴν, καὶ μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱκοῦν τὸ πάσχα.

ⁿ Usser. de *Epistolis Ignat.* c. ix. Admisso ab omnibus communiter Judaico isto calculo; alii Pascha σταυρώσειμον die primo azymorum, in quancunque septimanæ feriam ille incidisset, lugendo et jejunando observabant; eoque transacto

sius,^o whether they were so originally; for Valesius will not allow that they were so in the time of Pope Victor. However, we see there were many great and famous Churches which kept their Pasch on the fourteenth day of the moon, with the Jews, and that as a custom received by tradition from St. Philip and St. John the apostles. Neither were they induced by the menaces of Pope Victor to alter their custom, but continued it to the time of the Council of Nice (an. 324). About which time Constantine being very desirous to compose this difference in the Church, sent Osius, bishop of Corduba, first into the East, as Sozomen relates,^p to try if he could bring the dissenting party to a unanimity with the rest of their brethren. But, failing of his design, he afterwards proposed the matter to the Council of Nice, where a decree was made, that the holy feast of the Pasch should be kept on one and the same day by all; as appears from one of Constantine's epistles to the bishops who came not to the

jejunium solvebant (ut ex Chrysostomi oratione intelligimus, adversus eos habita, qui primo Pascha jejunabant): alii jejunium usque ad proximam Dominicam continuantes, in ea Pascha ἀναστάσιμον cum gaudio et festivitate celebrabant. Prior consuetudo, in ecclesiis non solum Asiæ proprie dictæ (quod ex controversia, cum eis hac de re a Victore Romano episcopo habita, notum est) sed etiam Syriæ, Mesopotamiæ, et Ciliciæ (ut ex Athanasii Libro de Synodis et Epistola ad Africanos, colligitur) obtinuit: posterior in Romana, Alexandrina, et aliis ecclesiis est recepta, &c.

^o Vales. in Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (p. 92, A. 16.) Jacobus Usserius in Prolegomenis ad Ignatii Epistolas, c. ix. scribit, Asianos, qui primo azymorum die cum Judæis Pascha celebrabant, eum diem cum luctu ac jejunio transegisse, eoque demum transacto jejunium quadragesimale solvisse. Verum huic sententiæ refragatur Eusebius, qui diserte adfirmat Asianos die xiv. primi mensis, quamvis non esset Dominica, finem statuisse quadragesimæ. Quod vero Usserius adfert Chrysostomi testimonium, meo quidem judicio ejus sententiam nihil adjuvat. Nam Chrysostomus in Oratione illa 'adversus eos qui Pascha jejunant,' invehitur adversus quosdam Quartadecimanos, qui xiv. lunæ cum Judæis Pascha celebrabant, eoque die jejunabant ac mysteria celebrabant; id enim proprium erat Quartadecimanorum, ut in eorum hæresi tradit Epiphanius. Verum priscos Asianos ita fecisse, nec Chrysostomus, nec alius quisquam dixit.

^p Sozom. lib. i. c. xvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 350, B. 5.) Νομίσας τε δύνασθαι προκαταλαβὴν τὸ κακὸν, πρὶν εἰς πλείους χωρῆσαι, πίμπρι ἀνδρα τὸν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πίστιν καὶ βίῃν ἐπίσημον, καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος ἡμολογίαις ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις εὐδοκιμηκότα, διαλλάζοντα τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διὰ τὸ δόγμα στασιάζοντας, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἑω περὶ τὴν ἱερτὴν διαφερομένους· ἦν δὲ οὗτος· Ὁσιος ὁ Κερδούσης ἐπίσκοπος.

synod, which is recorded by all the historians.^q Not long after this, the Council of Antioch (an. 341) made a more peremptory decree, that all who presumed to disannul the determination made by the holy and great Council of Nice, concerning the Paschal festival, should be excommunicated, and cast out of the Church, if they persisted contentiously to oppose what was there decreed.^r The like canons had been made several times before, but none so peremptory as this. Eusebius mentions abundance of synods in the time of Pope Victor,^s which determined with him that the resurrection Pasch ought only to be kept on the Lord's-day; but they did not excommunicate any one that opposed them, but rather, as Sozomen relates,^t mutually tolerated one another in their different observations. The first Council of Arles, likewise,^u before the Council of Nice (an. 314), had given in charge, that the Pasch of the Lord's resurrection should be observed *uno die, et tempore, per omnem orbem*, 'at one time, and one and the same day, throughout all the world.' But they added no such penalty of excommunication, to be inflicted on those that observed the contrary custom. The only rule which pressed the observation with severity, was one of the Apostolical Canons,^x supposed to be made by

^q Theodoret. lib. i. c. x. — Socrat. lib. i. c. ix. — Sozom. lib. i. c. xxi. — Euseb. de Vita Constantini, lib. iii. c. xiv.

^r Conc. Antioch. c. i. Πάντας τοὺς τολμῶντας παραλύνει τὸν ὕρον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου, τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συγκροτηθείσης ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἑορτῆς τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάσχα, ἀκοινωνήτους καὶ ἀποεὐλόγητους ἵναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ ἐπιμένουσιν φιλονικητικῶς ἰνσταμένους πρὸς τὰ καλῶς διδογμένα. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 561.)

^s Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1695, p. 154, D. 8.) Σύνοδοι καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο· πάντες τε μὲν γνώμη δι' ἰσχυροῦς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσι διευνοῦντο, ὡς ἂν μὴ δ' ἐν ἄλλῃ σὸς τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτιλοῖτο τοῦ Κυρίου μυστήριον.

^t Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (ibid. p. 595, D. 2.) Ἐπεὶ οἱ πρὸς δύοιν ἱερεῖς οὐκ ἦντο δὲν Παύλου καὶ Πίτρου τὴν παράδοσιν ἀτιμάζουσιν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Ἰωάννη τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ ἀκολουθεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο· ταῦτα κοινῇ δόξαν, ἵκαστοι ὡς εἰώθεισαν ἑορτάζοντες, τῆς πρὸς σφῶς κοινωνίας οὐκ ἔχωρίσθησαν· εὐθεὶς γὰρ καὶ μάλα δικαίως ὑπέλαβον, ἰδὼν ἵπικιν ἀλλήλων χωρίζεσθαι, περὶ τὰ καίρια τῆς θρησκείας συμφωνοῦσιν.

^u Conc. Arelat. c. i. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1427.) Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominici, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et juxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas.

^x Can. Apost. c. vii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 25.) Ἐὰν τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος,

some Eastern council about the time of Pope Victor, which says, "If any presbyter or deacon keep the day of the holy Pasch, before the vernal equinox, with the Jews, let him be deposed." But this, at most, only affected the clergy. But when the great Council of Nice had once undertaken to determine this matter, such a deference was thought proper to be paid to her decree, as that it was reputed a schismatical act, and worthy of ecclesiastical censure, for any one to oppose it. And, therefore, from this time the opposers of the decree are commonly censured, either as heretics or schismatics, as may be seen in the Canons of Laodicea,⁷ and the first Council of Constantinople,⁸ and the accounts which St. Austin^a and Epiphanius give of the ancient heretics, where they are condemned under the names of Quartadecimani, and Tessarescædecatis, and Audiani, with a particular reason given for their condemnation. For St. Austin notes out of Epiphanius, that the Audians were condemned not so much for their opinion in this point, as for their per-
 vicaciousness in making a disturbance and schism in the Church upon it. For they would not hold any communion with their own bishops,^b nor with any that did not keep the Pasch at the same time that the Jews did. Epiphanius gives a large account of them, and says,^c "They railed at the Council of Nice for introducing a new custom, in com-

ἡ διάκονος τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν πρὸ τῆς ἱερῆς ἰσημερίας μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἱππεύουσιν, καθαιρείσθω.

⁷ Conc. Laodic. c. vii. Περὶ τοῦ, τοὺς ἐν τῶν αἰρίσιν, τοῦτ' ἔστι, Ναυατιανῶν, ἥτοι Φωστιανῶν, ἢ Τεσσαρεσκαιδικατῶν, πιστοφρομένους, κ. τ. λ. (Labbé, i. 1497.)

⁸ Conc. Constantinop. I. c. vii. Ἀρειανούς μὲν καὶ Μακεδονιανούς . . . καὶ τοὺς Τεσσαρεσκαιδικατῆς, κ. τ. λ.

^a Aug. Hæres. xix. et l. — Epiphanius. Hæres. l. Quartadeciman. Et Hæres. lxx. Audianos. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 1, &c.)

^b Ibid. de Hæres. c. l. Eos autem separasse se, dicit Epiphanius, a communione nostra, culpando episcopos divites, et Pascha cum Judæis celebrando. (P. 14.)

^c Epiphanius. Hæres. lxx. n. ix. (Paris. 1662, vol. i. p. 821, A. 2.) Ἀπὸ Κωνσταντίνου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα φησὶ προσωποληψίαν καταλειοῦσθαι τὴν τῶν πατέρων περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἱερῆς ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν μεταλλάττειν εἰς τὸ καθεῖναι τοῦ βασιλέως. — Id. n. xiv. p. 827. Ὑπόστασις δὲ καὶ ἱεροῦ αὐτὸς ὁ γέρονς Ἀβδὶος εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Σαββάτης, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἱεροισθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀφηνιάζειν λαούς. — Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejulant, tom. v. p. 706, (p. 632, edit. Francof.) Τριακοῖσι πατέρι, ἢ καὶ πλείους, εἰς τὴν Βίβλιν χῶρει συνελθόντες, ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησαν καὶ πάντας ἀτιμάζεις ἐκείνους; κ. τ. λ.

pliance with Constantine's humour, and made a separation in the Church; upon which Constantine banished Audius, their leader, into Gothia or Scythia, because he drew many away from the Church into a separate communion. The case was now very different from what it was in the time of Pope Anicetus and Victor, when Polycarp and Polycrates kept their Pasch at a different time from the rest of the world, but still made no division in the Church, but lived in peace and communion with those that differed from them. And this, no doubt, was the reason why the Audians, or new Quartadecimans, were treated with such severity, both by the Church and state, above the old ones, because they pervicaciously carried their dissent into a schism, and made a formal rupture in the communion of the Church: and for this reason the imperial laws were often very severe upon them. Theodosius the Great, in one of his laws,^d ranks them with the Manichees, forbidding their conventicles, confiscating their goods, rendering them intestate, and liable also to capital punishment. In like manner, Theodosius Junior ranks the Sabbatians and Protapaschitæ (which were new denominations of the Quartadecimans, taken up in his time) among the Manichees, Cataphrygians or Montanists, Arians, Macedonians,^e Eunomians, Novatians, and makes them all liable to the same general punishments inflicted by the laws. And more particularly in two other laws^f he

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæret. leg. ix. (Lugd. 1665, vol. vi. p. 124.) Quicumque in unum Paschæ diem non obsequenti religione convenerint, tales indubitanter, quales hac lege damnavimus, habeantur.

^e Ibid. leg. lix. Manichæi et Phryges . . . Ariani itidem, Macedonianique et Eunomiani, Novatiani et Sabbatiani, ceterique hæretici, sciant, universa sibi hac quoque constitutione denegari, quæ illis generalium sanctionum interdixit auctoritas: puniendis, qui contra generalium Constitutionum interdicta venire tentaverint.

^f Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. vi. (Lugd. 1664.) Ne sanctum baptismum iteretur.—Leg. vi. Illud etiam, quod a retro Principibus dissimulatum, et in injuriam sacræ legis ab exsecrandis hominibus agitur, et ab iis potissimum, qui Novatianorum collegio desertores et refugæ, auctores se quum potiores (al. portiones) memoratæ sectæ haberi contendunt, quibus ex crimine nomen est, quum se Protapaschitas appellari desiderent, inultum esse non patimur. Sed si alio die Novatiani, quam quo orthodoxorum antistites prædicandum ac memorabilem in sæculis diem Paschæ duxerint celebrandum, auctores illius conventionis deportatio pariter ac proscriptio subsequatur: contra quos etiam acrior pœna fuerat pro-

styles them execrable men, who, being a spawn of the Novatians, were not content to be in the common herd, but set up a new sect, called Protopaschites, because they kept the Pasch before other Christians, and pretended that their way was the true primitive and original institution. These he condemns to be both confiscated and banished; and says they deserved a more severe punishment, because they exceeded other heretics in madness, worshipping in a manner another Christ, by keeping the Pasch at another time, and after a different manner than all orthodox Christians. I remember no other place at present that mentions the Protopaschites by name but only this law; but it is plain they were one of the worst sort of Quartadecimans, who had made a new separation from the Novatian schismatics upon this question about the Paschal festival. For some of the Novatians, in one of their synods at Pazus, in Phrygia, had made a decree, mentioned by Socrates,^s that Easter ought to be kept with the Jews: which occasioning a new dispute among them (for the old Novatians at Rome and Constantinople were of a different opinion), Marcianus, the Novatian bishop of Constantinople, called another synod at Angarus, in Bithynia, where, to end the controversy, and lay it asleep, they made a new canon, called the *ἀδιάφορον*; which was, that the matter should be indifferent, and that both parties might keep the feast their own way, and not break communion upon it. But Sabbatius, a fierce man among them, would not yield to this, but said the decree of the Synod of Pazus ought to be observed, and the Pasch ought to be observed after the manner of the Jews.^b And upon this he

mulganda: si quidem hoc delictum etiam hæreticorum vesaniam superet, qui alio tempore, quam quo Orthodoxi, Paschæ festivitatem observantes, alium pene Dei Filium, non quem colimus, venerantur.—Id. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xxiv. (ibid. p. 295.) Eos qui omnibus hæreticis hac una sunt persuasione peiores, quod in venerabili die Paschæ ab omnibus dissentiunt, si in eadem amentia perseverant, eadem pœna multamus, bonorum proscriptione atque exilio.

^s Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxviii. (Vales. p. 202, A. 1.) Σύνοδος ἐν Πάσῃ πόλει, ἵνα τοῦ Σαγγελίου ποταμοῦ εἰσὶν αἱ σηναι, ποιήσαντες ἑλίγοι τινὲς καὶ οὐκ εὐσημοὶ τῶν πλεῖστων Ναυασιανῶν ἱερίσκοι, ἔχον ἐκφίξευσιν, ᾧσιν Ἰουδαίους ἱερωτέρως ποιῶντας τὰ ἄλγιστα, καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἱστορίαν ἰορτήν.

^b Ibid. lib. v. c. xxi. tot.

made a new separation among the Novatians, and headed the Protopaschites, who from him were called Sabbatians. It appears also from Chrysostom,ⁱ that these Protopaschites were gone further into the Jewish notions about the Pasch than the rest of the Quartadecimans. For they asserted, that it was necessary to observe the Jewish Azyma, and keep the fast as the Jews did, when the Pasch was over. For Sabbatius himself was originally a Jew, and retained a tincture of Judaism when he professed the Christian religion; as Socrates notes in the forementioned place. So they kept a feast with the Jews, when the Christians fasted on the Passion-day (as Chrysostom charges them^k), and fasted on Easter-day, when the Christians kept their festival in memory of the resurrection. This, as far as I can collect, is the true history of the progress which the new Quartadeciman schism made after the Council of Nice; and the reason why the laws, both imperial and ecclesiastical, proceeded with greater severity against them, above the old Quartadecimans, who never broke communion with their brethren, however they differed from them in their practice. They thought the peace and unity of the Church of greater value than the observation of times and seasons; and if they could not comply with their brethren in the precise time of keeping Easter, yet they were careful, for all that, to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

SECT. IV. — *They, who kept it on the Lord's-Day, did not always agree to fix it on the same Lord's-Day, by Reason of their different Calculations.*

Besides this difference about keeping Easter on the Lord's-day, there was another, which, though of less moment, yet sometimes very much embarrassed and troubled

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos, qui Pascha jejunant, tom v. p. 713, (p. 633, edit. Francof.) Τοῦτο ἀκούω λεγόντων πολλῶν, ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ ἁζύμου τὸ πάσχα ἴσθιν.

^k Ibid. p. 710, A. 2, (p. 636, edit. cit.) Οὐ διὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστεύομεν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν σταυρὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τὰ ἡμῖν, ἡμεῖς μίλλομεν μυστηρίους προσεῖναι ἰαυὶ τῷ πάσχα οὐ νηστείας ἴσθιν, οὐδὲ πίνουσιν, ἀλλ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρῆς ὑπάρχει.

the Church. That was a dispute among those who agreed to observe the festival on no other but the Lord's-day. For though they all unanimously combined in this, yet it was not so easy to determine on what Lord's-day it was to be held, because it was a movable feast; and, therefore, sometimes it happened, that the Churches of one country kept it a week or a month sooner than others, by reason of their different calculations. It appears from an epistle of St. Ambrose,¹ that, in the year 387, Easter was kept at three several times: some observing it March 21, others April 18, and others 25; so it happened again, an. 577. The Churches of Gaul kept it on March 21, the Churches of Italy on April 18, and the Churches of Egypt on April 25: as Bishop Stillingfleet^m shews out of Gregory of Tours, and Labbé's *Chronologicum Technicum* (an. 387 and 577). Where he shews further, out of the ancient *Laterculus Paschalis*, published by Bucherius,ⁿ that the Easter of the Latins was,

¹ Ambros. Ep. lxxxiii. tot. (xxiii. tom. ii. opp. p. 880, seqq. edit. Paris. 1690.)

^m Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, p. 323. It appears by the ancient 'Laterculus Paschalis,' first published by Bucherius, that within the compass of it, viz. a hundred years, the Easter of the Latins was kept a month sooner than the Alexandrians, viz. A.D. 322, 349, 406. And A.D. 387, a threefold Easter was kept, some March 21, others April 25, others April 18, as appears by St. Ambrose's Epistle, written on that occasion. Again, A.D. 577, a threefold Easter was kept: some keeping it the eighteenth of April, as those which followed Victorius; others, the twenty-fifth of April, viz. those which followed the Alexandrian Canon; and others again, even in Gaul, as Gregory Turonensis saith, on the 12. Kalend. of April, March 21, the very day of the vernal equinox, &c.

ⁿ Bucher. Commentar. in Hippolyt. can. Paschal. p. 264. Hic est Paschalis ille centum annorum laterculus, quo vetustiore, Latinorum quidem, nondum videre contigit; nobilissimum (meo quidem sensu) venerandæ antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ monumentum. Et est illius epocha sane perillustris; nempe a Maxentio, crucis virtute per Constantinum debellato, assertaque tum primum ecclesiæ, saltem in Occidente, libertate, annis ante Nicænam synodum omnino tredecim. Qui ejus meminert, neminem veterum adhuc invenies: vetustissimæ tantum membranæ beneficio ad nos usque pervenit. Cuspiniano quoque in manus obvenisse, ex ejus fastis intelligimus, ut supra monui. Porro Latinorum potius, quam aliorum fuisse, docet nos ipsa Paschatum series. Nam cum iis solis ter Pascha planissime decernit, toto mense, quam Victorius et Alexandrini, maturius. Semel anno Christi 322, iterum 349, denique 406; et limes ipse patrum Cæsariensium Paschalis, qui numquam hic violatur, numquam jam inde ab synodo Nicæna ab Alexandrinis, sed Latinorum dumtaxat nonnullis admissus, his potius, quam illis adstruit.

three times, a month sooner than that of the Alexandrians, within the compass of a hundred years, — viz. an. 322, 349, 406. It appears also from Leo's Epistles,^o that in the year 455 there were eight days difference between the Easter at Rome and at Alexandria. Cyril of Alexandria,^p in one of

^o Leo, Epist. lxiv. ad Marcian. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1355, C. 5.) Theophilus, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopus, quum hujus observationis annos centum numero collegisset, septuagesimo sexto Paschale festum longe aliter, quam alii decreverant, tenendum esse constituit, a primo augustæ memoriæ Theodosii senioris consulatu (i. e. an. Christi 380) succedentes sibi sacræ observantiæ ordines ponens : ut longioris temporis ratio ejus litteris teneretur adscripta, cujus complexionis septuagesimus et quartus est annus, in qua pridie Idus Aprilis sanctum Pascha celebravimus : sequenti vero anno pridie Nonas Aprilis eadem, propitio Deo, erit habenda festivitas, sicut regulariter centenariæ annorum rationis ordo declarat. Sed in anno, qui erit septuagesimus sextus (i. e. Christi 455) Paschæ dies inveniatur adscriptus, quem a passione Domini nullius exempli, nullius constitutionis admittit auctoritas. Nam diem octavum Kalendarum Maiarum ab eo cognoscimus præfinitum, qui anni limitem antiquitus constitutum excedit : quum alii quinto decimo Kalendarum Maiarum huic festivitati deputaverint diem, &c. — Id. Epist. lrv. ad Eudociam, (ibid. p. 1356). Annus, qui erit septuagesimus sextus (Chr. 455) memorati episcopi (Theophili Alexandrini) annotationem habere cognoscitur, quæ a totius antiquitatis exemplo et ab omni auctoritate patrum discordat. Siquidem in octavum Kalendarum Maiarum Dominicum Pascha transtulerit, præfinitos antiquitatis limites nimis audenter excedens, quum die quinto decimo Kalendarum Maiarum Paschalem sollemnitatem potuerit adnotare. — Id. Epist. xcv. ad Episcopos Galliæ et Hispaniæ. Quum in quibusdam adscriptionibus patrum, futurum proxime Pascha Domini, ab aliis in diem xv. Kalendas Maias, ab aliis in diem viii. Kalendas easdem inveniretur adscriptum, tantum me diversitas ista permovit, ut clementissimo principi Marciano curam hac de re animi mei panderem, &c. (P. 1420.)

^p Cyril. Epist. Paschal. ap. Bucher. de Doctrina Temporum, p. 482. Quum his igitur atque hujusmodi dissensionibus per universum orbem Paschalis regula turbaretur ; sanctorum totius orbis synodi consensione decretum est, ut quoniam apud Alexandriam talis esset reperta ecclesia, quæ in hujus scientia clareret, quota Kalendarum vel Iduum, quota luna Pascha debeat celebrari, per singulos annos Romanæ ecclesiæ litteris intimaret ; unde apostolica auctoritate universalis ecclesia per totum orbem definitum Paschæ diem sine ulla disceptatione cognosceret. Quod cum per multa sæcula pariter custodissent ; nullamque inde Scripturarum quispiam crederet, ubi nulla quæstio solveretur ; et nonnunquam occurreret, ut in Sabbato luna xxi., quæ illis xxiii. a quinto decimo Kalendarum Maiarum, usque in octavum, quasi in secundo mense Pascha celebrare metueretur ; essetque magna confusio in omni ecclesia, Prætorio vel Palatio ; — Theodosius, imperator religiosissimus, qui non solum in humanis, verum etiam in Divinis legibus placere Deo semper studuit, sanctum Theophilum, Alexandrinæ urbis episcopum, suis litteris corrogavit, ut sacramentum Paschæ evidentissima ratione disserere, sibi que dirigere dignaretur. Cujus sanctissimis præceptis

his Paschal epistles, complains that there was great confusion in the account of Easter both in the Church, the camp, and the palace. And Anatolius, in his Preface to his Paschal Canon, complains,^q “That there were very different and contrary cycles in use in his time (an. 270): some following Hippolytus’s cycle of sixteen; others, the Jewish cycle of eighty-four; others, a cycle of twenty-five; others, a cycle of thirty; and,” he tells us, “that Isidore, Hierom, Clements, and Origen, all his countrymen, Egyptians, had laboured in this matter before him.” But, notwithstanding any endeavours that could be used then, or afterwards, there remained great differences in the Church about it for many ages: for the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland did not accord with the Roman Church in keeping Easter on the same Sunday,^r till about the year 800. Nor was the Roman way fully received in France, till it was settled there

obtemperans, quadringentorum octodecim annorum circulum Paschalem instituit, ejusque clementiæ, a primo anno consulatus ejus, usque ad centum calculans, quota Kalendarum vel Iduum, et quota luna Pascha debeat celebrari, subjectis suis litteris destinavit, manifestamque veritatem sub libello breviter perstrinxit. In quo, revelante sibi Domino, perfectæ rationis ordinem pandit, omnesque errores, ac superfluas quæstiones luce clarius expugnavit atque dissolvit.

^q Anatol. can. Paschal. ap. Bucher. p. 439. In veteribus exemplaribus, id est, Hebræis et Græcis voluminibus, non tantum lunæ cursum, sed etiam solis non solum gressus, sed et singula ac minutissima horarum momenta, invenimus computa. E quibus Hippolytus xvi. annorum circulum quibusdam ignotis lunæ curribus composuit. Alii xxv., alii xxx., nonnulli lxxxiv. annorum circulum computantes, numquam ad veram Pascha computandi rationem pervenerunt. Verum majores nostri, Hebræorum et Græcorum librorum peritissimi (Isidorum, et Hieronymum, et Clementem dico) licet dissimilia mensium principia pro diversitate lingue senserint; tamen ad unam eandemque Paschæ certissimam rationem, die et luna, et tempore convenientibus summa veneratione Dominicæ resurrectionis consenserunt. Sed et Origenes, omnium eruditissimus, et calculi componendi perspicacissimus (quippe qui et *χαλκιστής* vocatus), libellum de Pascha luculentissime edidit. In quo adnuntians de die Paschæ non solum cursum, et æquinoctii transitum intueundum, sed et solis transcensum, omnium tenebrarum tetras insidias et offendicula auferentis, et lucis adventum, ac totius elementorum virtutem et inspirationem afferentis, esse servandum, ita dicit: ‘In die,’ inquit, ‘Paschæ non dico observandum, ut dies Dominica inveniatur, et lunæ vii. (forte xiv.) dies transeundi, sed ut sol divisionem illam, lucis scilicet et tenebrarum, in exordio mundi, Domini dispensatione æqualiter compositam, transcendat,’ &c.

^r See Stillington’s Answer to Cressy, pp. 321, 322. — Dr. Prideaux’s Connexion of History, &c. part ii. book iv. p. 273.

by the authority of Charles the Great: as has lately been shewn by two learned writers, Bishop Stillingfleet and Dr. Prideaux, who give a full account of the controversy between the Britons and Romans, which I shall not here repeat; but only acquaint the reader how these differences happened at first in the Church, by using different ways of calculation.

It is agreed on all hands, that the first Christians of Jerusalem had no other way of finding out Easter, but by the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, which the Jews had used some time before to settle the anniversary returns of the Passover: which cycle, though it was a little faulty, continued to be used by the Christians for near two hundred years. Not that they kept their Easter on the fourteenth day with the Jews, as Scaliger^a and some others have erroneously hence concluded; for which they are corrected by Bishop Usher^t and Bishop Beveridge,^u who shew, that those first Christians of Jerusalem, though they followed the Jewish computation, did not keep Easter with the Jews on what day of the week soever it fell, but on the Sunday following, in honour of our Saviour's resurrection: however, they continued to use the Jewish cycle, till the fifteen bishops of Jerusalem, who were of the circumcision, were succeeded by others who were not of the circumcision, and then they began to reckon their Easter by other computations. Epiphanius

^a Scaliger. de Emendat. Tempor. lib. ii. p. 150. In primordiis ecclesiæ tum apostoli, tum qui eos centum annis postea sequuti sunt, Pascha semper Judaice celebrarunt, ut testantur Eusebius et Historia vetus Ecclesiastica, et post omnes Nicephorus Callistus. . . . Qui per omnia apostolos hac in re imitarentur, et permulti ex illis ex Judaismo ad Christianismum transissent, non obscurum est, eorum cyclum merum Judaicum fuisse, et de periodo Alexandria Judæorum peti solitum.

^t Usser. Prolegom. ad Ignat. c. ix. p. 204. Ut maximopere viri docti decepti heic fuerint, qui ex consensu in Paschatis mensis *Ἀπριλίῳ* cum primis Hierosolymorum episcopis stabilito, Paschatis quocumque septimanæ die cum Quartadecimanis observandi ritum simul fuisse introductum sibi persuaserunt.

^u Bever. ad Can. Apostol. vii. p. 19. Josephus Scaliger, tum apostolos, tum qui eos centum annis postea sequuti sunt, Pascha semper Judaice celebrasse ex Eusebio, Historia veteri Ecclesiastica, et Nicephoro Callisto adfirmare non veretur, de Emendat. Temp. lib. ii. p. 150, (edit. Genev. 1629.) Verum hanc Scaligeri doctrinam auctoribus istis falso adscriptam et ab omnibus detestandam esse Dionysius Petavius fuse probat, de Doctrina Temp. lib. ii. c. lvii.

says expressly,^x "That they kept Easter at first by the old Jewish cycle;" and he quotes an order out of the Apostolical Constitutions (different from those which we have now), appointing them not to trouble themselves about calculations, but to keep the feast at the same time with the brethren that came out of the circumcision; and not be concerned, though they were mistaken in their calculations. But when that succession of Jewish bishops was ended, with the destruction of Jerusalem, in the time of Hadrian, some Christians began to inquire into the defects of the Jewish cycle, which was found to make Easter sometimes anticipate the vernal equinox, and so bring two Easters into one year. To remedy which inconvenience, they began to invent other cycles. About the year 220, Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, or Adana in Arabia, published a new cycle in his Paschal Canon, which, Eusebius says,^y was called the *ἱκαίδεκαετηρίς*, or 'cycle of sixteen years.' Not long after this, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the year 250, set forth another canon called the *ὀκταετηρίς*, or 'cycle of eight years:' in which, as Eusebius tells us,^z he particularly remarked, that the Paschal festival ought never to be kept till after the vernal equinox. Not long after, Anatolius, who was also an Alexandrian, about the year 270, published another cycle, which Eusebius^a says was called the *ἑννεαδεκαετηρίς*, 'the cycle of nineteen:' in which he shewed, from several ancient Jewish writers themselves, that the Pasch ought never to be before the vernal equinox; and, therefore, there was a necessity of

^x Epiphan. Hæres. lxx. Audianos, n. x. 'Ὁρίζουσι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διατάξει οἱ ἀπίστολοι, ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζετε, ἀλλὰ σπουδίτε, ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμῶν, οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, μὴ αὐτῶν ἄμα σπουδίτε.

^y Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxii. (Vales. p. 182.) Τότε δὴτα καὶ Ἰσπόλυτος συντάττει, μετὰ πλείων ἄλλων ὑποσημαμάτων, καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα πιστώσας σύγγραμμα· ἐν ᾧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐθερίμην· καὶ τισι κανόνα ἱκαίδεκαετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα περιέδωκε, ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἴσως αὐτοκράτορος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ χρόνου περιγράφει.

^z Ibid. lib. vii. c. xx. (ibid. p. 217, B. 5.) 'Ἐν ᾗ [ἱστορῇ] καὶ κανόνα ἐκτίθειται ὀκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοις ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἱερὴν ἰσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἱερτὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκριστοτάμηνος.

^a Ibid. c. xxxii. (ibid. p. 234. A. 7.) 'Ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα Ἀνατολίου κανόνων ἴχως τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἴσως τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἥτις ἀπάσης ἴσως ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱνακαίδεκαετηρίδος.

correcting their cycle. Hence, about this time, Bishop Usher reckons the seventh of those called the Apostolical Canons,^b and the interpolation of the old Constitutions took their original. The former of which says,^c “If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, keep the Paschal feast before the vernal equinox, with the Jews, let him be deposed.” And the other,^d “Ye, brethren, who are redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, ought to keep the Pasch with all diligence and exactness after the equinox, that ye may not, twice in one year, commemorate the passion of him who died but once; and be careful that ye observe not the Pasch with the Jews. For we have now no communion with them. For they are deceived in their very calculation, which they imagine to be exact. So that they err in all respects, and are found to deviate from the truth.” We see, at this time, the Jewish calculation was rejected by the Eastern Church, and yet no certain one agreed upon in its room, to fix unalterably the precise Lord’s-day on which they were to celebrate this festival. Therefore, this matter remaining still uncertain, the Council of Nice,^e which determined that it should be kept only upon the Lord’s-day, is said also to have committed the care of the cycle to the bishops of Alexandria, that they might inform the rest of the world on what Lord’s-day every year it was to be observed. Some think upon this Eusebius was employed to draw up the cycle of nineteen,

^b Usser. Prolegom. in Ignat. c. ix. Atque hinc nata est, tum octavi canonis apostolici prima constitutio, tum διατάξις constitutio longe post ab interpolatione hæc nostra ad eundem facta conformatio.

^c Can. Apost. v. al. viii. See sect. iii. note (*), p. 92.

^d Constitut. lib. v. c. xvi. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 363.) Δεῖ οὖν ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, τοὺς τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμῇ ἐξηγορασμένους αἵματι, τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἀκριβῶς ποιῆσαι, μὴτὰ πάσης ἱσχυρίσεως, μὴτὰ τροπῆν ἰσημερινήν ὅπως μὴ δις τοῦ ἱουαννοῦ ἡνὸς παθήματος μνίαν ποιῶσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ ἁπαξ ἀποδείκνυντες μνηστὶ δι’ ἀσφατηροῦμενοι μὴτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐκτάξιν οὐδεμίαν γὰρ κοινωνία ἡμῖν νῦν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πιστάνηται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψῆφον, ἣν νομίζουσι ἐπιτελεῖν ὅπως πανταχόθεν ὡσεὶ πτωλανθίνοι, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπισχοινοῦμενοι.

^e Leo. Epist. lxiv. (Labbé, vol. iii. p. 1355, C.) ad Marcian. August. Studuerunt sancti patres (Nicæni) occasionem hujus erroris auferre, omnem hanc curam Alexandrino episcopo delegantes: quoniam apud Ægyptios hujus supputationis antiquitas tradita esse videbatur peritia, per quam, qui annis singulis dies prædictæ sollempnitatis eveniret, sedi apostolicæ indicaretur, ut hujus scripti ad longinquiores ecclesias judicium generaliter percurreret.

which was afterwards perfected by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, in the time of Theodosius, into a calculation for a hundred years. And yet after this it was that Cyril still complained of great confusion in the account of Easter in the Church, in the camp, and in the palace; and that the Roman and Alexandrian accounts sometimes varied a week or a month from each other, as we have seen before, which was owing purely to their different ways of calculation: because the Roman Church still proceeded by the old Jewish cycle of eighty-four, and not by the new Alexandrian cycle of nineteen. To remedy this confusion, one Victorius, a Frenchman, was employed by Hilarius, archdeacon of Rome, to make a new Paschal canon; but neither did his attempt succeed: for though he took in the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen, yet still he retained so much of the Roman, as made the variation of Easter Sunday sometimes a week, and sometimes a month, between them. And no effectual cure was found for this, till Dionysius Exiguus (an. 525) brought the Alexandrian Canon entire into the use of the Roman Church. Meanwhile the Churches of France and Britain kept to the old Roman Canon: and it was two or three ages after, before the new Roman, that is, the Alexandrian Canon, was, not without some struggle and difficulty, entirely settled among them. This is the short of the history of the long dispute that happened in the Church among those, that were otherwise agreed to keep Easter only on the Lord's-day; which was owing purely, as we have seen, to the great variety of their cycles and calculations. Meanwhile particular members of particular Churches had no concern in this dispute, but were obliged, for peace sake, to follow the rule of their own Church, though there might be some error in her calculation. For, as Chrysostom says well upon the dispute with the Protopaschites,^f “Men were not bound to be over critical about days, and times, and years, but

^f Chrysostom. Hom. lii. tom. v. p. 714, B. 2, (p. 640, edit. Francof.) *Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμίρας, καὶ παιροὺς, καὶ ἱναυτοὺς παρατηρώμεν, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴτ' ἀκριβείας ἰσχύμεθα, τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προτιμῶντες ἀπάντων· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἰσφάλλιτο ἡ ἐκκλησία, οὐ τοσοῦτον κατέβλημα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χροῶν ἀκριβείας ἔν, ὥς τοι ἰγκλημα ἀπὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ σχίσματος τούτου.*

carefully, in such matters, to follow the Church; and prefer peace and charity before all other things. For though the Church were in an error, yet there was no such advantage or commendation to be gained by the exact knowledge of times, as there might be disadvantage and dispute arising from division and schism about it." And with this consideration, men were generally inclined to keep Easter in peace; and sometimes comply with what they thought a wrong calculation, rather than make a disturbance in the Church upon it. As Pope Leo tells the French and Spanish bishops, he complied with the Alexandrian cycle, in the year 455, when there was a week's difference in their computation; the Roman cycle placing Easter on the seventeenth of April, and the Alexandrian on the twenty-fourth. But he acquiesced, he says,^s in their determination, for the sake of peace and unity; and desired the Western bishops so to do likewise, and to give notice of the time to their brethren; that they, who were united in the same faith, might not be divided about the solemnity of the festival.—This was an excellent rule of peace, though there were some fierce and untractable spirits that would not always be content to be governed by it.

SECT. V. — *But they all agreed to pay a great respect and honour to it, as to the Day of our Lord's Resurrection.*

Having thus far accounted for the differences that were in the Church about the time of this festival, I come now to shew wherein they all agreed to pay a peculiar respect and

^s Leo, Ep. cxv. (Labbé, vol. iii. p. 1419, E. 11.) Quum in quibusdam adscriptionibus patrum, futurum proxime Pascha Domini, ab aliis in diem xv. Kalendas Maias, ab aliis in diem viii. Kalendas easdem inveniretur adscriptum, tantum me diversitas ista permovit, ut clementissimo principi Marciano curam de hac re animi mei panderem, ut, præcipiente ipso, ab his qui habent hujus supputationis peritiam, diligentius illic discussa ratione quæreretur, quo die possit veneranda sollemnitas rectius celebrari. Quo rescribente, viii. Kalendas Maias definitus est dies. Quia ergo studio unitatis et pacis malui Orientalium definitioni acquiescere, quam in tantæ festivitatis observantia dissidere, noverit fraternitas vestra, die viii. Kalendas Maias ab omnibus resurrectionem Dominicam celebrandam: et hoc ipsum per vos aliis fratribus esse intimandum, ut Divinæ pacis consortio, sicut una fide jungimur, ita una sollemnitate feriemur.

honour to it. Gregory Nazianzen,^b after his manner, styles it "the queen of days," and "the festival of festivals, which excels all others, not only human, but even those that are instituted to the honour of Christ, as far as the sun goes beyond the other stars." It was a day of extraordinary rejoicing upon the account of our Lord's resurrection; being, as Chrysostom styles it,ⁱ "the desirable festival of our salvation, the day of our Lord's resurrection, the foundation of our peace, the occasion of our reconciliation, the end of our contentions and enmity with God, the destruction of death, and our victory over the devil." Hence, in some ancient writers, it is distinguished from all other Lord's-days in the year by the peculiar name of *Dominica Gaudii*, 'the Lord's day of joy,' as Papebroch and Pagi^k have observed upon the Life of Pachomius and Theodore, the latter of which saints is said to have ended his life *Dominica Gaudii*, which those learned men think can be understood of no other but Easter Sunday: and that implies, that this was then a known and noted appellation.

SECT. VI. — *On this Day the Emperors granted a general Release to the Prisons, and pardoned all Criminals, except some few that were guilty of Crimes of a more unpardonable Nature.*

One great instance of this public joy was given by the emperors, who were used to grant a general release to the prisons on this day; and, by an act of grace, called their

^b Nazianz. Orat. xix. in Fun. Patris. (Colon. 1690, tom. i. p. 304, A. 1.) Τῇ ἡμερᾷ πάσχα καὶ περιστάσει, ἡ βασιλεῖσα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμεῖς. — Orat. xlii. de Pasch. p. 676, C. 9. Αὕτη ἱερῶν ἡμῖν ἱερῆ, καὶ πανήγυρις πανηγύριον, τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρουσα πάσης, οὐ τὰς ἀνθρωπινὰς μόνον καὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλ' ἦδη καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἱσ' αὐτῇ τιλουμένης, ἵσον ἐστὶν ἅλιος.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxxv. de Paschate, tom. v. p. 587, edit. Savil. Ἰδοὺ ἡμῖν παραγίνονται ἡ ποιεῖν καὶ σωτήριος ἱερῆ, ἡ ἀναστάσιμος ἡμεῖς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπόθεσις, ἡ τῆς καταλλαγῆς ἀφορμὴ, ἡ τῶν πολέμων ἀναίρεσις, ἡ τοῦ θανάτου κατάλυσις, ἡ τοῦ διαβόλου ἥττα.

^k Papebr. Vita Pachomii, xiv. Maii. — Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 370, n. iv. (alii v.) Scripta ea epistola (Athanasi super sancti Theodori mortem) ut notat Papebrochius in Vita SS. Pachomii et Theodori abbatum Tabennensium in Thebaide, die xiv. Maii, paragrapho xvii. anno Christi 368, post Theodori mortem, quæ, ut legitur in laudata vita, contigit Dominica Gaudii, id est, Paschatis, ut Papebrochius interpretatur. (Antuerp. 1727, vol. i. p. 520.)

‘indulgence,’ set all prisoners free, except some few that had committed crimes of a more unpardonable nature. This custom was first begun by Valentinian (an. 367), who has two laws in the Theodosian Code to this purpose. The former of which runs in these terms:¹ “In honour of the Paschal festival, which we celebrate from the bottom of our heart, we open the prisons to all criminals that lie bound in chains, only excepting such as are guilty of sacrilege, treason, robbing of graves, poisoning, magic, adultery, stealing, or ravishing of virgins, and murder, from the benefit of this indulgence.” Valentinian Junior and Theodosius (an. 381) made a like act of grace, only excepting the same crimes, under which they more expressly comprised parricide, incest, and counterfeiting the public coin,^m as species of murder, adultery, and treason, which, for their infamous character, ought to have a more notorious mark set upon them. They also excepted such as relapsed into their former crimes, because they abused the indulgence of the prince, by making that an incitement to sin, which was intended only as a means to correct evil habits, and bring them to a reformation. The same emperor (an. 385) made another decree, that whereas it might happen, that, by the negligence or remissness of messengers, or any other accident, their letters of grace might come too late, the judges of provincesⁿ should be

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxviii. de Indulgentiis Criminum, leg. iii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 270.) Vid. leg. iv. Ejusdem Imper. ibid. Paschæ celebritas postulat, ut quoscumque nunc ægra exspectatio quæstionis, pœnæque formido sollicitat, absolvamus: Decretis tamen veterum mos gerendus est, ne temere homicidii crimen, adulterii feditatem, majestatis injuriam, maleficiorum scelus, insidias venenorum, raptusque violentiam sinamus evadere.

^m Ibid. leg. vi. et vii. See book xvi. chap. x. sect. i.

ⁿ Ibid. leg. viii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 277.) Nemo deinceps (tardiores fortassis) affatus nostræ Perennitatis expectet: exsequantur judices, quod indulgere consuevimus. Ubi primum dies Paschalis exstiterit, nullum teneat carcer inclusum, omnium vincula solvantur. Sed ab his secernimus eos, quibus contaminari potius gaudia lætitiæque communem, si dimittantur, advertimus. Quis enim sacrilego diebus sanctis indulgeat? Quis adultero vel incesti reo tempore castitatis ignoscat? Quis non raptorem in summa quiete et gaudio communi persequatur instantius? Nullam accipiat requiem vinculorum, qui quiescere sepultos quadam sceleris immanitate non sivit: patiatur tormenta veneficus, maleficus, adulteratorque monetæ: homicida, quod fecit, semper expectet: Reus etiam majestatis de Domino, adversum quem talia molitus est, veniam sperare non debet.

empowered, as soon as Easter-day was come, to dispense the accustomed indulgence, causing the prisons to be opened, the chains to be knocked off, and the persons to be set at liberty; such only excepted as it would be a scandal to pardon, because their actions were a reproach to the purity of that holy and joyful season. "For who," say they with great elegancy, "would grant an indulgence to a sacrilegious villain at a holy season? who would pardon an adulterer, or an incestuous person, at a time which calls for perfect chastity? who would not pursue a ravisher of virgins in the profoundest peace and public joy? let him have no rest nor respite from his bonds, whose barbarous cruelty would not suffer the dead to rest quietly in their graves; let the poisoner, and the sorcerer, and the falsifier of the coin still suffer torment: let the murderer expect the same that he has done to others: and the rebel despair of pardon from his prince, against whom he has plotted treason." But excepting these criminals, all others had the benefit of these imperial indulgences at this holy season. Justinian takes no notice of the former laws, but inserts this last into his Code,^o which shews that it became the standing law of the Roman empire. And the Goths adopted it also into their law, as appears from one of Cassiodore's epistles,^p which Gothofred commends as written with a great deal of elegancy upon this subject. The ancient fathers not only mentioned these Paschal indulgences, but frequently speak of them with great commendations. St. Chrysostom more than once tells us,^q "That when Flavian, bishop of Antioch,

^o Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. de Episcopali Audientia, leg. iii.

^p Cassiodor. lib. xi. epist. ultima. Ad te claustrorum magistrum verba revoce-mus, &c. Ut tuos quoque gemitus consolemur, illos tibi tantummodo vindica, quos lex pietatis gratia non relaxat, ne, quum truculentis parceret, aspernima facinora levigaret.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. vi. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 95, C. (p. 84, edit. Francof.) 'Εν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις τιμῆς [ἡ βασιλεὺς] ἱσιστελὴν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς ἱερῆς, τοὺς τὸ διαμαρτήριον οἰκοῦντας σχιδὸν ἀφῆκεν ἅπαντας, καὶ ταύτην ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἡμέτερος ἱσιλδὼν ἀναγνώσκει τὴν ἱσιστελὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα, καὶ τῶν οἰκίων αὐτὸν ἀναμνήσει νόμον, καὶ ἐρεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Ὅτι εὐ σουτὸν παρακάλεις, καὶ τὰ σουτοῦ μίμνῃσαι, οἰκοῖς ἱχίαις τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, δίκαιον οὐχ ἰλλοῦ ποιῆσαι φῆναι, καὶ ἄδικοις ὑπομινύς ἐργάσασθαι; τοὺς ἱηλιγμένους καὶ καταδικασθέντας τὴν ἱερτὴν αἰδιότητις ἀφῆκας, καὶ τοὺς ἀνιούρους καὶ μηδὲν τιτολημνύοντας κατα-

went to intercede with Theodosius, the emperor, for that city, which, by the seditious practices of some, had highly incurred his displeasure, among other arguments to mitigate his anger against them, he made use of this, taken from his own practice, that, in honour of the Paschal festival, he was used to send letters round the world, to cause all prisons to be opened, and all that were in bonds to be set at liberty: 'Therefore, take an example,' said he, 'from yourself; and call to mind your own humanity; when in one of your letters, as if it had not been enough to discharge the prisoners, you were pleased to add, 'I wish I were able to recal those that are already executed, and restore them to life again.''" St. Ambrose^r made use of the same argument to aggravate the offence of the younger Valentinian, when, by the persuasion of his mother Justina, the Arian empress, he had sent some of the Catholic bishops to prison, at the holy feast of Easter, when it was customary to loose the bonds of those that were already in prison, and which he himself before was used to do, as appears from his laws already mentioned. The same custom is mentioned by Gregory Nyssen, who, speaking of the resurrection of Christ, says,^s "There is no one so miserable as not to find a release by the magnificence of this great festival. For at this time the prisoner is loosed, the debtor is set at liberty, and the slave has his manumission, or freedom, granted him by the kind

πεινῆς, ἐπὶ μοι, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἱερῆς παρούσης; μηδαμῶς, βασιλεῦ ἐν δὲ τῆς πιστολῆς ταύτης διαλεγόμενος ταῖς πόλιν ἐλπίς, ἔθελαι μοι δυνατόν ἦν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναστῆσαι· ταύτης δέ μοι τῆς φιλοφροσύνης, ταύτων δέ μοι τῶν ῥημάτων νῦν.—Id. Hom. xx. ibid. p. 256, D. 5, (p. 226, edit. Francof.) Μίμησαι πρόσω, ὅτι τῆς ἱερῆς ταύτης καταλαβούσης πιστολῆν ἱταμψας πανταχῶς τῆς οἰκουμένης, κελύουσιν τοὺς ἐν δισμωτίῳ οἰκούντας ἀφίγειν, καὶ συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἰσχυρήματα, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔρποντων ἐκείνων δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ σου τὴν φιλοφροσύνην, ἔλπις διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, "Ὅτι ἐθέ μοι δυνατόν ἦν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθήνους καλῶσαι καὶ ἀναστῆσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν προτέραν ἀναγαγεῖν ζώην.

^r Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. (ep. xiv. tom. v. p. 205, fin. edit. edit. Paris. 1642), Ita que sanctis diebus hebdomadis ultimæ, quibus solebant debitorum laxari vincula, strident catenæ, imponuntur collo innocentium, &c.

^s Nyssen. Hom. iii. de Resurrect. Christi, tom. iii. p. 420. Οὐδὲς δὲ οὕτως κατώδυνος, ὡς ἄνισιν μὴ εὐρίσθαι· τῇ μεγαλειότητι τῆς ἱερῆς νῦν ὁ δισμωτὴς λύεται, ὁ χρεωστὴς ἀφίεται, ὁ δούλος ἐλευθερεῖται τῇ ἀγαθῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρύγματι.

declaration of the Church." In like manner, the petition presented by the Eutychian monks to the second Council of Ephesus, recorded in the acts of the Council of Calchedon,¹ takes notice, "That as the Church was wont to absolve sinners, at Easter, from the bonds of excommunication, so the emperors used to loose the bonds of those that were in prison for their offences."

Chrysostom further acquaints us with the reason, or ground of this practice, telling us,² "That the emperors set prisoners at liberty, that they might imitate, as far as in them lay, the example of their Lord and Master. For as he delivered us from the grievous prison of our sins, and made us capable of enjoying innumerable blessings; so ought we, in like manner, as far as was possible, to imitate the mercy and kindness of our Lord." So again, in his homily upon Psalm cxlv., which was spoken in the Passion-week, and therefore goes under both titles: "The imperial letters," says he,³ "are sent forth, commanding all prisoners to be loosed from their bonds. For as our Lord, when he was ἐν ᾧδου, 'in hell,' or 'the state and place of the dead,' set at liberty all that were under the power of death; so his servants, contributing what they were able, in imitation of the mercy of their Lord, loose men from these visible bonds, having no power to loose them from those which are spiritual and invisible." Whence we may observe, that these

¹ Conc. Calched. Act. i. tom. iv. Conc. p. 278, C. 4. Ἐπίστη καὶ ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθος ἡμεῖς, καὶ νῦν ἱερὰ, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀναστασίας ἱορτὴ, καθ' ἣν λύεται μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἱπτικίμια, λύεται δὲ παρὰ τῶν βασιλευμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰγκλημάτων τὰ δις μὲν τοῖς ὑπαιθροῦσι.

² Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 427, A. 12, (p. 329, edit. Francof.) Τοὺς τὸ δις μωτήριον οἰκούντας ἀφίᾳσι τῶν δισμῶν, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀνθρωπότην μιμῶνται τὸν ἑαυτῶν δις μωτήριον καθάπερ γὰρ αὐτός, φησι, τοῦ χαλινοῦ δις μωτήριον τῶν ἡμαρτημάτων ἡμῶς ἀνίστη, καὶ τῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν παρὶχου τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρέπει καὶ ἡμᾶς προσέχει, οἷς δυνάμει μωτῆρας γινώσκας τῆς τοῦ δις μωτήριον φιλανθρωπίας.

³ Ibid. Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. tom. iii. p. 823, quæ est hom. lxxviii. in Hebdomadam Magnam, tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 541, (p. 713, edit. cit.) Βασιλικὰ κατατίμονται γράμματα λίγοντα, τοὺς τὸ δις μωτήριον οἰκούντας ἀφίᾳσι τῶν δισμῶν καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ δις μωτῆς ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧδου γινόμενος, τοὺς κατεχόμενους ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου πάντας ἀπύλυσιν οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι, τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν εἰσφέρουσι, καὶ τὴν δις μωτικὴν μιμῶνται φιλανθρωπίαν, δισμῶν ἀπύλυσιν τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἐκείνη τῶν νοητῶν οὐκ ἰσχύουσι.

indulgences of the princes, were not designed to make men believe they were cleared either of the guilt or infamy of their crimes, but only freed from the punishment that was due to them. Both the guilt and scandal still remained upon them, and the very indulgence itself was a note of infamy, implying that they had done something that needed such a pardon. And, for this reason, these indulgences were never granted promiscuously to whole bodies of men: because that would have been to have set a mark of infamy and condemnation upon the innocent as well as the guilty; as Valentinian once told the senate,[†] when they petitioned for a general act of grace to be granted to their whole body for the sake of a few offenders in it. He assured them, he was ready to pardon any particular members among them; but to grant a general indulgence to the senate, was to defame the senate without reason: since every indulgence set a mark upon those whom it freed: and did not erase the infamy of the crime, but only relax the punishment. For as one of the old poets said well,—

“Pœna potest demi, culpa perennis erit.”

‘The punishment may be remitted; but the crime, both in its guilt and scandal, will remain upon men for ever,’ notwithstanding any such human acts of grace, unless they take some proper methods to sue out a Divine pardon. However, the emperors were willing to grant what indulgence they could to men’s bodies at this holy festival, that criminals might partake of their clemency shewn in imitation of their Lord, and use the opportunity to do something more for themselves, by having recourse to heaven as penitents; and applying to the throne of grace for a more effectual pardon.

SECT. VII. — *At this Time also, it was more usual than ordinarily for Men to shew their Charity to Slaves by granting them their Freedom.*

We may observe further, out of the forementioned place of Gregory Nyssen, that it was usual at this time not only

[†] Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxviii. de Indulgent. Criminum, leg. v. (Lugd. vol. iii. p. 274.) Indulgentia, patres conscripti, quos liberat, notat; nec infamiam criminis tollit, sed pœnæ gratiam facit: in uno hoc, aut in duobus reis ratum sit: qui indulgentiam senatui dat, damnat senatum.

to release criminals out of prison by a public act of state, but for private men also to shew their charity to their fellow-creatures, by granting slaves their manumission or freedom, as a proper expression of mercy becoming this holy festival, which brought a general redemption from slavery, and universal liberty to mankind, by our Saviour's resurrection. And that there might be no clog or impediment to this good disposition cast in men's way, to hinder this kind of charity, the law provided, that though all other kinds of legal processes should cease for the whole week following this festival, yet whatever was necessary to be done by way of charity for the manumission of slaves, should be allowed of, as comporting with the true intent and design of this holy solemnity. This we learn from a law of Theodosius, in the Justinian Code, which says,^a "Let all actions at law, whether public or private, cease in the fifteen Paschal days, that is, in the week before and the week after Easter Sunday. Yet all men have liberty, at this time, to grant freedom to their slaves; and whatever acts are necessary to be done in law, to promote this end, are not prohibited." This is the same exception that Constantine had made before with respect to the Lord's-day,^a on which all proceedings at law were prohibited, except such as were matters of absolute necessity or great charity; among which he reckons the manumission of slaves, which therefore was allowed at any time: as has been shewn before in speaking of the Lord's-day.

SECT. VIII. — *And to the Poor by liberal Donations.*

But this was not the only instance of their charity at this holy season. For they were ambitious, at this time especially, to shew their liberality to the poor; nothing being thought more congruous and suitable to the occasion than for men to make the hearts of the poor rejoice, at a time

^a Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Feriis, leg. viii. Actus omnes, seu publici sunt seu privati, diebus quindecim Paschalibus conquiescant. In his tamen et emancipandi et manumittendi cuncti licentiam habeant: et super his acta non prohibeantur. (Amstel. 1673, p. 89.)

^a Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. i. See before, chap. ii. sect. ii. note (*).

when they remembered the common fountain of their mercies, as Commodian words it in his Instructions.^b “Upon this account,” Eusebius tells us,^c “Constantine was used, as soon as the morning of Easter-day appeared, to open his hand in liberality to all nations, provinces, and people; bestowing rich gifts upon them, in imitation of the beneficence of the common Saviour of mankind.”

SECT. IX. — *The whole Week after Easter-Day celebrated with Sermons, Communions, &c., as Part of the same Festival.*

Neither did they confine their acts of piety and devotion to Easter-day, but kept the whole week following in the strictest manner, as part of the same festival; holding religious assemblies every day, not only for prayer, but for preaching and receiving the communion also. This is evident in part from what has been observed in the beginning of this chapter (sect. i.), that the Paschal solemnity, in its full extent, included fifteen days, or two whole weeks, the one before, and the other after, Easter-day. Concerning that which followed after (and of that we are only speaking here), Chrysostom says plainly,^d that they had sermons every day throughout the whole week. “For seven days together we hold religious assemblies, and prepare a spiritual table for you, making you partakers of the Divine oracles, and every day anointing you” (he means with the spiritual unction of instruction), “and arming you against the devil.” A little after, he says again, “Seven days together ye have preaching, that ye may learn perfectly to wrestle with your

^b Commodian. Instruct. c. lxxv.

Congruit in Pascha, die felicissimo nostro;
Lætentur et illi, qui postulant sub acta Divina:
Erogetur eis, quod sufficit, vinum et esca.

^c Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xxii. (Vales. p. 443, A. 9.) Διαλαβούσης ἡ τῆς ζωῆς, τὰς σωτηρίας ἐνεργείας μιμούμενοι, πᾶσιν ἰθυσιν λαοῖς τε καὶ δήμοις τὴν ὑπεργαδικὴν ἐξήπλου διξάν, πλούσια πάντα τοῖς πᾶσι δωρούμενοι.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. xxxiv. de Resurrect. Christi, tom. v. p. 531, C. 8. (p. 476, edit. Francof.) Διὰ τοῦτο ἰπτά ἡμέρας ἐφιξῆς σύναξιν ἰπσιτλάμιν, τὴν πνιματικὴν ὑμῖν παρατιθίμεναι τραπέζαν· ποιούντες ὑμᾶς ἀπολαύειν θείων λόγων. (352, A. 11.) Διὰ τοῦτο ἰπτά ἡμέρας ἐφιξῆς ἀπολαύετε διδασκαλίας, ὥστε ἀκριβῶς μαθεῖν τὰ παλαιάματα.

enemy." And he calls the whole solemnity a 'spiritual marriage,' which, after the manner of other marriage-solemnities, lasted seven days. Upon this account, the author of the Constitutions^e requires servants to rest from their labour this whole week, that they might attend sermons and other offices of Divine service. The same is required in the second Council of Mascon:^f "On those six most holy days, let no one presume to do any servile labour; but let all, with one consent, attend the service of the Paschal festival, and persevere in offering up their daily sacrifices, praising him who created and redeemed us, both evening, and morning, and at noon-day." And to the same purpose the Council of Trullo:^g "From the holy day of the resurrection of Christ our God 'to new Sunday,' μέχρι τῆς καινῆς κυριακῆς, all the faithful ought to spend their time at church, and exercise themselves incessantly the whole week in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, rejoicing in Christ, and celebrating the festival by attending on the reading of the holy mysteries. For so we shall rise with Christ, and be exalted with him. Therefore let neither horse-racing, nor any other public games or shows, be performed on these days."

SECT. X. — *All Public Games prohibited during this whole Season.*

What this Council here forbids under the name of public games, is agreeable to former imperial laws, which prohi-

^e Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 498, D. 6.) Τὴν μεγάλην ἰερωμάδα πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν ἀργίαν οἱ δοῦλοι, οἷ ἢ μὴν πάθους ἴσθιν, ἢ δὲ ἀναστάσιος· καὶ χρεῖα διδασκαλίας, τίς ὁ παθὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς, ἢ τίς ὁ συγκυρήσας, ἢ καὶ ἀναστήσας.

^f Conc. Matisoon. II. c. ii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 981.) Sanctissimis illis sex diebus nemo servile opus audeat facere; sed omnes simul coadunati, hymnis Paschalibus indulgentes, perseverationis nostræ præsentiam quotidianis sacrificiis ostendamus, laudantes Creatorem ac Regeneratorem nostrum vespere, et mane, et meridie.

^g Conc. Trul. c. lxxvi. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1171.) Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστασίμου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας μέχρι τῆς καινῆς κυριακῆς, τὴν ὅλην ἰερωμάδα ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις σχολάζειν δι' ἀπαραιτίπτως τοὺς πιστοὺς, ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ὑφραινομένους ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ ἰορτάζοντας, καὶ τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει προσέχοντας, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων κατατεροφῶντας· ἰορτάζοντες γὰρ οὕτως Χριστῷ συνανιστάμενοι τε καὶ συνανυψούμενοι· μηδαμῶς οὖν ἐν ταῖς προκειμέναις ἡμέραις ἰπποδρομία ἢ ἑτέρα δημῶδες θία ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

bited them not only on Easter-day, as being one of the Lord's-days, but extended the prohibition to the whole week after. For so Theodosius Junior had expressly determined,^b that at Easter and Pentecost, all public games and pleasures, both of the theatre and circus, should universally be denied to the people, during the whole time that the newly baptized wore their white and shining garments, representing the light of their heavenly washing (that is, till the Sunday following, which, as we shall see by and by, was the conclusion of this festival): and the reason of this prohibition is there given; because, during this season, the minds of Christians ought wholly to be employed in the worship of God. And the prohibition extends also to Jews and Gentiles, who are so far obliged to pay a respect to this holy time, as to know how to make a distinction between days of supplication and days of pleasure.

SECT. XI. — *And all Proceedings at Law, except in some special and extraordinary Cases.*

And for the same reason, all proceedings at law were prohibited at this season, except in some special and extraordinary cases. As the case of manumission of slaves, which being a case of great charity, was allowed at all seasons; as has been noted before,ⁱ out of Gregory Nyssen, and a law of Theodosius, which allows and confirms all acts of law that were necessary to be done in order to set slaves at liberty, and give them their freedom. And a like exception was made by Theodosius Junior and Honorius,^j in the case of trying pirates, because this was necessary to be done immediately for the sake of the public safety: and therefore the examination of such criminals was allowed in Lent, and

^b Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectac. leg. v. See p. 31 of this volume, chap. ii. sect. iv.

ⁱ See sect. vi. and vii.

^j Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxv. de Quæstionibus, leg. vii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 255.) Provinciarum judices moneantur, ut in Isaurorum latronum quæstionibus, nullum quadragesimæ, nec venerabilem Pascharum diem existiment excipiendum, ne differatur sceleratorum proditio consiliorum, &c. — Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. v. de Naviculariis, leg. xxxviii. (v. 90.) Hujusmodi igitur inquisitio etiam diebus feriatis et devotionum, absque ulla observatione, peragenda est.

on the Easter festival. But excepting such cases of necessity and charity, all other actions at law were entirely superseded at this time, in honour of the Paschal festival. There are laws of Theodosius, in both the Codes, to this purpose,^k “That the whole fifteen days of the Paschal solemnity, that is, the week before Easter-day, called ‘the great week in Lent,’ and the week following, should be times of perfect vacation from all actions and business of the law; the forementioned cases only excepted.” And they are often mentioned and referred to by St. Austin,^l Chrysostom, and others, who need not here be repeated, because they have been alleged before, upon other occasions, in this chapter (sects. i. and vi.)

SECT. XII.—*The Sunday after Easter, commonly called Dominica Nova, and Dominica in Albis, observed with great Solemnity as the Conclusion of the Paschal Festival.*

Neither need I remark here, that Easter was the most noted and solemn time of baptism in the Church, because of this the reader has had a particular account before in treating of baptism: but I only observe, that the Sunday after Easter, which was the conclusion of the Paschal feast, was usually observed with great solemnity. For on this day the neophytes, or persons newly baptized, were wont to lay aside their white garments, and commit them to the repository of the Church. Whence, as it was sometimes called the octaves of Easter, as being the conclusion of the Paschal festival; so more commonly it was known by the name of *Dominica in Albis*, ‘the Sunday of Albes, or white garments.’ Under which denominations we meet with it several times in St. Austin, in his sermons upon this day: some of which are said to be preached *Dominica in octavis Paschæ*,^m and others *Dominica in Albis*,ⁿ if any stress is to be laid

^k Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. (i. p. 121.) Sanctos quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus. Vid. Cod. Justin. de Feriis, leg. ii. vii. viii.

^l Aug. Sermon. xix. inter editos a Sirmondo. See sect. i. of this chap. note (*), p. 86.—Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. et in Psalm. cxlv.

^m Aug. Sermon. de Tempore, clx. clxii. clxiii. clxiv.

ⁿ Ibid. Sermon. xix. ex editis a Sirmondo.

upon the titles, which, perhaps, may be added by other writers about the time of Charles the Great, in whose days these were the common appellations among all the ritualists of the Latin Church.^o But the Greek writers give it another name, viz. *καινή κυριακή*, or *διακαινήσιμος*, the 'New Sunday.' Under which title Nazianzen^p and Chrysostom have sermons upon it; and the Council of Trullo mentions it under the same denomination,^q saying, "From the day of the Lord's resurrection to the new Lord's-day, men shall attend at church to singing, reading the Scriptures, and participating of the holy mysteries." It was so called from the renovation of men by the new birth of baptism: being the close of the great festival of Easter, at which they were baptized, and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost, and then clothed in new and white garments, emblems of their new light and birth: which being laid aside again the Sunday following, the day was called the 'new Lord's-day,' from the whole action that went before it: as the six days of the week preceding it were called *dies Neophytorum*, 'the days of the Neophytes,' or newly baptized, for the same reason: as we find in St. Austin;^r who, speaking of the time from Easter Sunday to the Sunday following, inclusively, styles it *octo dies Neophytorum*, 'the eight days of Neophytes,' taking both Sundays into the number.

^o Vid. Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. v. c. xii.

^p Nazianz. Orat. xliii. *Εἰς καινὴν κυριακὴν*. — Chrysostom. Hom. cvi. in Dom. Nov. tom. vii. edit. Savil. p. 575.

^q Conc. Trull. c. lxvi. See before, note (ε), p. 113.

^r Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Jan. c. xvii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 106, F. 3.) Ut quadraginta illi dies ante Pascha observentur, ecclesie consuetudo roboravit, sic etiam ut octo dies Neophytorum distinguantur a ceteris, id est, ut octavus primo concinat.

CHAPTER VI.

OF PENTECOST, OR WHITSUNTIDE.

SECT. I. — *Pentecost taken in a double Sense among the Ancients. First, For the fifty Days between Easter and Whitsuntide; and, Secondly, For the single Day of Pentecost.*

THE next great festival was that of Pentecost, which is taken in a double sense among the ancients. For sometimes it signifies the whole space of fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, which was one continued festival; and sometimes it was taken, in a more restrained sense, for that particular time which was set aside for the commemoration of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles. In the former acceptation, Tertullian speaks of it,^a when he tells the Christians, by way of triumph over the heathens, that the heathen festivals were but a single day in the return of every year. But the Christians had a festival every eighth day, meaning the Lord's-day: and, besides that, they had one continued festival of fifty days, which was more than all the festivals the heathen could pretend to reckon up in a whole year. So again he says, in another place,^b "That Pentecost was a large space of time appointed by the Church for administering of baptism; during which season the resurrection of the Lord was frequently demonstrated to the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Ghost was first poured out upon them." Where, it is plain, he takes Pentecost not barely for the day on which the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles, but for the whole time that our Saviour conversed amongst

^a Tertul. de Idol. c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 94, B. 5.) *Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est: tibi octavus quisque dies (i. e. dies Dominicus). Excerpe singulas solennitates nationum, et in ordinem exsere, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.*

^b Ibid. de Bapt. c. xix. (Paris. 1664, p. 232, A.) *Diem baptismo solenniorem Pascha præstat. Exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est, quo et Domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est, et gratia Spiritus Sancti dedicata, &c. — Vid. Can. Apostol. xxxvii. et c. xx. Conc. Antioch.: where mention is made of the fourth week in Pentecost.*

his disciples, to give them proof of his resurrection. Therefore, though Vicecomes^c reprehends Ludovicus Vives for asserting this, yet Habertus defends him out of these places of Tertullian;^d and Dr. Cave,^e and other learned men, are of the same opinion. Particularly Gothofred takes a great deal of pains to prove this to be the meaning of *Quinquagesima*, which is the Latin name for 'Pentecost,' in that famous law of Theodosius Junior,^f where he prohibits all public games and sports during the solemnities of Easter and Pentecost, which solemnities are there described by these two circumstances or characters: first, that the neophytes then laid aside their white and bright garments, representing the new light and brightness of their holy and heavenly washing; and, secondly, that at this season the Acts of the Apostles, called the 'Apostolical Passions,' were read, in commemoration and confirmation of the great doctrine of Christianity,—our Lord's resurrection.

SECT. II. — *During which Time the Church chiefly exercised herself in reading and meditating upon the Acts of the Apostles, as the great Confirmation of our Lord's Resurrection.*

The latter of these circumstances is a peculiar characteristic, not of any single day, but of the whole time between Easter and Whitsuntide, during which time it was custom-

^c Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. i. c. xxv. Neque adsentior Ludovico Vivi, qui in Grammaticæ ludo edoctus, S. Augustini libros de Civitate Dei exponere parum feliciter adgressus est. Is enim (nota (*), in cap. viii. lib. xxii.) a Paschate ad Pentecosten, baptismum quotidie administrari solitum, nullo auctore adfirmat.

^d Habert. Archierat. part. viii. Observat. iv. p. 134. Immerito Josephus Vicecomes, opere de Baptismi Ritibus, sugillat Ludovicum Vivem, quod dixerit, id moris fuisse, ut toto illo temporis decursu a Pascha ad Pentecosten baptizaretur: nullo, inquit, auctore. Sed nos auctorem illi subministramus, Tertullianum, lib. de Baptismo, ad fin.; Deum solenniore, &c.

^e Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 307.

^f Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. (Lugd. 1665, vol. v. p. 353.) Paschæ etiam et Quinquagesimæ diebus (quamdiu cælestis lumen lavacri imitantia novum sancti baptismatis lucem vestimenta testantur: quo tempore et commemoratio apostolicæ passionis, totius Christianitatis magistra, a cunctis jure celebratur), omni theatrorum atque circensium voluptate populis denegata, &c.

ary in the Church to read the Acts of the Apostles, as we learn from several passages in Chrysostom, which plainly shew, that he takes Pentecost for the whole fifty days between Easter-day and Whit-Sunday. One of his homilies is chiefly spent in giving an answer to this question,^s Why the Acts of the Apostles are read in Pentecost? The sermon itself bears this title; and, in answer to the question, he says, that on every festival such portions of Scripture were read as particularly related to that festival. Thus on the day of our Saviour's passion all such scriptures were read, as had any relation to the cross; on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, they read all such portions of Scripture as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried; on Easter-day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection. But then it seemed a difficulty, why the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of their miracles done after Pentecost, should be read in this interval, before Pentecost was fully ended. To this he answers, "That the miracles of the apostles, contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection: and therefore the Church appointed that book to be read always immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery which was the completion of their redemption." And hence it became a standing rule over the whole Church to read the Acts in these fifty days of Pentecost, as appears from many other places of Chrysostom,^b Austin,ⁱ Cassian,^j and the fourth Council of Toledo:^k which,

^s Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiii. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur, tom. v. p. 949, (hom. lxxvi. p. 849, seq. edit. Francof.) See Book xiv. chap. iii. vol. iv. pp. 475, 476.

^b Ibid. Hom. lxxxiii. in Genes. p. 478, (p. 369, edit. Francof.) See Book xiii. chap. vi. sect. ii. note (^h), vol. iv. p. 271. — Hom. xlvii. tom. v. p. 637, (hom. l. p. 569, edit. cit.) See Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii. vol. iv. p. 475. — Hom. xlviii. in Inscriptionem Altaris, act. xvii. tom. v. p. 650, (hom. li. p. 580, 581, cit. edit. ibid.) vol. iv. p. 477.

ⁱ Aug. Tract. vi. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 24, (pp. 56, 57, Basil. 1569.) vol. iv. p. 475.

^j Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. vol. iv. p. 477.

^k Conc. Tolet. iv. c. xvi. vol. iv. p. 477.

because I have had occasion to recite at large in a former Book,¹ I forbear to repeat in this place.

SECT. III.—*All Fasting and Kneeling at Prayers prohibited at this Season, as on the Lord's-Day.*

During this season, likewise, they generally prohibited all fasting and kneeling at prayers, as on the Lord's-day, because at this time they more especially celebrated with joy the memorial of our Saviour's resurrection. This is plain from those words of Tertullian:^m “We count it unlawful to fast, or to worship kneeling on the Lord's-day; and we enjoy the same immunity from Easter to Pentecost.” Epiphanius says the same,ⁿ that though the ascetics of the Church fasted on the stationary days, that is, Wednesdays and Fridays, or other times, yet they neither fasted nor kneeled on the Lord's-day, or the whole fifty days of Pentecost. And this custom about kneeling was made a standing rule by the Council of Nice: “For whereas,” say they,^o “there are some who kneel on the Lord's-day, and the fifty days of Pentecost; that a uniform way of worship may be observed in all Churches, it seems good to the holy synod, that prayer be made to God standing.” Yet all Churches did not exactly conform to this rule, nor observe these customs so precisely in Pentecost as they did on the Lord's-day. For St. Austin says,^p “He was not certain that these things were in use in all Churches, either in Pentecost or the Lord's-day.” And Cassian says more expressly,^q “That in

¹ Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii. vol. iv. p. 474.

^m Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Paris. 1664, p. 102, A. 8.) Die Dominico, jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

ⁿ Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. . . . διχα μόνος τῆς πνευματικῆς ὅλης τῶν πνευμάτων ἡμεῶν, ἐν αἷς οὗτοι γοιυκλισίαι γίνονται, οὗτοι νηστία προστίθενται.

^o Conc. Nic. c. xx. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 37.) Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πνευματικαῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὲρ τῶν πάντων ἐν πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ φυλάττεσθαι, ἰσχυρῶς ἰδοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς ἐκχὰς ἀποδίδοναι τῇ Θεῷ.

^p Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 106.) Ut stantes in illis diebus (Pentecostalibus) et omnibus Dominicis oremus, utrum ubique observetur ignoro; &c.

^q Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xi. (Lips. 1733, p. 461.) Cœpimus diligentius percunctari, cur apud Ægyptios tanta observantiâ caveretur, ne quis penitus totis

the monasteries of Syria they had no great regard to this rule, which forbade kneeling at prayers, or fasting in Pentecost, though their neighbours, the Egyptians, were very precise and punctual in the observation of both those customs," which made him more curious to inquire into the ground and reason of these observations: and their answer was,^r "That this festival being kept in honour and memory of our Saviour's resurrection, it was a time of more than ordinary joy; and fasting and kneeling were incongruous at such a season, because they were indications of deep mourning, and a more than ordinary repentance: therefore they neither fasted nor prayed kneeling on these days, or the Lord's-day, but sung praises and hallelujahs to God, in honour and thankfulness for our Saviour's resurrection." This custom of singing hallelujah in many Churches was peculiar to this season; but in some Churches it was used upon other occasions: of which the reader may find a full account in a former Book,^s where we treat of the psalmody of the Church.

SECT. IV.—*And all Public Games and Stage Plays; but not Pleading at Law forbidden, or bodily Labour.*

To proceed with the present festival, we may observe further, that it was of so great esteem and veneration, that Theodosius Junior, a pious prince, thought it proper to forbid all public games and diversions, as well of the theatre as the circus, during this whole season; because this was a time of more solemn worship, when the minds of Christians ought to be wholly employed in the service of God, and commemorating of those wonderful miracles that were

Quinquagesimæ diebus vel genua in oratione curvaret, vel usque ad horam nonam jejunare præsumeret: eoque id diligentius scrutabamur, quod nequaquam hoc tanta cautione servari in Syriæ monasteriis videramus.

^r Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xx. (Lips. 1733, p. 566.) Ideo in istis diebus nec in genua in oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum velut penitentis ac luctus indicium est. Unde etiam per omnia eandem in illis solennitatem, quam die Dominica custodimus, in qua majores nostri nec jejunium agendum, nec genu esse flectendum, ob reverentiam resurrectionis Dominicæ tradiderunt.

^s Book xiv. chap. ii. sect. iv. vol. iv. p. 455.

wrought in confirmation of the Gospel by the hand of the apostles; as he words it in his law made for this purpose.^t But business of law and administration of justice was a more necessary thing than sports and pastimes; and therefore there was no cessation of those enjoined at this season, but only in the first week after Easter, which was reckoned into the Paschal festival. As soon as this was over, the law was open again, and all actions commenced afresh, as at other times, which is evident from that discourse of St. Austin, which he preached on the octaves of Easter, or *Dominica in Albis*, where he says,^u “The days of vacation are now past, and those of convening, exactions, and law-suits, succeed in their room.” So that, in this respect, the remainder of these fifty days was inferior to the other great festivals; but this was the only thing in which there appears to be any distinction or difference in law made between them. And in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, they were observed with almost the same religious solemnity as the other festivals, as appears from what has now been said upon them: only some learned men make a just remark, that the observation of this solemnity did not oblige men, especially those of the poorer sort, to a strict abstinence from bodily labour. For this was a rule only for the Lord’s-day, and some of the greater festivals, as appears from the author of the Constitutions; who, speaking of the days on which servants were to rest from their labour,^w mentions the Lord’s-day, and the Sabbath, and the Nativity of Christ, and Epiphany, and the great week in Lent, and Easter-week, and Ascension-day, and Pentecost, as it signifies the particular day of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles; but says nothing of Pentecost, in the larger acceptation, as it signifies the whole fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide. The Council of Eliberis has a pretty severe

^t Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. See chap. ii. sect. iv. note (*), p. 31.

^u Aug. Serm. xix. ex edit. a Sirmond. tom. x. p. 811. Peracti sunt dies feriat, succedent jam illi conventionum, exactionum, litigiorum.

^w Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 498, D. 12.) Τὴν πεντηκοστήν ἀγγέλωσαν, διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὴν δευτέρωσαν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς Χριστόν.

canon against some* who kept Pentecost at a wrong season, not fifty, but forty days after Easter. But it does not clearly appear that they intended the whole fifty days should be observed, but only the particular day of Pentecost, at its proper season. Or, if they intended more, yet Albaspinaeus thinks† they made no rule about keeping these days as days of perfect vacation from bodily labour; but only days of relaxation from fasting and kneeling, and days of public joy and thanksgiving, and holding religious assemblies for prayer, and receiving the eucharist, which probably was administered every day during this whole season. And in these things consisted the observation of Pentecost in this larger acceptation.

SECT. V.—*Of Ascension-Day, its Antiquity and Observation.*

In the course of this long-continued festival of Pentecost we are to take more special notice of one particular day, before we come to Whit-Sunday; that is, of the feast of our Saviour's Ascension or Assumption into heaven. The obser-

* Conc. Illiber. c. xliii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 975.) Pravam institutionem emendari placuit juxta auctoritatem Scripturarum, ut cuncti diem Pentecostes post Pascha celebremus, non Quadragesimam sed [nisi] Quinquagesimam. Qui non fecerit, novam hæresin induxisse notetur.

† Albaspin. in loc. (p. 1000). Non omnino liquet hoc canone decretum, diem duntaxat Pentecostes, an quinquaginta post Pascha dies celebrandos: vulgaris lectio de solo Pentecostes die, emendata totos quinquaginta dies festivos habendos statuisset videtur, his adjectis, 'non Quadragesimam, nisi Quinquagesimam.' Præterea certum est superioribus temporibus Pentecostes, non unicum diem; a Paschate ad Pentecosten totos dies a Christianis celebratos. Tertullianus: 'Excerpe [e]ssere] singulas festivitates nationum, vix Pentecosten implere poterunt.' Nicænum quoque Concilium, eosdem quinquaginta dies solennes fuisse indicat, vetitis adgeniculationibus. Quapropter in eam potius sententiam hunc canonem acciperem, ut dies quinquaginta, quam unicum Pentecostes diem observandum statuatur; verum quæ cerimonia quinquaginta illi dies traducerentur, non liquet: non cessatione operarum; neque enim credibile videbitur, tenuiorum sane et inopum causa; quos ab intermissione laboris Pagani facile internoscere potuissent; quapropter potius existimarim, quantum ego conjicere possum, dies illos celebrari et agitari consuevisse, publicis de more missarum sacrificiis, eucharistiæ quoque sumptione sanctissime obita, aut elogiis recitandis. Addo etiam commune quoddam et publicum gaudium, quo elati jejuna desinerent, Deumque stantes, omnia genuflectione, laudibus et hymnis extollerent, et benedicerent.

vation of this festival was so ancient, that St. Austin could derive its original from no other fountain, but either apostolical institution, or the general agreement of the Church in some plenary council. "For those things," says he,^a "which are received and observed over all the world, not as written in Scripture, but as handed down to us by tradition, we conceive to be either instituted by the apostles themselves, or some numerous councils, whose authority is of very great use in the Church. Such are the anniversary solemnities of our Saviour's Passion, and Resurrection, and Ascension into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven." It is certain, therefore, the feast of Ascension was generally observed all over the Church long before St. Austin's time. Chrysostom often speaks of it under the nome of ἀνάληψις, or our Lord's Assumption into heaven. For not to mention those two sermons in Sir H. Savil's edition upon the Ascension,^a which are reckoned spurious, he has one upon the Assumption,^b the credit of which was never called in question, wherein he styles this festival "the illustrious and refulgent day of our Lord's Assumption into heaven." And in another homily upon Whit-Sunday,^c recounting the great solemnities that had just gone before, he says, "We have lately celebrated our Saviour's Passion, his Resurrection, and then his ἀνοδὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν, 'his return to heaven;'" that is, the feast of his Ascension. In like manner the author of the Constitutions puts Ascension-day into the

^a Aug. Epist. cxviii. ad Januarium. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 93, F. 11.) Illa quæ non scripta, sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intelligi vel ab ipsis apostolis, vel plenariis Conciliis, quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri, sicut quod Domini Passio, et Resurrectio, et Adscensio in cælum, et adventus de cælo Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solennitate celebrantur.

^a Chrysostom. Hom. lxiii. tom. vii. p. 426, edit. Savil. Εἰς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.— Et hom. lxiv. ibid. p. 466. Εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^b Ibid. Hom. xxxv. in Adsumt. tom. v. p. 537, edit. Paris. (hom. xxxviii. p. 477, edit. Francof.) Νῦν δεῖ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἄγειν, τὴν φαιδρὰν ταύτην καὶ ἔκαστράπτουσαν ἡμέραν.

^c Ibid. Hom. xxxvii. in Pentecost. p. 560, D. (hom. xl. p. 501, edit. cit.) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἱερτάσαμεν τὸν σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθος, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄνοδον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

number of the great Christian festivals,^d because on this day our Saviour's economy on earth was completed. Among the Cappadocians the day was called *Episozomene*: for so Leo Allatius* tells us he found it noted in a manuscript of Gregory Nyssen's works. And one of Chrysostom's homilies is said to be preached Κυριακῇ σωζομένης,^f or Ἐπισωζομένης, which the curators of Sir H. Savil's edition take to be *Dominica in Albis*, or 'the Sunday after Easter'; but Suicerus^g and Allatius understand it of the Sunday after Ascension-day, which from thence took its denomination. Why Ascension-day was so called, is not very easy to conjecture. Perhaps it might be, because by our Saviour's assumption into heaven again, the whole economy of his incarnation and the world's redemption was now completed, as the author of the Constitutions words it. And Chrysostom, much after the same manner, says,^h "On this day, God and man were reconciled together; on this day, that ancient enmity was destroyed, and that long war ended; on this day, an admirable and unexpected peace was restored to us. After God in his anger had destroyed man and beast from

^d Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. Τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἀργαίως, διὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας. (Labbé, i. 497.)

^e Allat. de Dominicis et Hebdomad. Græcor. sect. xxviii. Ascensio quoque Domini apud Cappadoces Ἐπισωζομένη dicebatur. Erat adnotatum in manuscripto codice Gregorii Nysseni: Τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν Ἰησοῦ Ἐπισωζομένη λέγεται ἡ ἀνάληψις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Legiturque inter Andriantas Chrysostomi Homilia, Τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς Ἐπισωζομένης. Latinis hæc Dominica est, 'quinta post Pascha.' Hebdomas ista ἀναλήψιμος, a festivitate ἀναλήψεως, vocatur a Theodoro Studita.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xix. ad Popul. Antioch. (p. 709, edit. Francof.) Τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς Σωζομένης πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας. (Paris. 1609, p. 236.)

^g Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce ἐπισωζομένη, p. i. p. 1194. Quid ἐπισωζομένη sit, docet Leo Allatius de Dominicis et Hebdomadibus Græcorum: Ascensio apud Cappadoces, &c. See note (e).

^h Chrysostom. Hom. xxxv. in Adacens. tom. v. p. 535, C. 3, (p. 480, edit. Francof.) Σήμερον καταλλαγαὶ τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γινώσκει γένος. σήμερον ἡ χροῖα ἔχθρα κατελύθη, καὶ ἡ μακρὸς πόλιμος· σήμερον εἰρήνη θαυμασία ἐν Ἰερουσάλημ, εὐδίασι προσηκουμένη πρότερον· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλοις, ἢ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καταλλάττεσθαι ἔμελλεν; (P. 536, C. 3.) ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῆς γῆς ἀνάξιοι φαίνοντες, σήμερον εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνήχθημεν· οἱ μὲν τῆς κάτω ἀρχῆς ὄντες ἄξιοι, πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνέβημεν τὴν ἄνω· ὑπερίβημεν τοὺς οὐρανούς, ὑπερβώμεθα τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ· καὶ ἡ φύσις, δι' ἣν ἰφύλατται τὸν Παράδεισον τὰ Χερουβίμ, αὐτὴν ἐπάνω τῶν Χερουβίμ κἀθεῖται σήμερον.

off the earth by a universal deluge, we that were unworthy of the earth were this day exalted to heaven; we that were not worthy to reign below, were advanced to a kingdom above. We ascended above the heavens, and took possession of a royal throne; and that nature of ours, against which the cherubims were set to guard paradise, was this day set above the cherubims." He means, that Christ, as the first-fruits of our nature in perfection, was exalted unto heaven; and all his members in some measure now partake of that glory, and hope in due time to meet him in the clouds, and to be translated to the same place, whither their forerunner is gone before them. This is the best account I can give at present of the name *Episozomene*, and the application of it to the celebrated festival of our Saviour's Ascension or Assumption into heaven. I need not stand now to inquire into the manner of its observation; for, being in the midst of Pentecost, it certainly had all the solemnity that belonged to that festival, and never passed without a proper discourse, to excite men to elevate their souls, and ascend with Christ in heart and mind to heaven, in hopes of obtaining it as their proper mansion both for body and soul hereafter, to all eternity. But as for any such ridiculous pageantry as has been used in some places to represent Christ's ascension in the Church, by drawing up an image of Christ to the roof of the church, and then casting down the image of Satan in flames, to represent his falling as lightning from heaven, with abundance more of the same kind (which the curious reader may find described by Hospinian, out of Naogeorgus¹), the ancient Church was wholly

¹ Hospin. de Festis Christian. p. 72, (p. 110, edit. Genev. 1674.) In hoc Christi festo, quo memoria adscensionis Christi in cœlos, et complementi salutis ac redemptionis nostræ, celebrari debebat, multa ridicula, immo profana et impia, in papatu hodie fiunt, de quibus Thomas Naogeorgus, libro iv. Regni Pontificii ita canit :

Post venit illa dies, superas qua Christus ad arces
Scandit, quam celebrant itidem potuque ciboque
Prælaro : qua cuique aliqua est comedenda volucris,
Haud scio, quapropter. Post prandia templa petuntur.
Truncus ibi, qui tempus ad hoc est visus in ara,
In summum trahitur, demisso fune, lacunar,
Cœtu sacrificum deducente atque canente.

a stranger to it; this being the invention of later ages, when superstitious ceremonies had debased religion into sport and ridicule, and made the great things of God's law look more like ludicrous pomp and comedy, than venerable mysteries of the Christian faith. But I return to the ancient Church.

SECT. VI.—*Of Pentecost, in the strictest Sense, as denoting the Festival of the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles.*

The conclusion of this great festival season was Pentecost, taken in the stricter sense for that particular day commonly called Whit-Sunday, or Pentecost, when they commemorated the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles; which happening upon the day which the Jews called Pentecost, or the fiftieth day after the Passover (a day of great note among the Jews, both for the memorial of the law delivered at Mount Sinai, and also for the gathering and bringing in of their harvest); it retained the same name of Pentecost among the Christians, though they kept it not as a Jewish feast, but only as a commemoration of the glorious effusion of the Spirit in the gift of tongues, and other miraculous powers, made at this time upon the disciples. Hence it had also the name of *ἡμέρα Πνεύματος*, 'the day of the Holy Ghost,' as we find in Nazianzen,^k and others. And some learned men think^l it was hence called Whit-Sunday, partly

Inde statim Satanae præceps perturpis imago
Dejicitur, nonnumquam ardens, diruptaque prorsus.
Exspectant pueri cupide, virgisque jacentem
Concidunt, lacerantque in parvas denique partes.
Posthæc dejicitur panis, quem barbara turba
Nuncupat Oblatas : cui sæpe admixta papyrus
Imponit pueris : finiunt magno omnia risu.
Ex laqueari etiam certa syphonibus arte
Ejaculantur aquas, si quem tinxisse laborant,
Atque ita finitur magno fabella cachinno.

^k Nazianz. Orat. xliv. de Pentecost. tom. i. p. 712. *Τίμησον τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πνεύματος.*

^l Cave's Primitive Christianity, part. i. chap. vii. p. 192. This feast is, by us, styled 'Whitsunday,' partly because of those vast diffusions of light and knowledge, which upon this day were shed upon the apostles, in order to the

because of those vast diffusions of light and knowledge, which upon this day were shed upon the apostles, in order to the enlightening of the world; but, principally, because this being one of the stated times of baptism in the ancient Church, they who were baptized put on white garments, in token of that pure and innocent course of life they had now engaged in. The original of this feast is by some carried as high as the apostles. Epiphanius was of opinion,^m that St. Paul meant it in those words, when he said, “He hastened to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost” (Acts, xx. 16). But because interpreters generally take that in another sense, we will lay no stress upon it. However it is certain this feast was observed in the time of Origen: for he speaks of it in his books against Celsus,ⁿ as does also Tertullian before him,^o and Irenæus before them both, in his book concerning Easter, as the author of the Questions, under the name of Justin Martyr, informs us; where, speaking of the custom of standing at prayers on the Lord’s-day and Pentecost, he says,^p “This custom obtained from the days of the apostles, as Irenæus, bishop of Lyons and Martyr, testifies in his book of Easter; where he also makes mention of Pentecost, in which we kneel not, because it is equivalent to the Lord’s-day, being a symbol of the Lord’s resurrection.” St. Austin says,^q “The law was

enlightening of the world; but principally because this (as also Easter) being the stated time for baptism in the ancient Church, those who were baptized put on white garments, in token of that pure and innocent course of life they had now engaged in: this white garment they wore till the next Sunday after, and then laid it aside.

^m Epiphan. Hæres. lxxv. Arian. sect. vi. (Paris. 1682, vol. i. p. 910, B.) Καὶ φησιν, Ἰσχυοῦν, ὅπως ποιήσῃ τὴν πνευματικὴν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ποίειν δὲ τὴν πνευματικὴν Παῦλος, εἰ μὴ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖται;

ⁿ Origen. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 392. Ἐὰν δὲ τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποπορίσῃ τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν κυριακῶν, ἢ παρασκευῶν, ἢ τοῦ πάσχα, ἢ τῆς πνευματικῆς, δι’ ἡμερῶν γινόμενα, κ. τ. λ.

^o Tertul. de Idol. c. xiv. See sect. i. note (*), p. 117.

^p Justin. Quæst. et Responsa. ad Orthodox. quæst. cxv. Ἐν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνῳ ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηναῖος, ὁ μέγας καὶ ἱστέος Λουγδούνου, ἐν τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται καὶ περὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς, ἐν ᾗ οὐ κλίνομεν γόνα, ἰσχυοῦν ἰσχυοῦμαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κυριακῆς.

^q Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xxxii. c. xii. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 323, D. 4.) Pentecosten, id est, a passione et resurrectione Domini quinquagesimam diem cele-

written by the finger of God, and given to Moses on this day; and that was a type of the Holy Ghost, called the finger of God in the Gospel, which Christ promised to his disciples as a comforter, and sent to them on the fiftieth day after his passion and resurrection. And all such eminent facts, as were done upon certain days, were annually celebrated in the Church, that the anniversary-feast might preserve the useful and necessary memorial of them." This festival of Pentecost, in particular, was observed the whole week after, till the octaves, or Sunday following, without fasting or kneeling; and then the Church returned to her usual stationary fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, and in some places a strict fast all the week succeeded this festival, as we learn from the second Synod of Tours;^r but this was a new institution, as was also the Rogation-fast for three days in Ascension-week: of which more hereafter, in their proper place.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE FESTIVALS OF THE APOSTLES AND MARTYRS.

SECT. I. — *The Original of the Festivals of Martyrs.*

WE have hitherto considered those festivals which peculiarly related to our Lord's economy on earth, and were observed over the whole Church as memorials of the great acts of his life and death; but, besides these, there were another sort of festivals instituted by the Church in honour of the apostles and martyrs, by whose actions and sufferings

bramus, quo nobis Sanctum Spiritum Paracletum, quem promiserat misit: quod futurum etiam per Judæorum Pascha significatum est, quum quinquagesimo die post celebrationem ovis occisæ, Moyses digito Dei scriptam legem accepit in monte. Legite Evangelium, et advertite ibi Spiritum Sanctum appellatum digitum Dei. Ea quippe anniversaria in ecclesia celebrantur, quæ insigniter excellentia certis diebus facta sunt; ut eorum necessariam salubremque memoriam festivitas concelebrata custodiat.

^r Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 856.) De Pascha usque ad Quinquagesimam, exceptis rogationibus, omni die fratribus prandium præparetur: post Quinquagesimam tota hebdomada exacte jejunetur.

Christianity was chiefly propagated and maintained in the world. The first original of these festivals is not certainly known,^a but learned men commonly carry it as high as the second century. And there is plain evidence for this: for they are not only frequently spoken of in Cyprian and Tertullian, but long before in the epistle of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, recorded by Eusebius;^b where, speaking of the martyrdom of Polycarp, their bishop, who suffered about the year 168, they tell their brethren, that they intended by God's permission to meet at his tomb, and celebrate his birthday [meaning the day of his martyrdom, with joy and gladness], as well for the memory of the sufferer, as for example to posterity.

SECT. II. — *Why called their Natalitia, or 'Birthday.'*

Where we may observe their peculiar phrase in styling the day of his martyrdom his birthday, which was according to the usual style of the Church in this affair: for so Tertullian^c and others use the words *natalitia* and *natales*, meaning not 'their natural birth,' but 'their nativity to a glorious crown in the kingdom of heaven.' I have noted before, in

^a Hospin. de Festis Christianos, c. iv. p. 14, (p. 22, edit. Genev. 1674.) *Memoriæ martyrum ex omnibus fere horum temporum auctoribus fit mentio, et circa annum Christi clxx. primum institutæ videntur. Non tamen ab initio feriæ seu festa, sed memoriæ tantum fuerint, in quibus passio et constantia martyrum prædicabatur, ut fideles, qui præsentés erant, ad similem virtutem incitarentur; deinde ad suæ quisque vocationis labores revertebatur.* — Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part i. chap. vii. p. 198. The first that I remember to have met with is that of Polycarp (whose martyrdom is placed by Eusebius (an. 168), under the third persecution), concerning whose death and sufferings the Church of Smyrna (of which he was bishop), giving an account to the Church of Philomelium, and especially of the place where they had honourably entombed his bones, they do profess that (so far the malice of their enemies would permit them, and they prayed God nothing might hinder it) they would assemble in that place, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom with joy and gladness.

^b Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. p. 109, C. 5.) "Εὐθὺς ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένους ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρίξου ὁ κύριος ἱστοτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τι τῶν προσηλλήκοντων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μιλλόντων ἄσκησιν τι καὶ ἱουμασίαν.

^c Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. (P. 102, line 8.) — Conf. Conc. Laodic. c. li. "Οτι οὐ διὰ τὴν εὐσεβείαν μαρτύριον γενέθλιον ἱστοτελεῖν. (Labbé, vol. i. 1505.) — Ambros. Hom. lxx. Depositionis dies natalis dicitur, &c.

speaking of the civil festivals,^d that the *natales*, or ‘birth-days’ of the emperors, often signify not their natural, but political birthday, or the day of their inauguration to the imperial crown. And so it was with the Church; whenever she spake of the nativities of her martyrs, she meant not the day of their natural birth, but the day wherein, by suffering death, they were born again to a new life, and solemnly inaugurated to a celestial kingdom, and a crown of endless glory. To this purpose Peter Chrysologus bids his auditors, when they hear of the birthday of a saint, not to imagine that it means the day of his carnal birth on earth,^e but the day on which he was borne from earth to heaven, from labour to rest, from torments to delight and pleasure. “In this sense,” Tertullian says,^f “St. Paul was born again by a new nativity at Rome, because he suffered martyrdom there.” “In like manner,” Prudentius says,^g “A martyr’s birthday is the day of his passion.” And Chrysostom gives the reason of this,^h “Because the death of a martyr is not properly a death, but an endless life: for the sake of which all things were to be endured, and death itself to be despised.” Upon this account the ancient author, under the name of Origen, says,ⁱ “When they celebrated the memorials of those holy men, they kept not their first nativity, as being

^d Book xx. chap. i. sect. iv. vol. vii. p. 8.

^e Chrysol. Serm. cxxix. Natalem sanctorum quum auditis, carissimi, nolite putare illum diem, quo nascuntur in terra de carne, sed de terra in cœlum, de labore ad requiem, de tentationibus ad quietem, de cruciatibus ad delicias, non fluxas sed fortes, et stables, et æternas, de mundanis risibus ad coronam et gloriam.

^f Tertul. Scorpiac. cont. Gnosticos, c. xv. (p. 500, A. 3.) Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, quum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.

^g Prudent. Hymn. xi. de Hippolyto.

Natalemque diem passio festa refert.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. xliii. de Romano Martyre, tom. i. p. 577, B. 2, (hom. xliv. p. 509, edit. Francof.) “Οτι μαρτυρούμεν θάνατον οὐκ ἴσται θάνατος, ἀλλὰ ζωὴ πίστεως οὐκ ἔχουσα, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ταύτης πάντα ὑπομένουν χρεὶ, καὶ ἵτι δι’ αὐτῆς ἐπιλυτῶνται. (Paris. 1609.)

ⁱ Origen. in Job. lib. iii. tom. i. p. 437, (p. 274, g. edit. Paris. 1604.) Nos non nativitatis diem celebramus quum sit dolorum atque tentationum introitus, sed mortis diem celebramus, utpote omnium dolorum depositionem atque omnium tentationum effugationem. Diem mortis celebramus, quia non moriuntur hi, qui mori videntur. — Euseb. Emisen. Serm. de Natali S. Genesii, (Bibl. Patr.

the inlet to sorrow and temptation; but the day of their death, as the period of their miseries, and that which sets them beyond the reach of temptations. We celebrate the day of their death, because they die not even when they seem to die."

SECT. III. — *These Festivals usually kept at the Graves of the Martyrs.*

Now these solemnities were usually celebrated at the graves or monuments of the martyrs, which, according to the custom of burying in those times, were commonly without the cities, in large *cryptæ*, under ground; where, in times of persecution, the Christians were often used to meet for safety, when they could not enjoy their churches. And, in after-ages, churches were built over these graves, which were therefore called *martyria*, *areae*, *cæmeteria*, *mensæ*, and *memoriæ martyrum*; as I have shewn at large in a former Book.¹ To these places they resorted, whenever they celebrated the memorial of any particular martyr: which is the reason why, in the ancient panegyrics of the fathers upon particular martyrs, we sometimes hear them speaking of leaving the city-churches upon the anniversaries of the martyrs, and going out into the country to the monuments or memorials of the martyrs, to hold assemblies there, where the martyrs lay buried. Thus Chrysostom, in one of his homilies upon the martyrs, says, as before,^k "As when the festival of the Maccabees was celebrated, all the country came thronging into the city; so, now, when the feast of the martyrs, who lie buried in the country, is celebrated, it was fit the whole city should be transferred thither." And, in

tom. vi. p. 670, edit. Lugd. 1677.) *Beatorum martyrum passiones, natales vocamus dies, quando eos martyrii vita et gloriæ fides dum ingerit morti, genuit æternitati, et perpetua gaudia dolore parturit. Merito plane dicendi natales dies, per quos illi, qui nati fuerant in hanc fragilitatis humanæ miseriam, subito renascuntur in gloriam, vitæ perennis initium de mortis sine sumentes.*

¹ Book viii. chap. i. sect. ix. vol. ii. p. 351.

^k Chrysostom. Hom. lxxv. de Martyribus, tom. v. p. 972, D. 5, (hom. lxxviii. p. 872, edit. Francof.) *Καθάπιν τῆς ἱερῆς τῶν Μακκαβαίων ἱστορικῆς, πᾶσα ἡ χώρα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξέρχεται οὕτω τῆς ἱερῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς μαρτύρων ἀγορῆς, νῦν τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν πρὸς ἐκείνους μεταστῆναι ἐχρῆν.*

another homily upon St. Drosis, he says,¹ “ Though they had spiritual entertainment in the city, yet their going out to the saints afforded them both great profit and pleasure.”

SECT. IV.—*And mostly confined to those particular Churches where the Martyrs suffered and lay buried.*

Whence we may observe, that those festivals, at first, were not general festivals, like those of our Lord, observed over the whole Church, but chiefly celebrated in those particular churches where the martyrs suffered, and lay buried. As the festival of Polycarp was chiefly celebrated at Smyrna, and that of Cyprian at Carthage, at the places where they were bishops, and suffered martyrdom: this being most for the edification of the people, to have the examples of their own martyrs, who lived and died among them, proposed to their imitation. And this is confirmed by a peculiar remark made by Sozomen upon the two Churches of Gaza and Constantia, in Palestine,^m “ That though they were not above twenty furlongs distant from one another, yet they had each of them their own bishop and clergy, and distinct

¹ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxvii. in Drosid. tom. v. p. 989, (hom. lxx. p. 885, edit. Francof.) Οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν ποιμῶν, ἰσχυρὰ διὰ μακροῦ χιμῶνος ἰδοὺ λαμπρὰν ἅπτα, καὶ διεμοτίραν γινόμενῃ ἡμέραν, τῆς μάνδρας ἐξαγαγόντες τὰ πρέσβητα, πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις ἄγουσι νομάς· τούτους δὲ ὁ καλὸς ποιμὴν οὗτος μιμούμενος, τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἀγίλην, καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνην πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων νομάς ἡγάγε ταύτας τὰς πνευματικὰς· κορίνθουται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς φάτης ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πρέσβητα· ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρὰν ἔξω γίνονται τῶν σκητῶν, πλείονα ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων κατεστῶνται τὴν ὠφίλιαν, μὲν πολλῆς τῆς τίξεως κατακλύπτονται, καὶ τὴν πόαν διὰ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀποιεῖοντα, καθαρὸν τι αἶρα ἀναπίνοντα, καὶ πρὸς ἅπτα βλίσκοντα διωτὴ καὶ φαδρὰν, παρὰ λίμνας καὶ πηγὰς σκιρτῶντα καὶ ποταμούς· φέρι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ γῆ τινὰ τίξεσιν, τοῖς ἀνέσι καλλωπιζομένη πάντοθεν. οὐκ ἐσ’ ἐκείνῳ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ταῦτο πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ὠφίλιαν. πλήρης μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἰδὼν ἡ τράπεζα τῶν πνευματικῶν ἰδισμάτων παρείκωτο, ἀλλ’ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἔξοδος ταύτους ἔχει τινὰ καὶ ψυχολογίαν, καὶ κέρδος τῆς ψυχολογίας οὐκ ἔλαττον, οὐκ ἰσχυρὰ καθαρὸν τὸν αἶρα ἀναπίνωμεν· ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ταύτων καταβρόματα βλίσκωμεν, οὐ παρὰ ποταμούς ὕδατων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ποταμούς χαρισμάτων σκιρτῶντες· οὐ κατακλύπτοντες, καὶ πόαν κείραντες τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων ἀρετὰς ἀναλιγόμενοι· οὐχὶ γῆν ἱρῶντες καλλωπιζομένην ἀνέσι, ἀλλὰ σώματα βλίσκοντες χαρίσματος βρύοντα πνευματικῶς.

^m Sozom. lib. v. c. iii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 486, B. 5.) Ἐκαστέρα ἰδίᾳ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ κληροὶ ἔχει, καὶ πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων, καὶ μνίας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς γινόμενων ἱερῶν.

festivals of their own particular martyrs :” To this purpose it was customary for every Church to have her own *fasti*, or ‘kalendar of martyrs;’ and public notaries to take the account of what was said and done to or by the martyrs at their passions: out of which, general martyrologies were made by men in after-ages, collecting all these particular accounts into one body, which Valesius^a and Pagi^o own to be the first original of the Roman and all other martyrologies, which are not so ancient as the kalendars. For such kalendars and public acts were originally kept in every Church to preserve the memorial of their martyrs: as is evident from Tertullian,^p who speaks of the Church having her *census* and *fasti*; that is, as Rigaltius and others well explain it, her ‘rolls,’ or ‘accounts,’ both of her expenses on the poor, and the Acts or Passions of her martyrs. To which Cyprian also plainly refers,^q when, being in exile, he sent to his clergy to be careful in setting down the days on which the martyrs suffered, that there might be an anniversary commemoration made of them.

SECT. V. — *Usual to read the Acts or Passions of the Martyrs on their proper Festivals.*

These Acts or Passions of the martyrs, when they were carefully taken, and preserved genuine without corruption, were commonly read in the church upon the anniversary commemoration and proper festival of the martyr. The third Council of Carthage, which forbids all other books to be read in the church besides the Canonical Scripture, excepts the Passions of the Martyrs,^r as books that might be read on their anniversary days of commemoration. St. Aus-

^a Vales. de Martyrologio Romano, ad calcem Eusebii. p. 23. Nobiliores ecclesiæ suos semper fastos habuerunt, in quibus et episcoporum nomina et martyrum, qui apud ipsos passi fuerant, natale dies perscripti habebantur, &c.

^o Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 64, n. vi. tot.

^p Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. xiii. Habes tuos census, tuos fastos.

^q Cyprian. Epist. xxxvii. al. xii. ad Cler. (Oxon. 1682), p. 27, (p. 288, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, adnotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus.

^r Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. Liceat legi passionēs martyrum, quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1177.)

tin, and Pope Leo, and Gelasius, often mention the reading of such histories in the African and Roman Churches. Cæsarius Arelatensis, and Alcimus Avitus, and Ferreolus, speak of the same in the French Churches. And some think, not improbably, that such sort of histories and Passions of the martyrs, had particularly the name of *Legenda*, 'legends,' upon this account, because they were used to be read in the church on the festivals of martyrs: but the fabulous writers of lives, such as the author of the Golden Legend, and other monkish impostors, have since written the lives of saints and martyrs in such a scandalous manner, as to alter the signification of the good old word, and make a legend pass for a romantic fiction and mere imposture. Of which learned men, even in the Romish Church, such as Ludovicus Vives, and Melchior Canus, and Papebroch,^a and Pagi,^b have made frequent and just complaints: confessing, that even their breviaries and passionals are often filled with such monstrous fables, as would make a wise man blush to hear or read them in the public offices of the Church; and which they desire heartily to see perfectly reformed. Particularly Pagi exposes the fiction of Ursula,^c and her eleven thousand companions, all virgins, said to be martyred at Cologne, at one time under Cyricius, a pope that never was in being; and he tells us the Roman Martyrology and Breviary have dropped the number as an incredible fiction; as also did the Cologne editors, and the school of the Sorbonne, retaining the name of Ursula, but being ashamed of her eleven thousand companions, notwithstanding that Hermannus Crombak wrote a large volume, called *Ursula Vindicata*, to defend this monstrous fable. It were easy to give many other such instances, but this one is sufficient to shew the difference between the modern passionals, and the simplicity of those of the ancient Church, the reading of which was one part of their solemn exercise upon these festivals.

^a Papebroc. Conat. Hist. Chronol. p. 43.

^b Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 302, sect. xviii. xix. (sect. xx. xxi. edit. Antwerp. 1705.)

^c Ibid. an. 383, sect. iii. (sect. v. vi. edit. cit.)

SECT. VI.—*And to make Panegyrical Orations upon them.*

To these they commonly added a panegyrical oration or sermon of their own composing, in commendation of the virtues of the martyr, to excite their audience, which was usually very great upon such occasions, to the imitation of them. We have a great many instances of such orations in Chrysostom, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Austin, Ambrose, Leo, Chrysologus, and others. Where the whole design of the orator is so to extol the excellencies of the saint, as to inflame his auditory with the love of his admirable virtues. This was the great end and design of keeping these festivals, and of their meeting together upon such occasions, partly to pay a due respect and honour to the memory of the dead, and partly to engage themselves to imitate such great and brave examples. It is thus the Church of Smyrna, in their epistle to the Church of Philomelium, tell their brethren, "They intended annually to meet at Polycarp's tomb, and celebrate his birthday with joy and gladness, as well for the memory of the sufferer, as for example to posterity:" but as for any other honour of religious worship (which their enemies the Jews suggested they would be inclined to give him), they declared they had no such intention: for they could never be induced either to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world, or to worship any other. "Him, as being the Son of God, we worship and adore: but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love with a deserved affection, for their exceeding great love toward their own king and master; desiring to be made partners and fellow-disciples with them." In like manner, St. Austin says, "Our religion consists not in the worship of

† Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. p. 109, B. 8.) Τούτων μὲν γὰρ τίδ' ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνῶμεν· τοὺς δὲ μέγας ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μιμητὰς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἵνα καὶ εὐνοίας ἀνυπερέβλητου, τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεῖα καὶ διδάσκαλον ὡς γίνονται καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τι καὶ συμμαθητὰς γινώσθαι.—See note (b), p. 130.

‡ Aug. de Vera Relig. c. lv. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 587, C. 9.) Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores: sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur, meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem.

dead men: because if they lived piously, they are not esteemed such as would desire that kind of honour; but would have Him to be worshipped by us, through whose illumination they rejoice to have us partners with them in their merit. They are therefore to be honoured for their imitable and worthy examples, not to be worshipped for religion." So again, in answer to the calumny of the Manichees, who made no conscience of falsely accusing the Catholics of giving them Divine honour and adoration, he says,* "We celebrate the memories of the martyrs with religious solemnity, to excite ourselves to their imitation, and to become partners in their merits, and to have the benefit of their prayers: yet so as that we never offer any sacrifice to a martyr, but only to the God of the martyrs. For what priest, standing at the altar in the places where the holy bodies lie, ever said, 'We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian?' But whatever is offered, is offered unto God that crowned the martyrs, at the memorials or graves of those whom he crowned, that the very places may admonish us of our duty, and raise our affection, and quicken our love both toward them whom we may imitate, and toward Him who enables us to imitate them." Imitation, we see, was the great thing designed by these festivals, and all the eloquent discourses that were made upon the martyrs: they were not so much intended to be panegyrics and praises of the martyrs, who were above them, and needed them not, as to be flaming and warm engagements upon the audience, to induce them to imitate the glorious actions and virtues of the martyrs. Thus Chrysostom expressly tells his auditory, beginning one of these panegyrics with these words:†

* Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. xxi. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 246, F.) Christianus populus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen, ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitem in locis sanctorum corporum adsistens altari, aliquando dixit, 'Offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane?' sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit apud memorias eorum quos coronavit: ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major adfectus exsurgat ad acuendam caritatem et in illos quos imitari possumus, et in illum quo adjuvante possumus.

† Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiii. de Barlaam Martyr. tom. i. p. 886, (p. 784, edit. Francof.) Συνικάσειν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἱερτὴν καὶ πανήγυριν ὁ Μανάριος

“Blessed Barlaam hath called us together to this holy festival with great solemnity; not to praise him, but to imitate him; not to be hearers of his encomium, but to be followers of his worthy actions. For then the martyrs are chiefly sensible of honour done to themselves, when they see their fellow-servants made partakers of their own goodness. Therefore if any one would praise the martyrs, let him imitate the martyrs: if any one would give the champions of religion their just encomium, let him emulate their labours. This will bring no less pleasure to the martyrs than their own virtues.” And he closes the same discourse with this exhortation: “Thou art a soldier of Christ, beloved, put on thy armour, and mind not thy dress: thou art a generous combatant, quit thyself like a man, and regard not external comeliness. So shall we imitate these holy men: so shall we honour these valiant warriors, these crowned champions, these friends of God.” It were easy to cite hundreds of passages out of Chrysostom and other ancient writers, to the same purpose. For this was the great drift of all their panegyrics and discourses upon these festivals, to assure men, that to copy after the example of the martyrs was the greatest honour they could shew to these renowned champions of the Christian faith. And it always had its proper effects upon men’s minds. For as in times of persecution, Tertullian told the heathen,* “That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; and the more they were cut down, the more they grew; the more exquisite cruelty that was used to destroy them, did only allure greater numbers

Βαρλαάμ· οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸν ἱκανίσωμι, ἀλλ’ ἵνα αὐτὸν ζηλώσωμι· οὐχ ἵνα ἀρεσται γινώμεθα τῶν ἱγικωμίων, ἀλλ’ ἵνα μιμηταὶ γινώμεθα τῶν αὐτοῦ πατορθωμάτων . . . Τότε γὰρ μάλιστα τῆς οἰκίας τιμῆς αἰσθῆσι λαμβάνουσιν οἱ μάρτυρες, ὅταν τοὺς συνδούλους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν κοινωνίαν φθάσαντας ἴδωσιν ὅστις εἴ τις βοῦλται . . . ἱγικωμιάζου τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας, ζηλοῦσθαι τὸν ἱερίαν πόνον· τοῦτο αὖτις μάρτυσιν οὐκ ἔλαττω τῶν οἰκίων πατορθωμάτων οἷσι τὴν ἡδονήν. —Id. p. 892, D. 3. Στρατιώτης εἰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητὲ, ἐπλίζου, μὴ παλλωπίζου ἀθλητὴς εἰ γυναικίς, ἀνδρίζου, μὴ ἀραιζου· οὕτω μιμησάμεθα τοὺς ἁγίους τούτους· οὕτω τιμήσωμι τοὺς ἀριστίας, τοὺς στιφανίτας, τοὺς Θεοῦ φίλους, καὶ βαδίσαντες ἐπὶ αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ὁδοὺ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς στιφάνων ἱπικινεζόμεθα.

* Tertul. Apol. c. l. (Paris. 1664, p. 40, B. 5.) Nec quicquam proficit exquisitor quæque crudelitas vestra, illecebra est magis sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum.

to come over to their party;"^a so Chrysostom afterwards assures us,^b "That the very memory of the martyrs wrought wonderful effects upon the minds of men: it confirmed them against the assaults of wicked spirits; it delivered them from impure and absurd thoughts; and set their minds in great tranquillity. The death of the martyrs was still an exhortation to Christians;^c the support of the Church; the confirmation of Christianity; the destruction of death; the demonstration of the resurrection; the reproach of devils; the condemnation of Satan; the doctrine of philosophy; an exhortation to despise the things of this world; and the way to lead men to the desire of a better; a comfort to men in affliction; a motive to patience; an engagement to fortitude; and, in a word, the root, and fountain, and mother, of all that is good. When you see the martyrs despise life,^d though

^a Tertul. ad Scapul. c. v. (Paris. 1664, p. 72.) Hanc sectam tunc magis edificari scias, quum cædi videtur.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xx. tom. v. p. 290, C. 2, (hom. xxi. p. 261, edit. Francof.) Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως οἱ λιμίεις πλωτῆρας, ὥς αἱ τῶν ἀγίων τούτων ἱερταὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἀνακτᾶσθαι τιφύπασιν. ἱκίνοὺς μὲν γὰρ θαλασσίῳν κυμάτων ἰμβολῆς, καὶ ἱερίσας μακρᾶς ἀπαιτᾶσθαι λιμίεις. τοὺς δὲ εἰς πανήγυρι μαρτύρων ἀπαρτῶντας, πτωμάτων ποτηρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρετων, λογισμῶν ἀτόπων, πολλῆς τῆς ἐν ψυχῇ γινομένης ζᾶλης, ἡ τῶν ἀγίων μνήμη τούτων ἔκπερᾶζειν ἰσθί. (Paris. 1616.)

^c Ibid. Hom. lxvii. de S. Droside, tom. v. p. 991, D. 6, (hom. lxx. p. 888, edit. cit.) Μαρτύρων θάνατος πιστῶν ἵστι παράκλησις, ἐκκλησιῶν παρρησία, Χριστιανισμοῦ εὐστασις, θανάτου κατάλυσις, ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδιξις, δαιμόνων γίλως, διαβόλου κατηγεία, φιλοσοφίας διδασκαλία, παραίνεσις τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιθυμίας ὁδὸς, παραμυθία τῶν κατιχόντων ἡμᾶς διωγῶν, καὶ ὑπομονῆς πρόφασις, καρτερίας ἀφορμὴ, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ῥίζα, καὶ πηγὴ καὶ μήτηρ.

^d Ibid. p. 994, B. 10, (p. 889, edit. cit.) "Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τοὺς ἀπάσης καταφρονῶντας τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ἀπάντων ἀναισθητότερος ᾖ καὶ ὑθετότατος, ὑψηλότατος δὲ καὶ φρόνημα, καὶ καταγιγασθὶς τρυφῆς, ὑπερόψις χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἐκτὸς διατρέψεως καὶ ἐν ἀβυσσότητι ᾖ, εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἀφορμὴν λήψῃ μίγιστην, τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων παθήματα καὶ ἐνὶ πνίφει πνίξῃ, καὶ ὅστιον ἴτερον τῶν χαλσιπιδάτων, πρὸς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνων ἰσχυριστῶν βαθάνων βλήπων ἀρεῶσαν ἔξῃ παραμυθίαν τῶν κατευληφόντων ἀπάντων διωγῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φιλῶ τῶν μαρτύρων τὰς μνήμας, καὶ φιλῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι πάσας μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν γυναῖκες ἀγωνιζόμεναι τύχωνται ἔσθ' γὰρ τὸ σκυῖος ἀσθιέντερος, τοσοῦτον μίλζων ἡ χᾶρις, τοσοῦτον λαμπρότερον τὸ τρέφαιον, τοσοῦτον περιφανιστέρα ἡ νίκη, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀσθίνειαν τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἀθλητῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἐκράτῃσις οἱ ἰσχυροὶ, τοῦτοις ἰάλα ἦν. Διὰ παρθεῖον γοῦν ἀπίκτινι πρῶτον τὸν Ἀδάμ ὁ διάβολος διὰ παρθεῖνον μετὰ ταῦτα κατηγωνίσσατο τὸν διάβολον ὁ Χριστός· καὶ τὸ ζῆφος, ὅστις ἦν ἡκοιμώμενος αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτο τὴν αὐτοῦ δρεκοντος ἀπίκτινι κίφαλῃ.

you be the most stupid and negligent of all creatures, you cannot but entertain sublime and exalted thoughts, contemning pleasures, despising riches, and desiring to have your conversation in heaven. If you languish under a disease, the Passions of the martyrs will afford you one of the strongest arguments to engage you to patience. If you are oppressed with poverty, or any other evils, cast but your eye to the bitterness of the torments which they endured; and you have a present consolation and remedy for all the troubles that can befall you. For this reason I love, above all things, the commemorations of the martyrs; I love and embrace them all, but especially those wherein we commemorate the martyrdom of women" (such as Drosis, about whom he was now speaking): "because by how much they are the weaker vessel, by so much greater is their grace, their trophy more illustrious, their victory more glorious, not only for the weakness of their sex, but because the enemy of human nature is overcome by that by which it was first vanquished. For by a virgin the devil first slew Adam; and by a virgin, afterwards, Christ overcame the devil; and that very sword, which was sharpened against us, cut off the head of the dragon." He often repeats this famed aphorism,* "That the honour of the martyrs is to imitate their fortitude and virtue;" and as frequently inculcates Tertullian's observation,^f "That the blood of the martyrs waters the beautiful plants of the Church. For as plants grow the more for being watered, so the faith flourishes the more for being opposed;^g and the more it is persecuted, the more it grows: nor does water make a garden more fertile, than the blood of the martyrs does the Church." For this

* Chrysostom. Hom. xlvii. in Julian. Martyr. tom. i. p. 611, B. 10, (p. 540, edit. Francof.) *Τὴν μαρτύρων οὐ τὸ παραγινῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ζηλῶσαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτῶν.*—Id. Hom. lxxii. de Martyr. tom. i. p. 696, edit. cit. *Τὴν μαρτυροῦν, μίμησις μαρτυρῶν.*

^f Ibid. Hom. lxxiv. de Martyr. tom. i. p. 898, D. 7, (p. 793, edit. cit.) *Αἷμα διηικνῶς τὰ καλὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄρδον φυτὰ.*

^g Ibid. Hom. xl. in Juvenin. et Maxim. tom. i. p. 547, D. 10, (p. 484, edit. cit.) *Καθάσκει τὰ φυτὰ ἀρδινόμενα αὐξάνειν πίφουιν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ ἡμετέρα πελιμουμένη μᾶλλον ἀνθί, καὶ ἐνοχλουμένη πλιονάζει, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς κήπους ἰσθαλῆς ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀρδία ποιεῖν ἰσθῆν, ὡς τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῶν μαρτύρων τὸ αἷμα ποτίζειν πίφουι.*

reason, the ancients strained all their eloquence to set off the constancy and gallantry of the martyrs on their proper festivals, that hereby they might induce their hearers to copy after such great and brave examples.

SECT. VII. — *The Communion always Administered upon these Days.*

“And because,” as Chrysostom observes,^h “the blood of Christ, which he first shed for the martyrs themselves, was the great thing that animated so many thousands to lay down their lives with joy and alacrity for his sake, that they might communicate in his sufferings, and be made conformable to his death;” therefore these festivals of the martyrs never passed without a general communion of the whole Church partaking of the blessed symbols of Christ’s body and blood, the oblation of which was always celebrated upon these occasions. This we learn from the same St. Chrysostom,ⁱ who dissuading his people from intemperance upon one of these solemnities, bids them consider “how absurd it was, after such a meeting, after a whole night’s vigil, after hearing the Holy Scriptures, after participating of the Divine mysteries, after such a spiritual repast, for a man or woman to be found spending whole days in a tavern.” The foundation of his argument is laid upon this supposition, that they had received the eucharist in the Church before, in celebrating the memorial of the martyrs. And so Sidonius Apollinaris represents the matter, when speaking of the festival of St. Justus, one of their proper martyrs at Lyons, he says,^k “That after they had kept his vigil the night preceding, they assembled again by day at nine in the

^h Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiv. de Martyr. tom. i. p. 898, last line, (p. 713, edit. Francof.) Δι' ἐκείνο τὸ αἷμα τοῦτο ἔβησαν ἰξ οὐ γὰρ ἐνύγη ἡ πλειὴ τοῦ Διόσκου, μετὰ τὴν λαοὶν πλειὴν ὑπομένοντας· τίς γὰρ οὐ μετ' ἡδονῆς ἀποδύσαντο πολλῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τούτους, μίλλων κοινωνίᾳ διανοητικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ συμμορφοῦσθαι τῷ θανάτῳ Χριστοῦ;

ⁱ Ibid. Hom. lix. de Martyr. tom. v. p. 779, D. (hom. lxii. p. 697, edit. cit.) Ἐνίστησι ἡλικίος γίλως, μετὰ τοιαύτην σύνοδον, μετὰ παννυχίδας, μετὰ γραφῶν ἀγίων ἀκρόασις, μετὰ μυστηρίων θείων κοινωνίας, καὶ μετὰ πνευματικὴν χορηγίαν, ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν καπηλείᾳ φαίνεσθαι διημεριούντας.

^k Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. See sect. ix. note (r), p. 144.

morning, when the priests did *rem Divinam facere*, 'offer the oblation ;' " or 'consecrate the eucharist,' as Savaro rightly expounds it.

SECT. VIII. — *And herein a particular Commemoration of the Martyrs was made, called 'the Oblation, or Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving to God for them,' and Prayer for a general Consummation and happy Resurrection.*

And, at this time particularly, they made a more solemn commemoration of the martyrs in the oblation of the eucharist ; which being a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God, for the example of their noble courage and sufferings on the behalf of religion, it was therefore commonly styled 'the oblation, or sacrifice, made for the nativities of the martyrs.' Thus we find it in Tertullian :¹ " We make oblations for the dead, for their birthdays, or new birth unto heaven and happiness, on their anniversary commemorations." In like manner, Cyprian bids his clergy register the days on which any of the confessors suffered death, that commemoration might be made of them among the memorials of the martyrs ;^m and that oblations and sacrifices might be made for them on the solemn days of their commemoration. So again, in another epistle ;ⁿ " Ye remember how we are used to offer sacrifices for them, as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs by an anniversary commemoration." There is some little dispute, indeed, among some of the ancients, what was to be understood by these sacrifices or oblations for the martyrs. St. Austin was of opinion, "That they could only mean the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God for their glorious deaths and brave examples." And this, no doubt, was one part of the sacrifice

¹ Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Paris. 1664, p. 102.) Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.

^m Cyprian. Ep. xxxvii. al. xii. (Paris. 1609, p. 27), (p. 188, edit. Amstard. 1700.) Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, adnotate, ut commemoraciones eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus. . . . Celebrentur heic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemoraciones eorum, &c.

ⁿ Ibid. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (ibid. p. 77), (p. 224, edit. cit.) Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

they speak of: but when he says,^o “That he who prays for a martyr, does an injury to the martyr, because martyrs have attained to a sort of perfection in this life, and have no need of the prayers of the Church;” this is not so consistent with the general practice of the Church, which was used to pray for patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, as considering them in a state of imperfection still, so long as their bodies continued in the grave: which the apostle himself allows, when he says, “God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect:” therefore the Church may be supposed, by her sacrifices and oblations for martyrs, to understand prayers, as well as praises and thanksgivings, that they and all the faithful might obtain a perfect consummation in bliss, by the means of a happy resurrection. And that the Church did sometimes thus offer the sacrifice of prayer even for martyrs themselves, I have fully evinced in a former Book;^p and therefore need say no more of it in this place.

SECT. IX. — *The Night preceding any of these Festivals commonly observed as a Vigil, with Psalmody and Prayers.*

But we must observe, that for the solemnizing of these festivals of the martyrs, they commonly kept a vigil the night preceding, which they spent as they did those before the Lord’s-day and other great festivals, in psalmody, hymns, and prayers, till the morning-light. This is plain from Chrysostom’s exhortation to the people upon one of

^o Aug. Serm. xvii. de Verbis Apostol. tom. x. p. 132, (p. 343, edit. Basil. 1569), (Bened. 1700, vol. v. p. 533, B. 8.) In patria nullus orandi locus erit, sed tantum laudandi. Quare orandi nullus locus erit? Quia nihil deest. Quod heic creditur, ibi videtur: quod heic speratur, ibi tenetur; quod heic petitur, ibi accipitur. Perfectio tamen in hac vita nonnulla est, ad quam sancti martyres pervenerunt. Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, quum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oratur; pro ceteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria est enim, pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari. Certavit enim contra peccatum usque ad sanguinem.

^p Book xv. chap. iii. sect. xvi. vol. v. p. 107.

these festivals :¹ “Ye have turned the night into day, by keeping your holy stations all the night : do not now turn the day into night again, by drunkenness and intemperance, and wanton and lascivious songs.” In like manner, Sidonius Apollinaris, describing the manner of their solemnizing the festival of St. Justus, bishop of Lyons, takes notice, not only of the observation of the day, but of the preceding vigil :² “We met,” says he, “at the grave of St. Justus ; it was a morning-procession before day ; it was an anniversary solemnity ; the confluence of people of both sexes was so great, that the church, though very capacious, and surrounded with cloisters, could not contain them. When the service of the vigil was ended, which the monks and clerical singers performed with alternate melody, we separated for some time : but went not far away, as being to meet again at three o’clock [that is, nine in the morning], when the priests were to perform Divine service,” that is, the service of the communion, as on a festival. Thus the festivals of the martyrs were always introduced with a vigil, according to the manner of the Lord’s-day.

SECT. X. — *Common Entertainments made by the Rich for the Use of the Poor, upon these Festivals at the Graves of the Martyrs, till Abuses caused them to be laid aside.*

It was usual also upon these days for the rich to make feasts of charity, or common entertainments for the use of the poor at the graves of the martyrs. Some learned men³

¹ Chrysostom. Hom. lix. de Martyr. tom. v. p. 779, B. 4, (hom. lxii. p. 697, edit. Francof.) Ἐποιήσασι τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν διὰ τῶν παννυχίδων τῶν ἱερῶν μὴ ποιήσασι πάλιν τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα διὰ τῆς μίθης, καὶ τῆς κραιπάλης, καὶ τῶν ἀσμάτων τῶν πορνῶν.

² Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. Conveneramus, ad Sancti sepulchrum : processio fuerat antelucana, sollemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet, et quamlibet cincta diffusis cryptoporticibus. Cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam præsto futuri, quum sacerdotibus res Divina facienda.

³ Cave’s Primitive Christianity, part i. chap. vii. p. 204. They heard sermons and orations, joined in public prayers and praises, received the holy sacrament, offered gifts and charities for the poor, recited the names of the martyrs, then commemorated with their due elogies and commendations, and their virtues pro-

think this may be one meaning of those sacrifices and oblations, which are said to be made at the monuments of the martyrs ; and others there are, ' who think this was the only meaning of them ; because the word *natalitia*, in propriety, signifies ' the donations,' or ' largesses,' which men were used to make upon their birthdays, rather than the birthdays themselves. But not to dispute this matter by way of criticism, with any, it is certain they had their *συμπόσια*, or ' feasts of charity,' and common banquets, on these days, at the graves of the martyrs. The ancient writer under the name of Origen says, " On these solemnities, they met together, both clergy and people, inviting the poor and needy, and refreshing the widows and the orphans ; that so their festival might not only be a memorial of the happy state of the deceased ; but, in respect of themselves also, an odour of a sweet smell in the sight of God." In like manner, Constantine says, " Sober feasts were made by many for the relief of the poor, and such as stood in need of

pounded to the imitation of the hearers. For which purpose, they had their set notaries, who took the acts, sayings, and sufferings of martyrs, which were after compiled into particular treatises, and were recited in these annual meetings ; and this was the first original of martyrologies in the Christian Church. . . . Tertullian often : ' Upon an anniversary-day (says he) we make oblations for them that are departed, in memory of their *natalitia*, or ' birthdays,' and to the same purpose elsewhere. ' As oft (says Cyprian) as by an anniversary commemoration we celebrate the passion-days of the martyrs, we always offer sacrifices for them ;' and the same phrases oft occur in many others of the Fathers. By which it is evident they meant no more than their public prayers, and offering up praises to God for the piety, and constancy, and the excellent examples of their martyrs, their celebrating the eucharist at these times, as the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, their oblation of alms and charity for the poor, every one of which truly may, and often is, styled a sacrifice or oblation ; and are so understood by some of the more moderate even of the Romish Church.

¹ Hospin. de Festis, c. iii. p. 10, (p. 18, § ' Quæritur,' &c. et p. 19, edit. Genæv. 1674.) — Junius, Not. in Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii.

² Origen. in Job, (p. 274, h. edit. Paris. 1604.) Celebamus religiosos cum sacerdotibus convocantes, fideles una cum clero, invitantes adhuc egenos et pauperes, pupillos et viduas saturantes, ut fiat festivitas nostra in memoriam requiei defunctis animabus, quarum memoriam celebramus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem suavitatis in conspectu æterni Dei. (Paris. 1733, vol. ii. p. 902, line 7.)

³ Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. xii. Σοφρονίστατα δὲ πολλῶν καὶ τὰ συμπόσια, πρὸς ἴλιον καὶ ἀνάκτησιν τῶν διαμύνων ποιούμενα, καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν τῶν ἐκπιόντων.

their assistance." So Chrysostom, dissuading his people from running to the diabolical entertainments that were used to be made at Daphne, one of the suburbs of Antioch, tells them,* " If they desired a corporeal, as well as a spiritual table, upon any of these festivals, they might, as soon as the assembly was done, recreate and feast their bodies under a vine or fig-tree, near the monument of the martyr, and thereby secure their conscience from condemnation. For the very sight of the martyr being near them, and, as it were, standing by their table, would not suffer their pleasure to run out into excess, and degenerate into sin ; but as a good father or a master, being looked upon with the eye of faith, would restrain all ridiculous mirth, and cut off all indecent pleasures, and take away all lascivious motions of the flesh, which could not be avoided if they went to the vain pomps of Daphne, where the devil reigned in the midst of them." It appears from this, that these feasts were then managed with great sobriety and gravity ; and chiefly used, as they were originally designed, for the use and benefit of the poor. And, as such, they are recommended by Nazianzen,[†] Theodoret,[‡]

* Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. in Sanct. Jul. tom. i. p. 613, A. 3, (p. 541, edit. Francof.) Εἰ δὲ βούλι καὶ τὸν τίρψις ἀπολαῦσαι, τί τιραντότερον τοῦ συλλόγου τούτου ; τί χαρίεστερον τοῦ θιάτρου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ; τῶν μιῶν τῶν σῶν ; τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνουσίας ; ἀλλὰ καὶ σωματικῆς δίλως τραπίζης μετασχίμ ; ἰσταῦθα ἔστι μισθὸς τὸ λυθῆναι τὸν σύλλογον, τοῦ μαρτυρίου πλησίον ὑπὸ σκῆνῃ ἢ ἄμπελον καταλύσαντι, καὶ τῇ σῶματι χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἄνοιαν, καὶ τὸ συνιδεῖν ἀπαλλάξαι καταγνώσεις· ὁ γὰρ μέγας ἰγγύθις ὁρῶμενος καὶ πλησίον ὢν καὶ παριστάμενος αὐτῇ τῇ τραπίζῃ, οὐκ ἀφίσι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἰς ἁμαρτίαν ἐκχυθῆναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις παιδαγωγός, ὃς πατὴρ ἀριστος τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ὁρῶμενος ὀφθαλμοῖς καταστάλλει τὸν γίλυνον περι-κόπτει τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς ἀτόπους· τὰ σκευήματα τῆς σαρκὸς ἅπαντα ἀναρεῖ, ἅπτε ἐκὶ οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν. τίνας ἔτι ; ὅτι χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν αἰρεῖται τὸ πρόσθεν καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἢ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ὄψις καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον σφραγιστὴν ἔκοντα ὑπὲρ γὰρ πολλὰς πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀσχρημοσύνης μίμνησιν· καὶ μέλιστα ὅταν καὶ ὁ διάβολος μίσος ἐκείνους παρῇ· καὶ γὰρ πάρεστι ὑπὸ τῶν περικτῶν ἁμαρτῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσχερῶν ῥημάτων, ὑπὸ τῆς δαιμονικῆς πομπῆς καλούμενος.

† Nazianz. Carm. x. de Diversis Vitæ Generibus, Colon. 1690, tom. ii. p. 80, fin.

Οὐδ' ἰερὴν ἐπὶ δαῖτα γινέθλιον ἢ θανόντος,

"Ἡ τινα τυμφιδίην εὖν πλιόνισσι θίων.

‡ Theodoret. Therapeutic. Serm. viii. (Schulze, 1769, vol. iv. p. 920.) Οὐτὰ πάντες, ζῶντες μὲν ἦσαν περιέλιπτοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἱκίον, καὶ μετὰ τὰς τίμας πομπῆς ἱστιόλου καὶ ἱερέας· ἰκιδὴ δὲ ἱστιούτησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν διαφίρουσιν. οὕτω

Paulinus,* and others, being indeed nothing more than those common 'feasts of charity,' called *agapæ*, and derived from apostolical practice, only now applied to the festivals of the martyrs. But as the best things, by the corruptions of men, often degenerate into abuses, so it fared with this laudable practice. Some made use of it only as an opportunity of gratifying their covetousness and desires of filthy lucre; others hence took occasion to indulge themselves in revelings and dancings; and some were so vain as to think, that even rioting and drunkenness, at such times, was for the honour of the martyr. The last of these abuses was so notorious, that the Manichees, hence, took occasion to rail at the Church, and calumniate her as encouraging such abominable practices in her people: which though it was a malicious slander in respect of the Church, which did all she could to discourage such excesses, yet, in respect of the people, the fact was too true, and the charge too well grounded to be denied of them all in general. Therefore St. Austin, in answer to the objection, is forced to own the charge, in part, as true: "I know," says he,^b "there are many who superstitiously worship graves and pictures: I know many that drink luxuriously and excessively over the dead; and when they make a feast for the deceased, bury themselves over those that lie buried in the graves; and, after all, place their

γὰρ τάφους ἔχουσιν ἐπισήμους, οὗτοι δημοθυμίαις ἱερισίοις γιγνίσκονται.—Et p. 925.
 Ἄντι τῶν Πανδίων, καὶ Διασίων, καὶ Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν ἱερῶν, Πίτρου, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Σεργίου, καὶ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ Λιοντίου, καὶ Παντελεήμονος, καὶ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ Μαυρικίου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτύρων, ἐπιστελοῦνται δημοθυμίαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πάλας πομπῆς, καὶ αἰσχροεργίας, καὶ αἰσχροῦ ῥημοσύνης, σφόδρως ἱεραῶνται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μίθην ἔχουσαι, καὶ κῶμον, καὶ γίλῳτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θύους, καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασις, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιοπαίνοις κοσμουμένην δακρύοις.

^a Paulin. Natal. Felic. vi. v. 8, seqq.

Concordate meis, precor, et complaudite, fratres,
 Carminibus, castoque animos effundite luxu:
 Gaudia sancta decent et carmina casta fideles.

^b Aug. de Morib. Eccles. Cathol. c. xxxiv. tom. i. p. 321, (p. 774, edit. Basil. 1569), (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 531, B. 12.) Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. (76.) Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando Ecclesiæ Catholicæ maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tamquam malos filios corrigere studet.

gluttony and drunkenness to the account of religion. But I advise you to leave off railing at the Catholic Church for this: for in speaking against the morals of such men, you only condemn those whom the Church herself condemns, and daily labours to correct them as wicked children." "They who make themselves drunk in the memorials of the martyrs," says he again in another place, in answer to the same objection,^c "are so far from having the approbation of the Church, that she condemns them for being guilty of that vice in their own private houses: it is one thing that we are commanded to teach; and another thing that we are commanded to correct, and forced to tolerate and endure, till we can amend it." St. Ambrose happily corrected this intemperance at Milan,^d by prohibiting all such feasts in the church: and St. Austin^e made use of his example to persuade Aurelius, the primate of Carthage, to use his authority to do the same in the African Churches. Upon which Aurelius got a canon made in the third Council of Carthage,^f obliging the clergy to refrain from all such feasting in the church, and as much as in them lay, to restrain the people from the same practice. This had been prohibited before by the Council of Laodicea,^g forbidding all feasts of charity, and all

^c Aug. cont. Faustum, lib. xx. c. xxi. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 247, C. 6.) Qui se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis adprobriari possunt, quum eos, si in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus, aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et donec emendemus tolerare compellimur.—Ambros. de Elia et Jefunio, c. xvii. Quid obtestationes potentium loquor? Bibamus, inquit, pro salute imperatoris; et qui non biherit, sit reus indevotionis . . . Hæc vota ad Deum pervenire judicant, sicut illi, qui calices ad sepulchra martyrum deferunt, atque illic in vesperam bibunt, et aliter se exaudiri posse non credunt. O stultitiam hominum, qui ebrietatem sacrificium putant: qui existimant illos ebrietate placari, qui jejuniis passiones sustinere didicerunt.

^d Ibid. Confess. lib. vi. c. ii. tot. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 86.)

^e Ibid. Epist. lxiv. ad Aurel. tot.

^f Conc. Carth. III. c. xxx. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur.

^g Conc. Laodic. c. xxviii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1501.) "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἡμερῶν, τὰς λειτουργίας ἀγάσας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῇ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ λούειν καὶ ἀκούεσθαι στρωμάτων.

eating, and spreading of tables in the church; and it was prohibited afterwards by the second Council of Orleans in France, where a general canon was made,^b “That no one should pretend to pay any vow in the church by singing, or drinking, or any loose behaviour whatsoever: because God was rather provoked than appeased by such vows as these.” There was another evil custom prevailing in France in the time of King Clodoveus II., about the year 650, when the first Council of Chalon was held, which endeavoured, by a canon, to correct it, viz.,ⁱ “That on the festivals of martyrs and dedications of churches, companies of women were used to come before the church, singing filthy and obscene songs, whilst they should have been at Divine service; whom they therefore ordered to be repelled: and if they persisted obstinate in their wickedness, to be prosecuted with the severest censures of the Church.” St. Basil mentions another abuse of these festivals, which was men’s keeping markets at these times and places, under colour of making better provision for these feasts: but he smartly rebukes this as a great encroachment upon piety, wholly unbecoming such solemnities, which were designed purely for prayer and the commemoration of the virtues of holy men, for our encouragement and imitation: and he tells such men,^k “They ought to

^b Conc. Aurel. II. c. xii. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1781.) Ne quis in ecclesia votum suum cantando, bibendo, vel lasciviendo, exsolvat: quia Deus talibus votis irritatur potius quam placetur.

ⁱ Conc. Cabil. I. c. xix. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 391.) Noscitur valde esse indecorum, quod per dedicationes basilicarum, aut festivitates martyrum, ad ipsa solennia confluentes chorus femineus turpia quædam et obscæna cantica decantare videntur, dum aut orare debent, aut clericos psallentes audire. Unde convenit, ut sacerdotes loci talia a septis basilicarum, vel porticibus ipsarum, ac etiam ab ipsis atriis vetare debeant et arcere. Et si voluntarie noluerint emendare, aut excommunicari debeant, aut disciplinæ aculeum sustinere.

^k Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xl. (Paris. 1638, vol. ii. p. 589.) ‘Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις γινόμενας ἀγορασίας οἰκίας ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος δίκνυσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἵκνιν ἐν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰ τόποις φαίνεσθαι ἐπιβάλλει Χριστιανοῖς, ἢ προσιυχῆς ἵκνιν, καὶ τοῦ εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἰλλόντας τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπερβουλίας μέχρι θανάτου ἰστασίαις πρὸς τὸν ζῆλον τὸν ἡμῶν προσηκῶναι, μνημειοῦς τῆς φοβερωτάτης ἐργῆς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὅτι καὶ πάντοι, καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς ὧν, καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καθὼς γίγνεται, μόνις τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν σωλοῦσι καὶ ἀγοράζουσι τὴν μάστιγα ἱκανοῦνται, ὡς τῆς ἱεροῦ τὸν αἶνον τῆς προσιυχῆς μεταπαύσεως εἰς σπῆλαιον ληστῶν.

remember the severity of our Saviour, who whipped the buyers and sellers out of the temple, when, by their marketings and merchandise, they had turned the house of prayer into a den of thieves." There are many other abuses and corruptions which crept into the Church at this door in after ages, such as the invocation of saints and martyrs, the worshipping of relics, pilgrimages, and visitings of shrines, and the like superstitious practices; which as they were utterly unknown, or disallowed, in the purer ages of the Church, so it is none of my business here further to pursue.

SECT. XI.— *What Festivals observed in Memory of the Apostles.*

But it may be inquired, Whether any particular days were set apart in memory of the apostles and first disciples of Christ? To which I answer, that as many of them as were martyrs, and the time and place of their passion was known, there is no reason to question but that they had anniversary-commemorations among the rest of the martyrs; at least from the time that the festivals of martyrs began to be observed in the Church. Thus the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul was observed at Rome, either upon the 29th of June, or the 22d of February: for the day is disputed between Bishop Pearson¹ and Pagi,^m and I will not pretend

¹ Pearson. *Annal. Cyprian. an. 258* (Oxon. 1682, p. 62), (p. 50, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Hujus observationis utilitas diem respicit, quo facta esse dicitur translatio, nempe tertium Kalendas Julii; quo die vulgo putant eos apostolos passos esse, contra Veterum sententiam, qui ultimo Neronis anno eorum martyrium adscribunt. Ultimo enim Neronis anno, vicesimo nono Junii, pati non potuere, quia ipse Nero sexto die Junii periit. Sed si alio die depositio facta est, alio translatio, quam sequuta est postea solennitas; salva erit Veterum sententia. Et sane ante Pseudo-Isidori ætatem, ante Gesta Pontificalia, natalibus SS. apostolorum Petri et Pauli alius dies adsignabatur. Nam Polemius Sylvius in laterculo suo, sacra profanaque festa continente, A.D. 449 evulgato, hæc habet: viii. Kal. (Martii) depositio SS. Petri et Pauli. De qua varietate alibi latius a nobis disputatum est.

^m Pagi, *Critic. in Baron. an. 258, sect. iii.* (Antwerp. 1727, vol. i. p. 266.) Nihil a Sixto in suo pontificatu gestum reperimus, nisi quod in Indiculo Depositionis Martyrum habetur, 'Tertio Kalendas Julii, Petri in catacumbas, et Pauli Ostiense, Tusco et Basso Coss.' Bucherius quum hoc arcanum non intelligeret, scripsit in margine: 'Nescio, quid heic sibi velint hi Consules, forte aliunde luxati.' Verum non de sanctorum Apostolorum passionis, sed de translationis tempore heic agitur. Idem habet Gestorum pontificalium auctor, sed Pontifices permutavit, ut sæpe solet,

to decide the controversy between them. But it is generally agreed, both by the ancients and moderns, that they both suffered martyrdom at the same time, in the persecution under Nero, at Rome. This Eusebius^a shews out of Caius Romanus, Tertullian, Origen, and Dionysius of Corinth; who say, that the one was crucified, and the other beheaded; and that their trophies, or monuments, were the one in the Via Ostiensis, and the other in the Vatican, till Pope Xystus removed them into the catacombs, or subterraneous vaults,

et pro Sixto Cornelium posuit, indeque Pseudo-Isidorus eandem historiam fictitiæ Cornelii Epistolæ inseruit. Caius, qui circa annum Christi 200 scripsit, tradit, apostolorum tropæa tunc temporis in Vaticano et Ostiensi adservata fuisse. Hæc igitur tropæa in catacumbas transtulisse videtur Sixtus, magis in dies sævientis persecutionis ardore, ut ibi tutius stationes haberi possent. Ita recte Pearsonius, qui subjungit, 'Hujus observationis utilitas,' &c. See note (!). Hæc Pearsonius, cujus librum, in quo de ea varietate agit, non vidi. Verum enimvero observatio hæc vanissima. Petrus enim non ultimo Neronis anno, sed undecimo martyrium subiit, ut suo loco demonstravi, ejusque Natale die vicesimo nono Junii celebratum. Sed quia translationes sanctorum eo sæpe die, quo ad Deum migrarunt, vel colebantur, fieri solitæ erant, is dies a Sixto ad eam translationem faciendam electus, quod etiam in S. Urbani papæ translatione præstitum fuisse anno 231 notavimus. (iv.) Neque refert, quod in laterculo Sylvii legitur. Hinc enim tantum inferendum, aliam SS. apostolorum translationem, qua etiam 'depositionis' nomine ab antiquis designatur, in festo cathedræ S. Petri factam esse. Nam viii. Kalendas Martii cathedram S. Petri, non vero natalem ejus celebratum fuisse, certum fit ex Indiculo Depositionis Martyrum, laterculo Sylvii antiquiore; in eo enim legitur, 'Octavo Kalendas Martii, natale Petri de cathedra;' ubi vides, etiam natalis nomen cuilibet festo attributum fuisse.

^a Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 53, D. 8.) Παῦλος δὲ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς 'Ρώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποσμηθῆναι, καὶ Πίτρος ἀναυτὺς ἀνασκοποῦσθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἰστοροῦνται· καὶ πιστοῦνται γι τὴν ἰστορίαν, ἣ Πίτρον καὶ Παύλου εἰς διῆρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοιμητηρίων πρέσβυσι· οὐδὲν δ' ἦτοον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαίης ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζαφυρίου 'Ρωμαίων γιγνὸς ἐπίσκοπον' ὃς δὲ Πρέκλῳ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγης πρεσβυτερίου γνώμης ἰγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἵνα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατίθῃται, φησὶν· Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρέπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω διέξας ἰδὼν γὰρ διελθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδὼν τὴν Ὀστίαν, ἐρῆσις τὰ τρέπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἡμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίαν ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἰγγράφως 'Ρωμαίους ὁμιλῶν, ᾧδὲ πως παρίστησιν ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νοθείας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πίτρου καὶ Παύλου φησίαν γυνηθῆσαν 'Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνικεράσας· καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φησὶν· αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἰδιδάξαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοῖοι διδάξαντες, ἡμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν.— Id. lib. iii. c. i. p. 57. 'Ὁς (Πίτρος) ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην γινόμενος ἀνασκοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθῆναι. εἰ δὲ περὶ Παύλου λίγιν . . . καὶ ὑστερον ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ Νικάνους μάρτυρησάντος· ταῦτα Ὀρίγινι κατὰ λίξιν ἐν τρισῶν τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἐξηγητικῶν εἰρηται.

as the old *Indiculus Depositionis Martyrum* calls them, for greater security in the heat of persecution. And here it was, that St. Jerom says,^o when he was a school-boy at Rome, he often went with others of his companions into the *cryptæ*, or 'cemeteries' underground, to see their sepulchres among the rest of the martyrs. So that it being unquestionable that St. Peter and St. Paul were crowned with martyrdom at Rome, there is no doubt to be made but that their festivals were anciently observed there and elsewhere as other festivals of the martyrs. And the like may be concluded of all the other apostles, who suffered martyrdom in the several countries where they preached the Gospel.

SECT. XII. — *The Festival of the Holy Innocents.*

Besides these, the ancient Church kept a festival in memory of the holy innocents that were slain at our Saviour's birth. The ancient writers never speak of them but under the title of 'Christian martyrs.' Cyprian says,^p "The Nativity of Christ begun a *martyriis infantium*, 'immediately with the martyrdom of those infants' that, from two years old and under, were slain for his name. That tender age, which was not yet able to fight, was fit to receive a crown. The innocent infants were slain for his name, that it might appear that they are innocent, who are slain for the sake of Christ: and hereby it was shewed, that no one is free from the danger of persecution; seeing even such as these were martyred for his sake." To the same purpose, St. Hilary^q

^o Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. c. xl. p. 636, (p. 455, edit. Paris. 1643.)

^p Cyprian. Epist. lvi. al. lviii. ad Thibaritanos, Oxon. 1682, p. 123, (p. 257, edit. Amstelod.) Christi nativitas a martyriis infantium statim cepit, ut ob nomen ejus, a bimatu et infra qui fuerant, necarentur. Ætas, necdum habilis ad pugnam, idonea exstitit ad coronam; ut appareret, innocentes esse, qui propter Christum necantur, infantia innocens ob nomen ejus occisa est. Ostensum est neminem esse a periculo persecutionis immunem, quando et tales martyria fecerunt.

^q Hilar. in Matth. c. i. p. 613, (edit. Paris. 1693.) Post Judæorum insectationem et in extinguendo eo profanæ plebis adsensu, Christus ad gentes inanissimis religionibus deditas transit: et Judæum relinquens, ignoranti eum sæculo colendus infertur, Bethlehem, id est, Judæa, martyrum sanguine redundante. . . . Non enim non erant ii qui mortui putabantur; in æternitatis enim profectum per martyrii gloriam efferebantur.

says, "Bethlehem flowed with the blood of the martyrs, and that they were advanced to eternity by the glory of martyrdom." So St. Austin:^r "These infants died for Christ, not knowing it: their parents bewailed them, dying martyrs: they could not yet speak, and yet for all that they confessed Christ: Christ granted them the honour to die for his name: Christ vouchsafed them the benefit of being washed from original sin in their own blood." In like manner, Prudentius, in his poetical way, thus sets forth their praises:^s "Hail, ye flowers of the martyrs, whom the enemies of Christ cut off in your first entrance upon the light, as men do roses when they first appear. Ye proto-victims of Christ, ye tender flock of sacrifices, play innocently with your crowns and garlands before the very altar." St. Chrysostom was of the same mind, when he said,^t "These infants received no harm by their death: it only translated them so much the sooner to the port and haven of rest and tranquillity." And so the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, under the name of Chrysostom, speaking of Herod's cruelty, says,^u "He gave all the infants eternal life for the sake of one:"

^r Aug. de Symbolo, lib. iii. c. iv. tom. ix. p. 303, (pp. 1123, 1124, edit. Basil. 1569), (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 420, C. 7.) *Moriuntur parvuli pro Christo nescientes, parentes plangunt martyres morientes. . . . Nec dum loquuntur, et Christum confitentur. . . . Præstitit eis Christus, ut pro Christo morerentur, præstitit ut suo sanguine ab originali peccato diluerentur.* — Id. Epist. xxviii. ad Hieron. See following note (^v). — Id. de Libero Arbitrio, lib. iii. c. xxiii. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 474, A. 11.) *Non frustra etiam infantes illos qui, cum Dominus Jesus Christus necandus ab Herode quæreretur, occisi sunt, in honorem martyrum receptos commendat ecclesia, &c.*

^s Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn. xii. de Epiphania, v. cxxxv. seqq. (p. 80, edit. Halens. 1703), (Valpy's edit. i. p. 157.)

Salvete, flores martyrum,
Quos lucis ipso in limine
Christi insecutor sustulit,
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.
Vos, prima Christi victima,
Grex immolatorum tener,
Aram ante ipsam simplices
Palma et coronis luditis.

^t Chrysostom. Hom. ix. in Matth. p. 83, B. (p. 101, edit. Francof.) *Τί τοίνυν ἰσλάσῃ τὰ παῖδια, ἀναιρέθιντα ἐπὶ ὑποθίου τοιαύτῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνύμνητον ταχίως ἀποπερθεῖναι λυμένα;*

^u *Opus Imperfectum*, in Matth. ii. p. 780, F. 2. *Omnibus vitam æternam præstitit propter unum.*

meaning that he made them all martyrs for the sake of Christ, whom he thought to have slain among them. "Before all these," Irenæus says, "Christ, when he was an infant, made infants martyrs for himself, and sent them before him into his kingdom." Pope Leo^w and Fulgentius speak of them in the same style, as infant-martyrs and co-partners in the Passion of Christ, who suffered martyrdom for him without knowledge or grief.

But Origen goes a little further, and not only calls them the first-fruits of the martyrs, but says^x their memorial was always celebrated in the Churches, after the manner or order of the saints, as being the first martyrs that were slain for Christ. And St. Austin says more than once,^y

^v Iren. lib. iii. c. xviii. Propter hoc et pueros eripiebat, qui erant in domo David, bene sortiti illo tempore nasci, ut eos præmitteret in suum regnum; ipse infans quum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethlehem natus est Judæ, in civitate David interfectos, secundum Scripturas.

^w Leo, Serm. vii. in Epiphan. p. 33, (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 1010, f. edit. Lugd. 1677), (Lugd. 1700, vol. i. p. 98.) Ad hanc vos similitudinem parvulorum mysterium hodiernæ festivitatis invitat: et hanc vobis humilitatis formam adoratus a Magis puer Salvator insinuat: qui ut imitatoribus suis quid gloriæ pararet, ostenderet, ortus sui tempore editos martyrio consecravit ut in Bethlehem, ubi Christus natus est, geniti per communionem ætatis consortes fierent passionis. — Fulgent. Hom. iv. de Epiphania et Innocentibus, p. 541, (p. 810, edit. Basil. 1621, 8vo.) Non solum istum puerum (Jesum) non invenisti: sed nec illis pueris aliquid nocuisti: immo inscius, quod illis proderat, hoc egisti. Per sævitiam quippe tuam sancti sunt martyres; qui per infantiam suam fuerant innocentes: quando per gratiam hujus pueri pro eo meruerunt mori; priusquam eum possent coram hominibus confiteri. Iste itaque puer, qui mundum creavit, qui mundum regit, qui omnia, quæcumque vult, facit, qui cuncta mirabili atque inseparabili ordine disponit, hoc ordinavit, hoc egit, ut per tuam invidiam furiosam illi pueri mortem susciperent pretiosam: et quod eis ad salutem tuam præstare non posses amicus, hoc ad damnationem tuam faceres inimicus. Ad hoc ergo te permisit infantes occidere, ut illos de te faceret triumphare. Te ergo permisit ad nequitiam, illos perduxit ad palmam.

^x Origen. Hom. iii. de Diversis, tom. ii. p. 436, (p. 282, g. edit. Paris. 1604.) Horum et memoria semper, ut dignum est, in ecclesiis celebratur, secundum integrum ordinem sanctorum, ut primorum martyrum, pro Domino occisorum et ut ipsa Bethlehem primitias Domino martyrum, in qua natus est ipse Salvator, obtulisse videatur.

^y Aug. de Libero Arbitrio, lib. iii. c. xxiii. tom. i. p. 29. See note (*), p. 153. — Id. Epist. xxviii. ad Hieron. p. 106, edit. Basil. 1569. Non frustra etiam infantes illos, qui, quum Dominus noster Jesus Christus necandus ab Herode quæreretur, occisi sunt, in honorem martyrum receptos commendat ecclesia. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 449.)

“That the Church received them to the honour of her martyrs.” Which seems to imply, that some peculiar festival was appointed for their commemoration; but whether this at first was a distinct festival from the Epiphany, or rather kept on the same day, is a matter that may bear some dispute: because Prudentius, Fulgentius, and Leo, speak of the Innocents only upon this day, and not upon any other occasion.

SECT. XIII. — *The Festival of the Maccabees.*

But we are further to observe, that anciently they celebrated not only the festivals of the Christian martyrs, but also some of the more eminent martyrs of the Old Testament: such as the seven Maccabees, whose courage in opposing the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes, and dying for the defence of the Jewish law, seems to have been generally over the whole Christian Church in the fourth century, about which time we find abundance of panegyrics made upon them. Chrysostom has three homilies upon this occasion,^a wherein he speaks of their festival being celebrated at Antioch with more than ordinary concourses of people. St. Austin says,^a the Christians had a church there called by the name of the Maccabees: and he himself has two sermons upon their festival,^b in which he shews that they were esteemed, in reality, Christian martyrs. And hence it appears, that their feast was solemnly observed in the African Churches: for he begins his first homily with these words, *Istum diem nobis solennem fecit gloria Maccabæorum*, ‘This day is made a festival to us by the glory of the Maccabees.’ Gregory Nazianzen has a sermon upon the same occasion, wherein he says,^c “This present festival is kept in memory

^a Chrysostom. Hom. xlv. xlix. et l. tom. i.

^a Aug. Hom. cix. de Diversis, tom. x. p. 585, (hom. ccc. tom. v. opp. p. 1221, edit. Monachor. Benedict. Paris. 1683), (Bened. 1700, vol. v. p. 851, E.) Sanctorum Machabæorum basilica esse in Antiochia prædicatur: in illa scilicet civitate, quæ regis ipsius persecutoris nomine vocatur.

^b Hom. cix. cx. (hom. ccc. ccci. edit. cit. Monach. Bened.)

^c Nazianz. Orat. xxii. de Maccabæis, Colon. 1690, tom. i. p. 397, D. Τούτων (Μακκαβαίων) ἡ παρούσα πανήγυρις, οὐ παρὰ πολλοῖς μὲν τιμωμένῳ, ὅτι μὴ μὲν Χριστὸν ἢ ἄλλους· πᾶσι δὲ τιμᾶσθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡ κατεργασία.

of the Maccabees, who though they are not had in so great honour by some, because they strove not for mastery by the grace of Christ, yet they are worthy of all due respect and veneration, because they contended valiantly for the laws of their fathers, and the truth of religion as then revealed to them." We find the like discourses among those of Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia,^d and Eusebius Emisenus,^e and Leo,^f bishop of Rome. Which manifestly shews that this was a festival of great note throughout the whole Church: and the reason is given by Gregory Nazianzen:^g "Because they were really admirable in their actions, yea, more admirable in one respect than the martyrs that came after Christ. For," says he, "if they suffered martyrdom so bravely before Christ's coming, what would they not have done had they lived after him, and had the death of Christ for their example?" For this reason, this festival was particularly celebrated all over the Christian Church: but upon what day I am not yet able to inform the reader, save only that the Roman Martyrology places it upon the first of August.

SECT. XIV. — *Of the General Festival of all the Martyrs.*

But I must acquaint him with one thing more concerning these festivals of the martyrs: that because the number of them was exceeding great, and every particular Church could not observe them all, therefore they chose to have one solemn day for the general commemoration of all the martyrs. This was on a certain day, not long after Pentecost or Whitsunday, as we learn from one of Chrysostom's homilies upon this occasion, where he says,^h "There are not yet seven

^d Gaudent. Serm. xv. de Maccabæis.

^e Euseb. Emisen. Hom. de iisdem.

^f Leo, Serm. lxxii. de Septem Maccabæis, p. 167. — Valerian. Hom. xviii. de Maccabæis, ibid. p. 749.

^g Nazianz. ibid. Καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν Χριστοῦ παλῶν μαρτυρήσαντες, τί ποτε δέξοιν ἑμὶλλον μετὰ Χριστὸν διωκόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἰαίνου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μιμούμενοι θάνατον; οἱ γὰρ χωρὶς ὑποδείγματος τοιοῦτου, τοσοῦτοι τὴν ἀρετὴν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ᾤφθησαν γινωσκόντες, μετὰ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος κινδυνεύοντες;

^h Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiv. de Martyribus totius orbis, tom. i. p. 895, (p. 789, edit. Francof.) Ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἱερὰν πατήγουσα τῆς πιστηκοῦς ἐκτετακται,

days past, since we celebrated the great and holy solemnity of Pentecost; and now again a quire, or rather a camp and army of martyrs, overtakes us, an army like the camp of angels which appeared to Jacob." This seems, therefore, to have been either what we now call Trinity-Sunday, or some day very near it. For the Greeks called this Κυριακή τῶν ἁγίων, 'the Sunday of all the martyrs,' as Leo Allatius¹ shews out of Callistus's *Synaxarion*, and Leo Sapiens, who has an oration upon this day, entitled, 'Upon all the holy martyrs.' The name Trinity-Sunday is but of modern use: the ancients had no such festival, because every Lord's-day was esteemed the feast of the Holy Trinity. Durandus says,^k "Gregory the Fourth, about the year 834, first instituted the festival of the Holy Trinity, and that of the angels together." But Potho Prumiensis will not allow it to be so ancient: for he says^l it began to be used in the monasteries not long before his time, which was about the year 1150. And it appears from a decree of Alexander the Third, that it was not ob-

οὕτω παρῆλθιν ἡμερῶν ἱστὰ ἀριθμῶς, καὶ πάλιν κατέλαβιν ἡμᾶς μαρτύρων χορὴς, μᾶλλον δὲ μαρτύρων παρεμβολή, καὶ παρατάξις τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ ἡ πατερίας ἐκείνης Ἰακώβ, κατ' οὐδὲν οὕτω χρίων, ἀλλ' ἰθάμυλλος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἴση.

¹ Allat. de Hebdomad. et Dominicis Græcor. n. **xxi.** Post Pentecosten sequuntur hebdomades et Dominicæ, quæ Matthæi, quod in illis evangelium Matthæi per sectiones inter officia legatur, dicuntur; nec a præcedente Dominica, sed subsequente, numerantur. Feria itaque secunda et tertia proximæ Dominicæ Pentecostes erunt feriæ primæ hebdomadis; quia Dominica proxime sequens erit prima post Pentecostem apud Latinos, apud Græcos erit πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου. Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, κυριακῇ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστήν, τὴν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, inquit Callistus in Synaxario, ἰς Ἀσίαν, Λιβύαν, καὶ Εὐρώπην, βορῶνται καὶ Νότα ἁγίων πάντων ἱερτὴν ἱερτάζομεν. Edita est Oratio Leonis imperatoris, Κυριακῇ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστήν εἰς τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἁγίους πάντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀλάστορα τοῦ γένους εἰκίαις ἄλλοις κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡ παγκόσμιος ἐκκλησία τούτους τιμᾷ.

^k Durand. Rational. lib. vii. c. **xxxiv.**

^l Potho de Statu Domus Dei, lib. iii. ap. Hospin. de Festis, p. 73, (p. 113, edit. Genæv. 1674.) Miramur satis, quid visum fuerit hoc tempore quibusdam monasteriis, mutare colorem optimum, novas quasdam inducendo celebritates. Numquid patribus doctiores aut devotiores sumus? Superba mente præsumimus, quidquid ipsorum in talibus prudentia præterivit. Neque vero novi in hujusmodi aliquid invenire possumus, quod eorum quiverit diligentiam præterisse. Quæ igitur ratio hæc festa celebranda nobis induxit? Frustra videlicet S. Trinitatis, et festum transfigurationis Domini, &c.

served at Rome in his time (an. 1179). For he says,^m “The feast of the Holy Trinity is diversely observed, according to the custom of different countries; some keeping it on the octaves of Pentecost, and others on the first Sunday before Advent: but in the Roman Church it is not used to be celebrated as any particular festival; for we say every day, ‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,’ and such other things as appertain to the praise of the Trinity.” So that Trinity-Sunday being wholly unknown to the ancients under that particular name, it is most probable this was the day on which a general commemoration was made of all the martyrs in the world, as St. Chrysostom’s homily bears it in the title. For the multitude of martyrs being vastly great, it was impossible that particular days should be assigned to each of them: and therefore every Church chiefly celebrated the days of her own martyrs (which often came once or twice in a week),ⁿ and added one solemn day for the commemoration of them all in general: of which I have nothing more particularly to remark, but that the ancients, on this day, commonly exerted themselves, and shewed the utmost of their skill in the art of oratory (of which many of them were great masters) in describing the passions, and setting forth the glory of those victories and trophies that were so frequently and so surprisingly acquired by the martyrs. It is a beautiful stroke of Chrysostom’s pen, in his homily upon this occasion, with which I will end this chapter upon these festivals of the martyrs. “The devil,” says he,^o “introduced death into the world, but the

^m Decretal. Gregor. lib. ii. tit. ix. de Feriis, c. ii. Festivitas S. Trinitatis, secundum consuetudinem diversarum regionum, a quibusdam consuevit in octavis Pentecostes, ab aliis in Dominica prima ante adventum Domini celebrari. Ecclesia siquidem Romana in usu non habet, quod in aliquo tempore hujusmodi celebret spiritualiter festivitatem, quum singulis diebus Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, et similia dicantur, ad laudem pertinentia Trinitatis. — Microlog. de Observat. Eccles. c. lx. tot. (in Bibl. Patr. tom. xviii. pp. 489, 490, edit. Lugd. 1677.)

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in Juventin. tom. i. p. 546, (p. 484, edit. Francof.) — Theodoret. Sermon. viii. de Martyr. tom. iv. p. 605. See Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. v. vol. iv. p. 364.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiv. de Martyr. totius orbis, tom. i. p. 896, A. 1, (p. 792,

wisdom of God turned it to our honour and glory: for hereby he opened the way to martyrdom; and made our destruction become the occasion of a crown. The devil designed to ruin us by death; but Christ inverted his design, and makes use of death to introduce us into heaven by martyrdom. Here, as in all other battles, there were armies engaged on both sides, the martyrs on the one side, and tyrants on the other. The tyrants were armed, and the martyrs naked: yet they that were naked, got the victory; and they that carried arms, were vanquished. What an astonishing engagement was this! He that is beaten, proves victor over him that beats him: he that is bound, overcomes him that is at liberty; he that is burnt, tames him that burns him; and he that dies, vanquishes him that puts him to death! These are astonishing things: but it is grace that works these miracles; they are above the strength of nature." Thus the ancients extolled their martyrs, those heroes of Christianity, by just praises and commendations, and endeavoured to provoke others to piety and virtue by their example: which was the great end and design of these holy solemnities and frequent meetings at the memorials of the martyrs.

edit. Francof.) "Ὅτι μὴ ἀλγῶμεν, ὅτι ἰγνόμεθα θνητοὶ, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἀνέβη ἡμῖν τὸ στάδιον τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς ἰλάβομεν ὑπὸ τῶν βραδείων ἐντιῶν ἔχομεν ἀφορμὴν τῶν παλαισμάτων. Ὁρᾷς σοφίαν Θεοῦ; πῶς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἡμετέρας συμφορᾶς, ὅτι ἐσθλαγὸς ὁ διάβολος, τὸν θάνατον λίγων, τοῦτον εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἡμετέραν μετέβαλε, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου βραδεία τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἔργον; . . . Ἐκείνος εἰσ- ἤγαγεν, ἵνα ἀπολίσῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἱπαναγαγὼν πᾶσαν ἐκπόψῃ σωτηρίας ἰλασθᾶ ὁ Χριστὸς δι' αὐτὸ λαβὼν μετίστριψε, καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰσέγαγε. . . . Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δύο παρατάξεις, ἡ μὲν τῶν μαρτύρων, ἡ δὲ τῶν τυράννων ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τυράννοι εἰς καθωπλισμῶν, οἱ δὲ μάρτυρες γυμνῶ τῷ σώματι μάχονται, καὶ ἡ νίκη τῶν γυμνῶν, οὐ καθωπλισμένων, γίνεται. Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγίσῃ, ὅτι ὁ μαστιζόμενος περιγίνεται τοῦ μαστιζόντος, ὁ διδομένος τοῦ λειλυμένου, ὁ κατα- καίμενος τοῦ καίοντος, ὁ ἀποθήσκων τοῦ ἀναιρούοντος; ἴδεις πῶς ταῦτα ἐκείνων φρεναδίστρια; ἐκείνη μὲν εἰ καὶ φονεῖα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν γίνεται. ταῦτα δὲ πᾶσαν ὑπερβαίνει φύσιν, καὶ πᾶσαν πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίαν ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτός ἐστι τὰ κατορθώματα.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF SOME OTHER FESTIVALS OF A LATER DATE AND LESSER OBSERVATION.

SECT. I.—*Of the Encænïa, or ‘Feasts of Dedications of Churches.’*

BESIDE these festivals, which were of greater antiquity in the Church, there were some others added in the fourth and fifth centuries, which, either for their novelty, or their more limited observation, were far inferior to the former, and of less esteem in the Church. Among these we may reckon the *encænïa*, or ‘anniversary feasts,’ kept in memory of the dedication of churches. The first dedication, or consecration of churches (which began in the time of Constantine, after the demolishing of them in the Diocletian persecution, and rebuilding of them in the peaceable times that succeeded afterwards), has been largely spoken of under another head.^a Here I only take notice of one particular, which properly concerns this place; that is, the anniversary festival, which was sometimes observed in memory of the first dedication of churches. Sozomen gives a famous instance of this in the Church of Jerusalem: “For,” he says,^b “in memory of the dedication of their church, which Constantine built to the honour of our Saviour, they were used to keep an anniversary festival, which lasted for eight days together, during which time both they of the Church, and all strangers, which flocked thither in abundance, held ecclesiastical assemblies, and met together for Divine service.” And from this example the custom was received and propagated in other

^a Book viii. chap. ix. sect. i. vol. ii. p. 518.

^b Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 393, D. 6.) Ἐστῆσιον ταύτην ἱερὴν λαμπρῶς μάλα ἔργον ἡ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησία ὡς καὶ μῆσεις ἐν αὐτῇ τελειῶσθαι, καὶ ἐκτὼ ἡμέρας ἰφιεῖς ἐκκλησιάζειν συνίηαι τε πολλοὺς σχεδὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ὑφ’ ἡλίου, οἱ καθ’ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων πάντοθεν συντρέχουσι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ταύτης τῆς πανηγύρεως.

Churches: for Bede says,^c Gregory the Great, in his letters to Austin and Mellitus, the first Saxon bishops here in England, ordered them to allow the people liberty, on their annual feasts of the dedications of their churches, to build themselves booths round about the church, and there feast and entertain themselves with eating and drinking, in lieu of their ancient sacrifices while they were heathens. Hospinian says,^d “In the German tongue these feasts were called *kirchweihes*,” that is, ‘church-feasts;’ whence comes our English name, ‘church-wakes,’ which is of the same importance.

SECT. II.—*Of the Anniversary Festivals of Bishops’ Ordinations.*

Another sort of festivals, much of the same nature with the former, were the anniversary solemnities which bishops held in their own churches in memory of their ordination. These are sometimes called *natales episcopi vel episcopatus*, ‘bishops’ birthdays;’ which denote not the days of their natural birth, nor yet the days of their death, as in the former case of martyrs, but the days of their ordination or nativity to the episcopal office, or throne of the church: in like manner, as we have shewed before,^e the *natales imperatorum* often denotes, not their natural birthdays, but the days of their inauguration or advancement to the throne of the empire. That such days were observed as anniversary festivals, I have had occasion once before^f to shew out of

^c Bed. Hist. lib. i. c. xxx. Quia boves solent in sacrificia dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas immutari. Ut die dedicationis vel natalitiis sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosi convivii sollemnitatem celebrent, nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et Donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant, &c. (Lond. 1838, p. 80.)

^d Hospin. de Festis, in Appendice de Encæniis, p. 113, (p. 173, edit. Genevens. 1674.) Nos Germani ea vocamus ‘kirschweih,’ vel corrupte ‘kyrwi,’ aut ‘kylwi:’ quo significamus, festa hæc originem sumsisse a templorum dedicationibus, in quibus populus frequentius concurrere solebat ad audiendum verbum Dei. (Tigur. 1611, p. 161.)

^e Book xx. chap. i. sect. iv. p. 8.

^f Book iv. chap. vi. sect. xv.

several homilies of St. Austin and Pope Leo, which were preached by them upon these occasions. To which I shall here add what St. Austin^a says also of the Donatists, that they agreed with the Church in this practice. For though Optatus Gildonianus, one of their bishops, was a very base man, yet they made no scruple to celebrate his *natalitia*, 'the anniversary of his ordination,' with great solemnity, honouring him with the kiss of peace in the midst of the holy mysteries, and mutually giving and receiving the eucharist from him; which circumstances plainly shew, that by his *natalitials* nothing else can be meant but 'the anniversary of his ordination,' when it was usual for the bishop to invite his neighbouring bishops to join in the solemnity with him, which was observed with reading, psalmody, preaching, praying, and receiving the eucharist, as other solemn festivals. Paulinus likewise^b takes notice of this particular circumstance, "That they were used to invite their fellow-bishops to come and celebrate these their spiritual nativities with them: for so," he says, "he himself was invited by Anastasius, bishop of Rome, to celebrate his birthday." The like we find in the epistles^c of St. Ambrose, Pope Hilary, and several others.

Now the design of these anniversaries was very excellent, to put bishops in mind of the great and weighty burden that was laid upon them, and to be a fresh occasion of recollecting with themselves how faithfully, and conscientiously, and carefully, they had discharged the trust committed to them. Thus St. Austin represents the matter,^d in one of his sermons

^a Aug. cont. litt. Petil. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (Bened. 1700, vol. ix. p. 158, D. 11.)
Cujus natalitia tanta celebratione frequentabatis, cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, in ejus manibus eucharistiam ponebatis, cui vicissim danti manus porrigebatis, &c.

^b Paulin. Epist. xvi. ad Delphinum. Nos ipsos ad natalem suum invitare dignatus est.

^c Ambros. Epist. v. ad Felio. Episc. Comensem. Tum ego nostris fabulis intexui diem natalis tui. Natalem tuum prosequemur nostris orationibus, &c.
—— Hilar. Epist. ii. ad Tarracōn. Conc. tom. iv. p. 1036. Lectis in conventu fratrum, quos natalis mei festivitas congregarat, litteris vestris.—— Sixt. Epist. ad Joan. Antioch. Conc. tom. iii. p. 1261. Audivit universa fraternitas, quæ ad natalis mei convenerat diem.

^d Aug. Hom. xxiv. ex l. tom. x. p. 172, (p. 472, edit. Basil. 1569.) (Bened.

upon this occasion : “ A bishop,” says he, “ ought to consider every day, and every hour, and with a continual care, what a weighty dispensation is committed to him, and what an account thereof he is to make to his Lord ; but when the anniversary-day of our ordination returns, then the honour of this office is chiefly reflected on, as if it were then first imposed upon us. But there is this difference, that on the day when we first received the office, we had only to consider how we ought to behave ourselves in it ; but every day after, and especially on that day when the solemnity returns, we not only look forward, and with great caution and foresight consider what we ought to do for the time to come ; but also look back to what is past, and carefully recollect what we have already done, that we may go on to imitate ourselves, if we have done any thing well ; or, if otherwise, we have done things that are blame-worthy, be careful not to repeat them again in time to come. Therefore, on this solemnity of my ordination, I say to those who are my debtors, by trespassing against me, ‘ If any man becomes my enemy, because I tell him the truth ; if I seem troublesome to any, because I give him good advice ; if I am forced

Ant. 1700, vol. v. p. 1038, D.) Die quidem omni, et omni hora, cura que omnino continua, dilectissimi, cogitare debet episcopus, quantæ dispensationis sarcinam gerat, qualem de illa rationem Domino reddat suo. Verumtamen quum dies anniversarius nostræ ordinationis exoritur, tunc maxime onus hujus officii tamquam tunc primum imponatur, attenditur. Interest autem, quod eo die, quo id prius suscepimus, tantum quemadmodum gerendum esset, cogitavimus : at vero consequentibus diebus, præcipueque illo, quo ejus sollemnitas agitur, non solum futura ejus, quemadmodum deinceps geri debeant, cauta prævisione consulimus ; verum etiam præterita, quemadmodum gesta sint, sollicita recordatione recolimus : ut nosmet ipsos in benefactis imitemur, et si qua culpanda transierunt, ne repellantur curemus, ut ignoscantur oremus : et accusationem diaboli, ubi possumus, recte agendi sedulitate fugiamus : ubi autem non possumus, confitendi pietate vincamus. Sicut enim futura peccata, negligendo justitiam, committuntur ; ita præterita, injustitiam defendendo, firmantur. Sicut ergo, ne fiant, prospicit caritas, ita facta delet humilitas : ut quæ jam non possunt recte agendo non admitti, possint saltem non superbiendo dimitti. Didicimus quippe dicere Patri nostro, qui est in celis, ‘ Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.’ Quod ut veraciter dicere possimus, etiam inimicos nostros oportet utique diligamus : quos tamen habere, nisi cogente justitia, non debemus. Nam si homines nobis pro nostris malis meritis inimici sunt, non curandum est, ut eis debita dimittamus, sed timendum potius, ne reddamus. Quoniam si nos merito nostræ iniquitatis oderunt, nos eorum, non ipsi nostri sunt debitores. 2. Die

to offend any man's will, whilst I seek his profit: to these I say, 'Be ye not like to horse and mule, which have no understanding:' for these creatures chiefly kick and bite those who take care of them, and only touch them gently to cure their wounds. So you and I are at strife, one with the other; but the cause makes a distinction. Thou art an enemy to thy physician, I only an enemy to thy disease; thou art an enemy to my diligence, I only to thy pestilential distemper. 'They rewarded me evil for good,' says the Psalmist, 'but I give myself unto prayer.' What did He pray? 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' 'Rejoice, and be exceeding glad,' says Christ, 'when men revile you, and say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake: for great is your reward in heaven.' But we would have you correct your perverseness, and acknowledge our charity, and render love for love: we would not have our reward augmented by your destruction.' Next I must speak to those to whom I am a debtor: for I am not so vain as to think that I have injured no man since I first took the burden of this office upon me. I know my infirmity, and pray to the Lord my God day and night, and

ergo isto sollemni episcopatus mei, prius paucis adloquar debitores meos, qui mihi nescientes apud Deum suffragantur, dum faciunt debita, quæ dimittam, ut et mea mihi debita dimitti promerear. Vobis itaque dico sive præsentibus, sive absentibus, quibus inimicus efficior verum prædicans, quibus consulendo videor onerosus, quorum requirens utilitatem cogor offendere voluntatem, 'Nolite esse sicut equus et mulus, non habentes intellectum.' Nam et hæc jumenta eos calce morsuque appetunt, a quibus curantur, ut curentur eorum vulnera, contractantur. Non parcis, non parco: adversaris, adversor: resistis, resisto. Lucta nos comparat, sed causa separat. Tu inimicus es medico, ego morbo: tu diligentiae meæ, ego pestilentiae tuæ. 'Retribuebant,' inquit, 'mihi mala pro bonis: ego autem orabam.' Quid orabat, nisi, 'Pater, ignosce illis: quia nesciunt quid faciunt?' 'Quum vobis,' inquit, 'detraxerint, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos propter justitiam, gaudete et exsultate, quia merces vestra multa est in cælis.' Vos tamen corrigite perversitatem vestram, agnoscite caritatem nostram; reddite dilectionem dilectioni: nolumus majorem cum vestra perditione mercedem. Hæc debitoribus meis, quibus dimitto, ut dimittatur mihi, nunc pauca suffecerint. 3. Deinde adloquendi sunt paullulum etiam illi, quibus debitor sum. Nam sicut ait apostolus, 'Græcis et Barbaris, sapientibus et insipientibus, debitor sum.' Nam talis debitor etiam ego pro mearum virium exiguitate dispensationisque portunculæ, non quibusdam, sed omnibus sum. Verum nunc de his debitis loquor, quæ mihi dimitti, non a me exigere cupio. Neque enim sic tumore vanæ mentis extollor, ut audeam dicere, ex quo hujus muneris sarcinam porto, nullum a me

beg the assistance of your prayers for the cure of it. If, then, in the hurry and difficulty of various cares, I have at any time been so distracted, as not to hear the petition of him that made suit to me; if I have looked upon any with a sourer countenance than there was occasion for; if I have given any one sharper words than I ought to have done; if I have troubled any one that was in anguish of spirit, and needed my help, by an improper answer; if I have overlooked any poor man importuning me, when I was intent upon some other business, or put him off to another time, or grieved his soul by any sharp sign or intimation; if I have been above measure angry at any one for entertaining any false suspicion of me, as one man is apt to be jealous of another; or, if I have humanly suspected any one as guilty of a crime, from which his own conscience could clear him; I beseech all you, to whom I confess myself a debtor for these and the like offences, to believe me to be your debtor: for the tender mother, when she is in great straits, sometimes treads, though not with her whole weight, upon her young, whom she cherishes, and yet ceases not to be a mother. Forgive me, that ye may be forgiven: and commend my care for you to the Lord, that he may mercifully

hominem perperam læsum. Hoc cuilibet homini tam multis et molestis actibus occupato atque distento, ne dicam impossibile, certe difficile est: quanto magis mihi, qui novi infirmitatem meam, quam cum meis et pro me vestris orationibus diebus ac noctibus offero sanandam Domino Deo meo. Diversarum ergo curarum æstibus ac difficultatibus conturbatus, si quem forte non, ut poscebat, audivi, si quem tristius quam opus erat aspexi, si in quem verbum durius quam oportebat emisi, si quem corde contribulatum et opis indigum responsione incongrua conturbavi, si quem pauperem mihi forte in aliud intento importunius instantem vel prætermisi, vel distuli, vel etiam nutu aspero contristavi; si cui de me falsi aliquid tamquam homini de homine suspicanti, justo acerbius indignatus sum, si quis in sua conscientia non agnovit, quod de illo humanitus suspicatus sum; vos, quibus pro his atque hujusmodi offensis esse me fateor debitorem, simul me vestrum credite dilectorem. Nam pullos, quos fovet, sæpe in angustiis, sed non toto pedis pondere calcat et mater, nec ideo desinit esse mater. Dimittite, ut dimittatur vobis. Dimittite amanti vos debita difficultatis, qui nec contra inimicos debita tenere debetis crudelitatis. Ad summam, omnes obsecro, commendate Domino curam pro vobis meam: hinc enim juste expeto pro me vestram, ut quicquid mearum est in præteritum offensionum, propitius ignoscat, non severus agnoscat. Quod mihi deinceps temporis sub hac sarcina erit, iter agentem regat, et suis oculis placentem vobisque utilem faciat; ut non horrorem et pœnam meam, sed gaudium et coronam meam, vos ejus conspectus inveniat.

pardon my past offences, and guide my way under this burden for the future, so as may be pleasing in his eyes, and profitable for you; that ye may be found my joy and crown, and not my confusion and punishment, at his appearance."

These are pious thoughts and excellent contemplations, flowing with expressions of great humility and charity: and they serve to shew us, both what a deep sense the ancients had of the weight and burden of the episcopal office, and also after what manner they entertained their auditories with useful discourses upon these anniversary festivals of their own ordination.

SECT. III. — *Of Festivals kept in Memory of any great Deliverances, or signal Mercies, vouchsafed by God to his Church.*

Another sort of festivals was observed, as annual thanksgivings to God, for any great favours and blessings vouchsafed by God to his Church. Thus Sozomen says,^k the Church of Alexandria kept an anniversary thanksgiving upon the twelfth of the Kalends of August, that is, the 21st of June, for their deliverance from a terrible earthquake, and inundation of the sea, in the reign of Julian, which was so great, that boats were found upon the tops of houses. In memory of this they kept a festival, which they called γενέσια τοῦ σεισμοῦ, 'the memorial of the earthquake,' which was observed in the time of Sozomen with great solemnity,

^k Sozom. lib. vi. c. ii. (Vales. 1695, p. 519, C. 11.) 'Ἀμίλι τοι τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἢ τὰς ἐνίστη, ἢ γενέσια τοῦ σεισμοῦ προσεγορεύουσιν, εἰσὶν καὶ οὗν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἐπονομαζομένη ἄγουσι λύχνους ἐπὶ ἡλίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καίουσιν, καὶ χαριστηρίου λιτὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσφέροντες, λαμπρῶς μάλιστα καὶ εὐλαβῶς ταύτην ἐπιτελοῦσιν. — Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxvi. in fine. Hoc novatore adhuc superstitie, cujus actus multiplices docuimus et interitum, diem duodecimum Kal. Augustas, consule Valentiniano primum cum fratre, horrendi terrores per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subito, quales nec fabulæ nec veridicæ nobis antiquitates exponunt. Paulo enim post lucis exortum, densitate prævia fulgurum acrius vibratorum tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis, mareque dispulsum retro fluctibus evolutis abcessit, ut resecta voragine profundorum, species natantium multiformes limo cernerentur hærentes: valliumque vastitates et montium tunc, ut opinari dabatur, suspicerent radios solis, quos primigenia rerum sub immensis gurgitibus amandavit. . . . Ingentes aliæ naves extrusæ rabidis flatibus, culminibus insedere tectorum, ut Alexandriæ contigit. (Lugd. Bat. Gronov. 1693, p. 516.)

the people offering eucharistical prayers to God, and setting up lights all over the city for joy. The Constantinopolitans kept such another festival on the 24th of September, in memory of their deliverance from an earthquake, which is mentioned by Marcellinus Comes,¹ in his *Chronicon*, as lasting with great violence for eleven days together. Among these, we may also reckon their thanksgiving after any signal victories: such as that of Constantine over the tyrant Licinius, whereby the Christians were delivered from the oppression of all their persecutors, and gave God solemn thanks and praise, both in city and country, for the glorious success of Constantine's arms, and their own deliverance, by his victories; as Eusebius^m more than once declares in setting forth the great achievements of Constantine for the Christian Church. So, he that had ordered all possible honours to be done to the martyrs,ⁿ had himself a share in the panegyrics that were made upon them, and next, under God, was celebrated as the great supporter of the Christian faith. But these seem not to have been festivals of long continuance, but to have ended their period with the life of the emperor, on whose account they were observed in the Church.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Feast of the Annunciation.*

But, from this time, festivals grew and multiplied in the Church. Hospinian^o thinks the feast of the Annunciation

¹ Marcellin. Chron. Cos. Basilio, (ap. Euseb. Chronic. p. 45.) Urbs regia per xl. (sic ibi legitur) continuos dies adsiduo terræ motu quassata magnopere sæpe adficta deplanxit. Ambæ Troadenses porticus corruerunt, aliquantæ ecclesiæ vel scissæ sunt, vel collapsæ. Statua Theodosii magni in foro Tauri super cochlidem columnam posita corruit, duobus fornicibus ejusdem collapsis. Hunc formidolosum diem Byzantii celebrant viii. Kalend. Octobris.

^m Euseb. Histor. lib. x. c. ix. (Vales. 1695, p. 326, D. 4.) Ἀφῆρτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πῶν δὲος, τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς παζόντων λαμπρὰς δ' ἐτίλους καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ἱερῶν ἡμέρας, κ. τ. λ.—Lib. ii. de Vit. Constantin. c. xix. Χερσὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅμοι τὸν καμψαλιὰ θεὸν πρῶτιστα πάντων, ὅσα δὴ τούτων ἰδίδασκον. (P. 372, B. 8.)

ⁿ Ibid. de Vit. Constantin. lib. iv. c. xxiii. Τῇ νύμῃ βασιλῆος καὶ μαρτύρων ἡμέρας ἱερῶν, καιροῦς δ' ἱερῶν ἐκκλησίας ἰδέσθαι. (P. 443.)

^o Hospin. de Festis, (p. 69, edit. Genev. 1674.) Festum hoc a pontificiis celebratur hodie in solius B. Virginis Mariæ honorem et memoriam ejus, quod conceptio Filii Dei juxta carnem Mariæ adnuntiata ab angelo Gabriele fuit. Athanasius, qui floruit circa annos Domini cccxl. primus de festo hoc quædam retulit, in enarratione Evangelii de sancta Deipara. Sed ut ex illius verbis apparet,

was as old as Athanasius, because there is mention made of it in a sermon that goes under his name.^p Others carry it higher, to the time of Gregory Thaumaturgus, because there is a sermon also attributed to him upon the same subject. But the best critics, Dr. Cave,^q Du Pin,^r Hamon l'Estrange,^s and Rivet,^t reject both these as spurious writings: and even Bellarmine and Labbé reckon them dubious. They were written by Maximus, or some author after the time that the Monothelite heresy appeared in the world, which was in the seventh century. So the antiquity of this festival cannot be deduced from them; neither could it be a festival in those times, by the ancient rules of the Church, which forbade the celebration of all festivals in Lent, except the Sabbath and the Lord's-day, as appears from the Council of Laodicea.^u But before the time of the Council of Trullo

non tam in honorem Mariæ, quam Christi Domini celebratum olim fuit: immo hujus potius, quam illius festum fuit. Sic enim Athanasius, 'Festum hoc,' inquit, 'unum est ex Dominicis, atque adeo primum et prorsus venerandum, utpote quod pro ordine et digestionem rerum, quæ in Evangelio de Christo prædicantur, sacrosanctum habeatur, quippe in quod de Filii e caelis descensu agatur.'

^p Athanas. Serm. de S. Deipara, (Colon. 1686, vol. i. p. 1028), (tom. ii. p. 393, edit. Paris. 1698.) *Πρότιον ἐπισημαιόμενοι ὑπαναμνησκόμεν, ὅτι μία τῶν διαποτικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ πάνσοφος ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ εὐταξίαν τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Χριστὸν κηρύγμασιν, ὑπάρχουσα, τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπαγγελισμοῦ πλητὴ ἀγία ἡμεῖς, περὶ τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάσεως τοῦ Τιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατασκευάζει τὸ κήρυγμα.*

^q Cave, Hist. Litter. tom. i. p. 95, (Basil. 1741, vol. i. p. 133.) Scripta ei (Gregorio Thaumaturgo) supposita: 'In adnuntiationem S. Dei Genitricis Sermones iii.,' quorum tertius sub nomine Chrysostomi apud Lipomannum et Surium habetur. — Et 'Sermo in Annunciationem Deiparæ.' Stylus neutiquam est Athanasii. Videtur post exortam Monothelitarum hæresin scriptus. (Basil. 1741, vol. i. p. 195.)

^r Du Pin, Bibl. (Utrecht. 1731, vol. i. p. 186.) Les trois sermons de l'annunciation sont du stile de Procle de Constantinople, comme il a esté remarqué par celui qui a fait des Notes sur les Homelies de cet auteur. (Vol. ii. p. 41.) L'homelie de l'annunciation ou de la Vierge, est aussi d'un auteur plus nouveau que Saint Athanase: parce qu'il s'attache a réfuter expresse l'erreur de Nestorius et celle des Monothelites.

^s Hamon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. v. p. 148.

^t Rivet. Critic. Sac. lib. iii. c. v. Homilia (Athanasii) de adnuntiatione seu de sanctissima Deipara Virgine est supposititia. Et tamen oblectant se ejus allegatione Jesuitæ, quia Mariæ invocatio hic stabilitur, &c.

^u Conc. Laodic. c. li. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1505.) *Ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἐν τισαρχανιστῇ μαρτύρων γινώσκων ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων μνήαν ποιῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκβάσεσιν καὶ κυριακαῖς.*

it was come into use; for that Council,^v renewing the fore-said prohibition of Laodicea, makes a further exception in behalf of the Annunciation: forbidding all festivals to be kept in Lent, except the Sabbath, and the Lord's-day, and the holy Annunciation; which shews, that by this time it was become a noted festival: and, therefore, we may date its original from the seventh century, when we find sermons began to be made upon it.

SECT. V.—*Of the Festival called Hypapante, afterward Purification and Candlemas-day.*

Another festival, of later date, was that which is commonly called the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or Candlemas-day. This at first, among the Greeks, went by the name of *Hypapante*, Ὑπαπαντή, which denotes the meeting of the Lord by Simeon in the temple, in commemoration of which occurrence it was first made a festival in the Church; some say in the time of Justin the emperor; others in the time of his successor, Justinian (an. 542). There is indeed a homily among St. Chrysostom's works,^w which, if it were genuine, would carry this feast a hundred years higher: for it is upon this festival, under this very name of *Hypapante*. But all learned men are agreed that it is none of his; and, particularly, Léo Allatius^x cites a passage out of Georgius

^v Conc. Trull. c. lii. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1165.) Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τρισσεξακοστῆς τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμέραις, παρικτὸς σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ ὑπαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινίσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.

^w Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. tom. vi. (p. 207, edit. Francof.) Εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν Σιοτόκον καὶ εἰς τὸν Συμῶνα λόγος.

^x Hamartol. Chron. in Vita Justin. ap. Allat. de Hebdom. Græcorum, sect. i. p. 1403. Καὶ ἡ ὑπαπαντὴ ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν ἱερτάζεσθαι, ἥτις οὐκ ἔστιν ἰναριθμοῦσαι ταῖς διαποτικαῖς ἱερταῖς· ὁ γὰρ τοι Διὸς Χρυσόστομος οὕτως λίγαι· Ἐν ἔξ ἡμέραις ἐκπόησιν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πάντα, καθὼς γίγρεσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἰδῶμῃ κατέπαυσι· διὸ καὶ ἐκ' ἰσχύων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος ζητήσας καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλὸς εὐδοκήσας καὶ ἰναριθμήσας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κοσμοποιίας τὰς ἱερτάς παρίδοικιν ἡμῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας· πρῶτη μὲν ἵστι καὶ ῥίζα τῶν ἱερτῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν γίνεσις· δευτέρα ἡ ἐπιφάνεια· τρίτη ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἡμέρα· τετάρτη ἡ ὑπερίδουχος ἀνάστασις, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις γινόμενος ὁ λυτρωτὴς συναντήσῃ τοὺς δικαίους, καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ πρὸς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῦ

Hamartolus's *Chronicon*, which shews that there was no such festival in Chrysostom's time, but that it was first instituted in the reign of Justinian. "At this time began the *Hypapante* to be celebrated," says he, "which before was not numbered among the festivals of our Lord. For Chrysostom says, 'The festivals of Christ's economy here upon earth were proportioned to the number of the days of the creation of the world.' The first is, his Nativity in the flesh; the second, Epiphany; the third, the day of his Passion; the fourth, the day of his glorious Resurrection; the fifth, his Assumption into heaven; the sixth, the Descent of the Holy Ghost; the seventh, the great day of the general Resurrection, which has no succession nor end. For that is an eternal festival (or perpetual Sabbath and rest for the people of God), to be celebrated with much joy and gladness by those that shall be heirs of such things, 'As eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, to conceive the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.'" Thus far Georgius Hamartolus out of Chrysostom: and all the historians that come after him agree in the same thing, that this was no festival in the Church till the time of Justin, or Justinian. Cedrenus^y fixes its original to the last year of Justin; but Landulphus Sagax,^z Siffridus Presbyter,^a Martin Polonus,^b Nicephorus,^c

ἀνάληψις, ὡς καὶ ἐν πύμπτῃ διασπάχθη τῆς ἰσχυρῆς ἡμέρας· ἔκτε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἡμέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ἰσχύς ἡ προσδοκωμένη τῆς καθολικῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν μεγάλη καὶ ἀδιάδοχος ἡμέρα· τότε γὰρ ἰεργάσονται ὅπως μιστὰ πολλῆς χάριτος καὶ εὐφροσύνης οἱ μύλλοντες πληρονομήν, ἃ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ ἴδρι, καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίᾳ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνίστη, ἀ ἡτοιμασμένον ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

^y Cedren. Compend. p. 300, (p. 366, edit. Paris. 1647.) 'Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ [Ἰουστινίου] ἰουπώθῃ ἰεργάζιν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἰεργὴν τῆς ὑπαπαντῆς, τῆς μίχρε τότε μὴ ἰεργαζομένης.

^z Landulph. Vit. Justin. an. 15. Justiniani imperii mense Octobri facta est mortalitas Byzantii. Et eodem anno Hypapante Domini sumsisit initium, ut celebraretur apud Byzantium secunda die Februarii mensis.

^a Siffrid. Epitom. Histor. lib. i. Sub Pelagio papa et Justiniano imperatore sumsisit initium apud Constantinopolim, ut ὑπαπαντῇ Domini, id est, purificatio beatæ Mariæ Virginis, sollempniter celebraretur.

^b Polon. Chronic. See following note (f).

^c Niceph. lib. xvii. c. xxviii. Τάκτου δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χαντῆρος ὑπαπαντῆς ἑρσι πρῶτος, ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἰεργάζισται.

Sigebert,^d and Paulus Diaconus,^e cited by Xylander^f and Suicerus,^g deduce it only from the reign of Justinian. And Baronius himself^h does not deny it, only he would have it first instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary, which the very name of *Hypapante* confutes, which signifies the coming of Simeon to meet the Lord in his temple, according to the revelation made to him, that he should not see death till he had seen the Lord's Christ. And the Greeks always reckoned it among those festivals which they called *festæ Dominica*, 'festivals appointed in honour of our Lord,' as Leo Allatius himself informs us.

SECT. VI.—*The Original of Festivals in Honour of Confessors and other Holy Men.*

He that would see more of the increase and progress of festivals, may consult Hospinian,ⁱ who has noted the original of every distinct festival successively as they were instituted in the following ages of the Church. I only note that he allows confessors and other holy men to have had their

^d Sigebert. an. 542. Constantinopoli mortalitate magna insurgente, statuta est sollemnitas purificationis beatæ Mariæ, quæ Græce, ὑπαπαντή, id est, obviatio, dicitur, eo quod die illo Simeon obviaverit oblato in templum Domino, et ita mortalitas illa cessavit.

^e Paul. Diac. lib. xvi. See following note.

^f Xylander. Not. in Cedren. p. 688, (p. 15, n. 147, edit. Paris. 1647.) Hypapantæ] quod nimirum quasi in occursum prodiretur Christo in templo dedicando. Est enim sollemnitas, quam usitate Purificationis dicimus, quod primum ex Martini Poloni Chronicis didici, qui tamen pestis causa institutam dicit sub Justiniano Magno: quod idem est apud Nicephorum lib. xvii. c. xviii. et consentit, quod Sigebertus perhibuit, id fuisse anno a Christi natalibus 542, quo sane tempore Justinus decesserat, vel ipso Cedrene teste. Meminit Paulus Diaconus, lib. xvi. Rer. Romanarum.

^g Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 1374.

^h Baron. an. 544, tom. vii. p. 350, (p. 358, edit. Antuerp. 1658.) Quod vero non amplius quam tribus mensibus civitatem Constantinopolitanam occupavit (pestis), miraculo tribuitur; quod licet neque a Procopio vel Evagrio recenseatur, hæc tamen oblivione sepultum penitus relictum est: nam tantum beneficium sollemni die festo in honorem Dei genitricis Mariæ instituto, anniversariaque die in ecclesia repetendo, remanuit posteris perpetua memoria consignatum, quum videlicet idem Hypapante est nominatum, nempe humilis occursum Symeonis, quum Deipara suum Filium Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in templum intulit; cujus festi diei in occidente Gelasium papam fundamenta jecisse, quum Lupercalia penitus abtulit, in notis ad Romanum Martyrologium diximus.

ⁱ Hospinian. de Festis, c. iv.

memorials something earlier than Cardinal Bona himself will allow. For Bona thinks this honour was only paid to martyrs properly so called, and not to confessors, or any other saints for the four first ages: and he says,^k “That in Fronto’s Calendar, written about nine hundred years ago, there are not above four saints, that were not martyrs, named throughout the whole year, viz. Pope Sylvester, Pope Leo, Martin of Tours, and Gregory the Great.” But Hospinian’s observation is more exact: for Sozomen says expressly,^l “That it was customary in Palestine, long before, to celebrate the anniversary-days of such men as had been eminent among them for piety and virtue, such as Hilarion of Gaza, Aurelius of Anthedon, Alexion of Bethagathon, and Alaphion of Asalea, who were no martyrs, but only men of renown for their piety, by whose virtues the Christian religion had made a considerable progress in many heathen cities, in the reign of Constantius; for which reason their memory was celebrated, in those places, with the anniversary festivals.” And so Baronius^m observes out of St.

^k Bon. Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xv. sect. ii. (Antuerp. 1677, p. 389.) Citati patres (Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Augustinus) de solis martyribus loquuntur, quia Confessorum festivitates serius in ecclesia receptæ sunt; et in Frontonis Calendario, ante nongentos annos scripto, non nisi quatuor adscripti sunt, Martinus scilicet Turonensis, Gregorius M., Leo papa, et Sylvester.

^l Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 423, A.) Δίπρωσι δὲ τότε ἐνθάδε Ἰλαρίον ἰ Διοσκρίσιον. . . . (C 2.) ἐπὶ τοσούτων δὲ Διοφίλῃς ἰγίνετο, ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ τάφῳ πολλοὺς ἵσθαι κάμνοντας καὶ δαιμονιώντας. καὶ τότε παραδόξατο, παρὰ τι Κυρίους, οὗ πρότερον ἐτάφη, καὶ παρὰ Παλαιστινοῖς, παρ’ οἷς ἐστὶ νῦν συμβᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ διατρέξοντα τελευτῆσαι, πρὸς τῶν ἰσχυρίων ἐκηδείνῃ, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ τιμῇ καὶ θραυσίᾳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἦν μιστὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡούρας, ὃς εὐδοκίματος ἰγίνετο τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν, κλίψας τὸ λείψανον, δικέμειν εἰς Παλαιστίνην, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ μοναστηρίῳ ἵθαψεν καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου, δημοτικῇ καὶ μάλα λαμπρᾷ ἐνθάδε ἐσχίσον ἱερτὴν ἄγουσιν οἱ ἰσχυροὶ ἄλλοι γὰρ Παλαιστινοῖς ἴδως γιγασκῶν τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γινόμενους, ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καὶ Διόκλητῳ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀλιζῖνον τὸν ἀπὸ Βηθαγάθωνος, καὶ Ἀλαφῖνον τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀσαλείας. οἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γινόμενοι χρέοντι, ἐπὶ τῆς παρεούσης βασιλείας ἐστὲν καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πεπολιτύναντο, καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀρεταῖς ἐν Ἑλληνισμοῖς ἄγουσιν ταῖς τῇδε πόλεσι καὶ κάμναι, εἰς ἱππασίαν ἡγαγόν τὴν θρησκίαν.

^m Baron. an. 358, n. xxiii. De sancto Hilarione scribit Hieronymus, quod cognito, licet longe absens, Antonii obitu, illuc magno labore se contulit, et nimirum ex causa, ut anniversariam illius dormitionis diem eodem, in quo defunctus erat, loco, præviis nocturnis vigiliis celebraret. (Antuerp. 1598, vol. iii. p. 728.)

Jerom,^a that Hilarion himself kept a vigil preceding the day of Antonius's death, in commemoration of him. Therefore whatever might be the custom of the Western Church, it is plain, in the Eastern parts, the anniversary commemoration of confessors and other eminent saints was introduced a little sooner.

^a Hieron. Vit. Hilar. c. xxvi. Confessus est fratribus, instare diem dormitionis beati Antonii, et pervigilem noctem in ipso, quo defunctus fuerat loco, a se debere celebrari.

BOOK XXI.

OF THE FASTS IN USE IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE QUADRAGESIMAL, OR LENT-FAST.

SECT. I. — *What this Fast was originally, Forty Days or Forty Hours.*

NEXT to the festivals observed in the ancient Church, we are to take a view of their solemn and stated times of fasting. These, like the festivals, were some of them weekly; and some annual; that is, such as returned at a certain season, only once a-year. Among those that came only once a-year, the Quadragesimal, or Lent-fast, was the most famous. The Greeks called it Τεσσαρακοστή, and the Latins *Quadragesima*; both which words denote the number ‘forty;’ whence this fast, for some reason, was called Quadragesimal; but whether for its being a fast of forty days, or only forty hours, is variously disputed among learned men. They of the Romish Church generally maintain, that it was always a fast of forty days; and that, as such, it was of apostolical institution. And there are some of the Protestant communion who are of the same opinion. Others think it was only of ecclesiastical institution: and therefore as it was variable and alterable by the Church’s power, so it was variously observed in different Churches; and grew, by degrees, from a fast of forty hours to a fast of forty days, still retaining the name of the ‘Quadragesimal Fast,’ under all its variations. This is what Bishop Morton,^a and Bishop Taylor,^b and Peter du Moulin,^c and Daillé,^d and Chamier,^e have largely disputed

^a Morton, Catholic Appeal, book ii. chap. xxiv. p. 304.

^b Taylor, Ductor Dubitant. book iii. chap. iv. p. 631.

^c Moulin, Novelty of Popery, book vii. contr. v. chap. vii. p. 516.

^d Dall. de Jejun. et Quadrages. lib. iii. c. ix.

^e Chamier. Panstrat. tom. iii. lib. xix. c. vii.

against the Romanists. And even among the Papists, some writers of no mean rank, such as Melchior Canus^f and Cajetan^g say, it was only such an apostolical rule or custom, as left the Church at liberty to alter it, as she did some other things, upon just and proper occasions: and to abrogate it by introducing a contrary practice. But this is a question I shall not here debate, but only inquire into matter of fact, by whom this fast was first instituted, and of what duration and length it was, when it first began to be observed in the Church. Dr. Cave, in his *Primitive Christianity*, says,^h this fast was very ancient, but far from being an apostolical canon. And he cites Mr. Thorndike, together with Bishop Taylor, for the same opinion.

^f Can. Loc. Theol. lib. iii. c. v. p. 194. *Alteras traditiones apostoli ipsi, Spiritu Sancto suggerente, ad ecclesiæ utilitatem ediderunt. Quas tamen eis Christus, dum in terra degeret, nusquam edidit.* — P. 195. *In aliis, quæ videlicet apostoli constituerunt tamquam ecclesiæ pastores, poterit quidem summus pontifex, ut in ceteris ecclesiæ legibus, dispensare, sic enim schola loquitur, poteritque item contrarius populi mos instituta hujus generis abrogare: ut trina immersio, quam ex apostolica traditione in baptismi sacramento ecclesiam habuisse, Canon Apostolorum xlix. ostendit, per contrariam consuetudinem abolita est. Ejusdem quoque ordinis est Quadragesimæ jejunium, &c.*

^g Cajetan was censured by Catharinus for this. *Illyricum de Sectis Papisticis*, p. 143.

^h Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, p. 182. Their annual fast was that of Lent, by way of preparation to the feast of our Saviour's Resurrection; this, (though not in the modern use of it) was very ancient, though far from being an apostolical canon, as a learned prelate (Bp. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.* book iii. chap. vi. p. 629) of our Church has fully proved. From the very first age of the Christian Church, it was customary to fast before Easter; but for how long, it was variously observed, according to different times and places; some fasting so many days, others so many weeks, and some so many days on each week; and it is most probably thought (Thorndike, *Religious Assemblies*, chap. viii. p. 276), that it was at first styled *τεσσαράκωστη*, or 'Quadragesima,' not because it was a fast of forty days, but of forty hours, begun about twelve on Friday (the time of our Saviour's falling under the power of death), and continued till Sunday morning, the time of his rising from the dead. Afterwards it was enlarged to a longer time, drawn out into more days, and then weeks, till it came to three, and at last to six or seven weeks.

SECT. II. — *Some Probability that at first it was only a Fast of Forty Hours, or the two Days from the Passion to the Resurrection.*

Now the reasons persuading learned men to believe that it was not instituted by the apostles, at least not as any necessary rule, obliging all men to fast forty days, are these that follow.

1. Because there is some probability that at first it was only a fast of forty hours, or the time that our Saviour lay in the grave, that is, the Friday and Saturday before Easter, the time that Christ the Bridegroom was taken from his disciples, between his Passion and his Resurrection. Tertullian, when he was a Montanist, disputing against the Catholics, says,¹ "They thought themselves obliged only to observe those two days in which the Bridegroom was taken away from them." This he elsewhere calls the 'Paschal fast,'² which all observed in common as a public fast, with great religion. And again,³ objecting to the Catholics their observation of other fasts besides the two days in which Christ was taken away from them, such as the half-fasts of their stationary days, and their other fasts upon bread and water; he makes them answer, that those other fasts were kept at every man's liberty and will, and not by any express command. So that they thought themselves obliged only to observe those two days on which the Bridegroom was taken away from them. This Irenæus calls 'the fast of forty hours before Easter,' if we retain the vulgar and common reading. For writing to Pope Victor about the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches, concerning the time of Easter, he tells

¹ Tertul. de Jejun. c. ii. (Paris. 1664, p. 554, C.) Certe in Evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablati sunt sponsus; et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniarum Christianorum.

² Ibid. de Orat. c. xiv. (ibid. p. 135, A. 8.) Sic et die Paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est, merito deponimus osculum.

³ Ibid. de Jejun. c. xiii. (ibid. p. 551, B. 8.) Convenio vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablati sunt sponsus, et stationum semijeiunia interponentes, et vero interdum pane et aqua victitantes, ut cuique visum est: denique respondetis, hæc ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio.

him,¹ "There had been differences, not only about the time of Easter, but about the manner of fasting. For some thought they ought to fast one day; others two; others more; and others measured their day" (or their fast, as Valesius^m observes it ought to be read), "by the computation of forty hours, joining day and night together. And this variety among those that observe the fast, did not begin in our age, but long before us, among our ancestors; many of whom probably not being very curious and exact in their observation, handed down to posterity the custom as it had been, through simplicity or private fancy, introduced among them. And yet, nevertheless, all these lived peaceably one with another, and we also keep peace together. For the difference in observing the fast does only so much the more commend the common unity of faith in which all are agreed." I must not here conceal from the reader, that there are several learned men, who think one clause in this passage ought to be read a little otherwise: they say Ruffin's old translation, and Sir H. Savil's copy, read it thus: "Some fast one day; some two; some more; some forty days." Hence they also argue, that a lent of forty days was observed in the time of Irenæus. So Bishop Beveridge,ⁿ Bishop

¹ Iren. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 156, C. 8.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἰστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἵδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶναι μίαν ἡμέραν διὼν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν· οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ πλείους· οἱ δὲ τισσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τι καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμειτροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἱασηρόντων· οὐ νυν ἰφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὸν πρότερον ἰσὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ὡς εἰκὸς κρατούντων, τὴν καθ' ἀπλότητα καὶ ἰδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μίσγνυται πιστοποιήσαν. καὶ οὕτω ἱλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνισάν τι, καὶ εἰρηγνόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν.

^m Vales. in loc. p. 96. Συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν] Miror tot homines eruditos, qui hunc Irenæi locum in suis libris exposuerunt, ejus vitium non animadvertisse. Quis enim est sensus horum verborum? aut quis umquam credat fuisse homines, qui quadraginta horarum spatio diem metirentur. Atqui quadraginta horarum biduum jejunantibus efficiunt. Equidem non dubito, quin Irenæus ita scripserit, Οἱ δὲ τισσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τι καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμειτροῦσι τὴν νηστείαν. Qua scriptura nihil planius esse potest. Quare aut Irenæus omnino ita scripsit, aut certe ita scribere debuit. Sed antiquarii, vocabulo ex superiore linea huc translato, locum corruperunt.

ⁿ Bever. Cod. Can. Vindic. lib. iii. c. vii. tot. (apud Coteler. Patr. Apost. tom. ii. pp. 159–163, edit. Antwerp. 1698.)

Patrick,^o Bishop Hooper,^p and others, who have written peculiar dissertations on this subject. On the other hand, all the manuscripts used by Stephens and Valesius, in their accurate editions, are so pointed, as to make the word 'forty,' refer not to days, but hours only. It is no easy matter to determine a point of such a critical nature between so many learned men: but if I may be allowed to conjecture in so obscure a case, I should incline to compromise the dispute, and, as it were, divide the matter between them; by saying, first, that in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, the Catholics allowed the fast of forty hours between our Saviour's death and resurrection—call it a fast of one or two days, as we please—to have the nature of an evangelical command, partly from the example and practice of the apostles, and partly from those words of our Saviour, "The days will come that the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast:" which, as we have seen, they understood of the time of about forty hours that our Saviour lay in the grave: from whence it is not improbable, that the first notion and name of the most strict Quadragesimal fast might take its original. Which is enough to prove the perpetuity of a Quadragesimal fast before Easter, as of constant use in the Church. 2dly, That at the same time that Irenæus and Tertullian wrote, there were other additional days of fasting superadded to these by several Churches, but with a great deal of variety in their number and observation, it being at every Church's liberty to appoint what number of these additional days she thought fit: which though they were in some Churches more, and in some fewer, and none of them full forty days, till after the time of Gregory the Great, yet they all went by the name of the 'Quadragesimal fast,' either because they came near the number of forty days, or because they were an appendix to the Paschal fast, which was most ancient, and originally called 'Quadragesimal.' When first these additional days^q

^o Patrick, of Fasting in Lent, Lond. 1695, chap. xvi. p. 143.

^p Hooper's Discourse of Lent, part. i. chap. iii.

^q Bishop Gunning (Lent-fast, p. 114) thinks there is mention made of a ten days' fast in Lucian's *Philopatris*.

came in, is not very easy to determine : but that they were taken up by some Churches in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, is beyond dispute, from what has been alleged out of each of them : for they both speak of more days than two, as observed in many Churches ; only with this difference, that the one were observed as more necessary, being founded upon the words of Christ himself ; and the other were at the Churches' free liberty and choice, as being purely of ecclesiastical institution ; and therefore varying in their number in different Churches, according to the wisdom and discretion of those that appointed them. And this opens the way to a second argument or reason, inducing many learned men to believe, that the Lent-fast, as comprising the precise number of forty days, was neither of apostolical institution nor practice.

SECT. III. — *Great Variety, in Point of Time, observable in the Celebration of this Fast, in many Churches.*

Because, if there had been any such apostolical order, or example, it is scarce accountable how such great variety, in point of time, should immediately happen in the observation of this fast, as we are sure, in fact, did happen in many Churches ; some keeping it only three weeks, some six, some seven, and yet none of them hitting upon the precise number of forty days of fasting. Socrates gives this account of it in describing the difference of rites and ceremonies in divers Churches. “ One may observe,” says he, “ how the ante-Paschal fast is differently observed by men of different

^r Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Vales. 1700, p. 234, C.) Τὰς πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα νηστείας, ἄλλως παρ' ἄλλων φυλαττομένης ἔστιν ὑρῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τρεῖς πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρας, πλὴν σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, συνεχόμενας νηστεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῦς καὶ ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, πρὸ ἡμετέρων ἔξ, τὴν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα νηστείαν νηστεύουσι, τισσαρικοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζοντες· ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους, ἄλλοι πρὸ ἰσθῶς τῆς ἱερῆς ἡμέρας τῆς νηστείας ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ τρεῖς μόνες πενημέριους ἐκ διαλημμάτων νηστεύοντες, οὐδὲν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τισσαρικοστὴν τὸν χρόνον τούτον καλοῦσι· καὶ θαυμάσαι μοι ἔπαισι, πῶς οὗτοι περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν διαφωνοῦντες, τισσαρικοστὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλοι λόγον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπεριλογοῦντες ἀποδίδασκιν· ἔστι δὲ ὑρῶν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν διαφωνοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀποσχὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ποιούμεινους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, πάντη ἐμψύχων ἀπέχωνται· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἐμψύχων ἰχθύς μόνους μεταλαμβάνουσιν· τινὲς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἰχθύσι, καὶ τῶν πτηνῶν ἀπογίνονται, ἐξ ὕδατος

Churches. The Romans fast three weeks before Easter,* only the Sabbaths and Lord's-days excepted. The Illyrians, and all Greece, and the Alexandrians fast six weeks, and call that the 'Quadragesimal fast.' Others (meaning the Constantinopolitans) begin their fast seven weeks before Easter, but only fast fifteen days by intervals; and yet they also call this the 'Quadragesimal fast.' And it is wonderful, that when they differ so much about the number of days, they should call it 'Quadragesimal,' and assign different reasons for this appellation. But we may observe not only a difference in the number of days, but in the manner of their abstinence. For some abstain from all living creatures; others, of all living creatures, only eat fish; some eat fowls together with fish, because, according to Moses, they say they come of water. Others abstain from seeds (or berries) and eggs. Others eat dry bread only; and some not so much as that. There are some that fast till nine o'clock, that is, three in the afternoon, and then eat any kind of meat. Other nations observe other customs in their fasts, and that for various reasons. And since no one can shew any written rule about this, it is plain the apostles left this matter free to every one's liberty and choice: that no one should be compelled to do a good thing out of necessity or fear." Sozomen gives the like account of these variations: "The Quadragesimal fast, before Easter," says he, "some

καὶ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν Μαυρία γίνεσθαι λίγοντες· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπερὸν καὶ ὧν ἀπάρχοντα τινὲς δὲ καὶ ξηροῦ ἄρου μόνου μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδὲ τούτου ἴτιροι δὲ ἄχρει ἐνάτης ὥρας ηἰστυόντες, διάφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐστίαν· ἄλλως τὶ ἄλλοις φύλοις καὶ μυρία αἰτίαι οὕσαι τυγχάνουσιν· καὶ ἰσχυρὰ οὐδὲς περὶ τούτου ἔγγραφον ἔχει διῆσαι παράγγιγμα, δηλοῖ ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτου τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ καὶ προαιρέσει ἰστίρεψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἵνα ἵπαστες μὴ φόβῳ, μηδὲ ἰξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατεργάζοιτο.

* Some think this is only to be understood of the Novatians at Rome.—See Bishop Hooper, of Lent, pp. 84, 139.

† Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 596, C.) Καὶ τὴν περὶ ταύτης [ἀναστασίμου ἱερῆς] δὲ καλουμένην τσσαρακοστήν, ἐν ᾗ ηἰστυίῃ τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν, εἰς ἕξ ἡμέρας ἡμερῶν λογίζονται, ὡς Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ οἱ πρὸς δύσιν, Λιβύη τε πᾶσα καὶ Αἴγυπτος σὺν τοῖς Παλαιστινοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἰσπὰ, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἰθίαν, μέχρι Φονίκων· ἄλλοι δὲ, τρεῖς σαραθὲν ἐν ταῖς ἕξ ἢ ἰσπὰ ηἰστυόνουσιν· οἱ δὲ, ἅμα τρεῖς περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς συνάπτουσιν· οἱ δὲ, δύο, ὡς οἱ τὰ Μοιτάνου φρενοῦντες.

observe six weeks, as the Illyrians and Western Churches, and all Libya, Egypt, and Palestine; others make it seven weeks, as the Constantinopolitans and neighbouring nations as far as Phœnicia; others fast three only of those six or seven weeks by intervals; others the three weeks next immediately before Easter; and others fast only two weeks, as the Montanists."

SECT. IV.—*Lent consisted not of above Thirty-six Fasting-Days in any Church till the Time of Gregory the Great; because all Sundays were universally excepted out of the Fast, and all Saturdays, except one, in all the Eastern Churches.*

Cassian has something of the same observation: for he says, "Some Churches kept their Lent six weeks, and some seven, and yet none of them made their fast above thirty-six days in the whole. For though six weeks be forty-two days, yet all Sundays were excepted out of the fast; and, then, six days being subducted, there remained but thirty-six days of fasting." In like manner those Churches which kept seven weeks, that is, forty-nine days, to their Lent, excepted not only the Lord's-days, but all Saturdays, save one, out of the number of fasting-days; and, therefore, thirteen days upon that account being subducted, the remainder^a was still but thirty-six: and this was the whole of Lent till the time of Gregory the Great, who speaks of forty-two days^b as the appointment of Lent; but, taking away the Sundays, the remainder is only thirty-six. Now that this was so, is evident from what has been discoursed before of the Lord's-day^c and the Sabbath, where I have fully shewed, that the Lord's-day was never allowed to be kept a fast, but always observed as a festival, even in Lent, in all Churches in the world; and in the Oriental Churches the Saturday, or Sabbath, was excepted out of the number of fast-days also. To what I have said before, I shall only add

^a Cassian. Collat. xxi. cc. xxiv. xxv. (see following note (*), xxvii. xxviii.

^b Gregor. Hom. xvi. in Evangelia, tom. iii. p. 42. Sex dies Dominici subtrahuntur, non plus in abstinencia quam triginta et sex dies remanent.

^c Book xx. chap. ii. sect. v. p. 37. Chap. iii. sect. v. p. 57.

here one passage of Chrysostom, where he gives the reason why this exception of these two days was made in the Lent-fast: "As there are stations," says he,* "and inns in the public roads, for weary travellers to refresh themselves, and rest from their labours, that they may more cheerfully go on again in their journey; and as in the sea there are shores and havens for seamen to betake themselves to, when they are in a storm, and refresh themselves from the violence of the winds, and then begin sailing again; so the Lord hath appointed these two days in the week, as stations, and inns, and shores, and havens, for those to rest in, who have taken upon them the course of fasting in this holy time of Lent, that they may refresh their bodies a little from the labour of fasting, and recreate their minds; and after these two days are past, to go on again with cheerfulness in the journey which they have begun." From hence it is apparent, that in some of the Eastern Churches, where the whole time of Lent was but six weeks, or forty-two days, when the Saturdays and Sundays were deducted, the remainder of fasting-days were not above one-and-thirty; and where they were most, not above thirty-six. (See Bishop Gunning, Lent-fast, p. 156.)

SECT. V. — *Who first added Ash-Wednesday, and the other three Days, in the Roman Church, to the Beginning of Lent.*

Who first added Ash-Wednesday, and the other three days, to the beginning of Lent, in the Roman Church, to

* Chrysostom. Hom. xi. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 106, A. (p. 93, edit. Francof.)

Καθάτιε ἰν ταῖς λιωφόροις ἐστὶ σταθμοὶ καὶ καταγώγια, ὅστι τοὺς ὁδίτας πικρὰς ἐκτάς διακαταύουσαι, καὶ τῶν πόνοι λήγοντας, οὕτω πάλιν ἄπαισθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ ἰν τῇ θαλάσῃ δὲ ἄπτα καὶ λιμένας ἐστὶν ὅστι καὶ τοὺς ναυτιλομένους μετὰ τὰ πολλὰ κύματα διαδραμῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων ἐμβολὰς ἀντιστῆναι, μικρὸν ἀνιόντας, οὕτω πάλιν τῆς ναυτιλίας ἄπαισθαι τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἐρεῖπον καὶ τὸν ἰσὶ τῆς ἀγίας τρισακακοστῆς, τοῖς τὸν δρέμον τῆς νηστείας καταδεκαμένους, καθάτιε σταθμοὺς καὶ καταγώγια, καὶ ἄπτας, καὶ λιγυλοῦς, καὶ λιμένας, τὰς δύο ταύτας ἡμέρας τῆς ἐβδομάδος βραχὺ τι διακαταύουσαι πικρὰς ἐκτάς, ἵνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα μικρὸν ἀνίστοι ἀπὸ τῶν πόνοι τῆς νηστείας, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παρκαμυθώμενοι, πάλιν παρῆλθουσιν τῶν δύο ταύτων ἡμερῶν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως μετὰ προθυμίας ἄπαισθαι εἰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην καὶ ἐπιφιλῆ δυνάμεως ποιούμενοι.

make them completely forty, is not agreed among their own writers. Some say it was the work of Gregory the Great, but others ascribe it to Gregory II., who lived above a hundred years after, in the beginning of the eighth century. But, as Azorius says,⁷ “It is not very material whether of the two was the author of the addition, since it is confessed to be an addition to Lent, after it had continued six hundred years without it.” And this is a plain demonstration, that Lent, in this notion at least, as taken for the precise number of a forty days’ fast, could not be of apostolical institution, whatever it might be in any other form or duration.

SECT. VI. — *Whether the Ancients reputed Lent to be an Apostolical Institution.*

But many of the ancients do not allow it in any form to be an apostolical institution, but only a useful order and appointment of the Church. So Cassian says expressly,* “That as long as the perfection of the Primitive Church remained inviolable, there was no observation of Lent; but when men began to decline from the apostolical fervour of devotion, and give themselves overmuch to worldly affairs, then the priests, in general, agreed to recall them from secular cares by a canonical indiction of fasting, and setting aside a tenth of their time for God: for so he reckons, that the thirty-six days, which was then the fixed term of Lent, were by computation^a the tenth of the whole year. Cassian

⁷ Azor. Institut. Moral. lib. vii. c. xii. part. i.

* Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xxx. (Lips. 1733, p. 573.) Sciendum sane hanc observantiam Quadragesimæ, quamdiu ecclesiæ illius primitivæ perfectio inviolata permansit, penitus non fuisse. Non enim præcepti hujus necessitate, nec quasi legali sanctione constricti, arctissimis jejuniorum terminis claudebantur, qui [per] totum anni spatium æquali jejunio concludebantur. Verum quum ab illa apostolica devotione descendens quotidie credentium multitudo suis opibus incubaret, nec eas usa cunctorum [fidelium] secundum apostolorum instituta divideret, sed privatim suis impendiis consulens, non servare tantum, sed etiam augere contenderet, id tunc universis sacerdotibus placuit, ut homines curis sæcularibus illigatos et pene continentis vel compunctionis ignaros, ad opus sanctum canonica jejuniorum indictione revocarent, et velut legalium decimarum necessitate compellerent.

^a Ibid. c. xxv. (ibid. p. 569.) Lege Mosaica universo populo generalis est promulgata præceptio, ‘Decimas tuas et primitias offeres Domino Deo tuo.’ Itaque qui substantiarum omniumque fructuum decimas offerre præcipimur, multo magis

was a disciple of St. Chrysostom's, and he seems to have had his notion and sentiments about the original of Lent from him: for Chrysostom gives much the same account of it, "Why do we fast these forty days? Many, heretofore, were used to come to the communion indevoutly and inconsiderately, especially at this time, when Christ first gave it to his disciples: therefore our forefathers,^b considering the mischief arising from such careless approaches, meeting together, appointed forty days for fasting and prayer, and hearing of sermons, and holy assemblies, that all men in these days being carefully purified by prayer, and alms-deeds, and fasting, and watching, and tears, and confession of sins, and other the like exercises, might come, according to their capacity, with a pure conscience to the holy table." St. Austin sometimes delivers himself after the same manner, though at other times he seems to derive the original of Lent from the authority of the Gospel. In one place he says,^c "Though fasting in general be prescribed in the New

necesse est, ut ipsius quoque conversationis nostræ, et humani usus operumque nostrorum decimas offeramus, quæ profecto in supputatione Quadragesimæ evidenter implentur. Omnium enim dierum numerus, quibus revolutus in orbem annus includitur, triginta sex semis dierum numero decimatur. In septem vero hebdomadibus, si dies Dominici et sabbata subtrahantur, quinque et triginta supersunt dies jejuniis deputati; sed adjecta illa vigiliarum die, qua usque in gal-lorum cantum illucente Dominica jejunium sabbati protelatur, non solum sex et triginta dierum numerus adimpletur, verum etiam pro decimis quinque dierum qui residui videbantur, si illud quod superest, adjectum nobis spatium computetur, plenitudini totius summæ omnino nihil deerit.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos, qui primo Pascha jejunant, tom. v. p. 709, B. 10, (hom. lv. p. 633, edit. Francof.) Τίνες οὖν ἵκιναι νηστεύομεν τὰς τισσαράκοντα ταύτας ἡμέρας; πολλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσήσαν ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἴτυχι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, καθ' ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὰ περὶδωκεν. συνιδόντες οὖν οἱ πατέρες τὴν βλάβην τὴν γινομένην ἐκ τῆς ἡμελημένης προσόδου, συνιδόντες ἐτύπωσαν ἡμέρας τισσαράκοντα νηστείας, ἐν ᾗ, ἀπεράστως, συνῶν, ἴ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις καθαρθίντες μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντες καὶ δι' ἐν ᾗ, καὶ δι' ἐλεημοσύνης, καὶ διὰ νηστείας, καὶ διὰ παννυχίδων, καὶ διὰ δακρύων, καὶ δι' ἐξομολογήσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, οὕτω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μετὰ καθαρῶς συνιδόντες προσήμιν.

^c Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. p. 147, (p. 389, c. edit. Basil. 1569), (Bened. Antwerp. 1700, vol. ii. p. 59, D. 2.) Ego in Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis totoque instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, video præceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejuna, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non invenio definitum.

Testament, yet what days men ought to fast, or what not, he finds not defined by any precept of Christ, or his apostles." In another place, specifying more particularly the several solemnities observed by Christians, he says,^d " There was some foundation and authority for them in Scripture: for we know out of the Gospel what day our Lord suffered and was buried, and rose again from the dead; and therefore the observation of these days was added by the councils of the fathers, and the whole world was persuaded to celebrate the Pasch after that manner. The forty days' fast has authority, both in the Old Testament, from the fast of Moses and Elias, and also from the Gospel, because our Lord fasted so many days." He adds, a little after,^e " That the supputation of Easter, and fifty days of Pentecost, are firmly collected out of Scripture: for, as the custom of the Church has confirmed the observation of those forty days before Easter, so has it also confirmed the distinction that is made between the eight days of neophytes" (or the time of the newly baptized wearing their white garments) " from the rest, that the eighth day might accord with the first." Here are two things very observable in St. Austin's words: 1. That the authority and foundation which the Lent-fast has out of the Gospel, is the same that it has out of the Old Testament, which was not any precept, but the example of Moses and Elias. 2. That the Lent-fast is owing to the councils of the fathers and the custom of the Church, in like manner as the eight days of the neophytes, and the fifty days of Pentecost, owe their observation to the same original; concerning which no one doubts, but that though there may be remotely some foundation for them in Scripture, yet there is no

^d Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xv. (Bened. Antwerp. 1700, vol. ii. p. 104, at bottom.) Ex evangelio, quia jam manifestum est, quo etiam die Dominus crucifixus sit, et in sepultura fuerit, et resurrexerit, adjuncta est etiam ipsorum dierum observatio per patrum concilia, et orbi universo Christiano persuasum est, eo modo Pascha celebrari oportere. 28. Quadragesima sane jejuniorum habet auctoritatem, et in veteribus libris ex jejuniis Moysi et Eliæ; et ex evangelio, quia totidem diebus Dominus jejunavit.

^e Ibid. c. xvii. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 106, F. 3.) Nam ut quadraginta illi dies ante Pascha observentur, ecclesiæ consuetudo roboravit; sic etiam ut octo dies neophytorum distinguantur a ceteris, id est, ut octavus primo concinat.

express command, but that they owe their original purely to the councils of the fathers and the custom of the Church.

SECT. VII. — *In what Sense some of them say it is a Divine Institution.*

Now by this we understand what others of the ancients mean, when they say, the forty days' fast is a Divine institution, and derived from the authority of Scripture. As St. Jerom says,^f "Moses and Elias fasting forty days, were filled with the conversation of God; and our Lord himself fasted so many days in the wilderness, that he might leave to us the solemn days of fasting." And, again,^g "Our Lord, the true Jonas, being sent to preach in the world, fasted forty days, and leaving us the inheritance of fasting under this number, he prepares our souls for the eating of his body." There are many the like expressions occur in the writings of St. Basil,^h Theophilus,ⁱ and Cyril^j of Alexandria, Petrus Chrysologus,^k and several others, which

^f Hieron. in Esaïam, c. lviii. p. 262, (p. 190, edit. Paris. 1642.) Moyses ac Elias, quadraginta dierum esurie, Dei familiaritate saturati sunt, et ipse Dominus totidem diebus in solitudine jejunavit, ut nobis solennes jejuniorum dies relinqueret. (Venet. vol. iv. p. 688, B.)

^g Ibid. in c. iii. Jonæ, (p. 140, edit. cit.) Ipse Dominus, verus Jona, missus ad prædicationem mundi, jejumat quadraginta dies; et hæreditatem nobis jejunii derelinquens, ad esum corporis sui sub hoc numero nostras animas præparat. (vi. 416.)

^h Basil. Hom. ii. de Jejuniis, (tom. i. p. 287, A. 8.) Εἰς πάντα τὴν οἰκουμένην περιεργάζονται τὸ πένυγμα· καὶ οὐτί τις ἦσος, οὐκ ἡπικρὺς, οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἴδιος, οὐκ ἰσχυραὶ ἀνθρώποις ἵσσι τοῦ πνεύματος· ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιῶται, καὶ θωπεῖς, καὶ πλωτῆρες, καὶ ἱμπεροὶ, πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ ἀκούουσι τοῦ παραγγέλματος, καὶ περιχαρῶς ὑποδύονται. ὥστε μηδὲς ἑαυτὸν ἔξω ποιεῖται τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν νηστειούντων, ἢ ὅ πάντα γίνῃ καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ ἄξιωμάτων διαφορὰ πᾶσαι καταλείπονται. . . . Πλούσιος εἶ; μὴ καθυδρίσῃς τὴν νηστείαν . . . μή ποτί σι καταγγέλλῃ ἰπὶ τοῦ νομοδίου τῶν νηστειῶν. (Paris. 1638.)

ⁱ Theophil. Paschal. Epist. de quo Bever. de Jejun. Quadrages. c. viii. sect. v. hæc habet: Iisdem fere diebus (quibus Basilius scripsit) Theophilus Alexandrinus tres suas Paschales epistolas, quas S. Hieronymus æqualis ejus Latinas fecit, et in lucem edidit; in quibus passim adserit, jejunium hoc quadragesimale secundum evangelicas et apostolicas traditiones observandum esse.

^j Cyril. Hom. Paschal. passim. — Vid. Bever. l. c. ubi statim pergit in hunc modum: Exiguo post eum tempore, Cyrillus, Alexandrinæ itidem ecclesiæ antistes, in Paschalibus homiliis a se conscriptis sæpe inculcat, hoc jejunium ab omnibus celebrandum esse κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις, et nonnumquam κατὰ τὴν ἐσθγγαλικὴν παράδοσιν.

^k Chrysolog. Serm. xi. apud Bever. l. c. Videtis, fratres, quia quod Quadra-

Bishop Beveridge has put together upon this occasion. But none of these intended to say, that there is any direct and express Divine command for it, but only some precedent or example in the extraordinary practice of the forty days' fast of our Saviour, or those of Moses and Elias: which is not enough to ground a precept upon, because such extraordinary examples are not imitable, neither can they be reduced to practice but in a much lower way, which may warrant the Church to appoint a fast of forty days, but not to impose it as a matter of Divine command. Chrysostom, among the ancients, saw this very clearly; and therefore he says,¹ "Christ did not say to his disciples, 'I have fasted,' although he might have spoken of those forty days; but, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' And when he sent them to preach the Gospel, he did not tell them they should fast, but eat such things as were set before them. This I speak not," says he, "to depreciate fasting, God forbid, but to give it extraordinary commendations: only I am sorry ye should think this, which is in the lowest rank of virtues, sufficient to salvation, whilst other things of greater value, — charity, humility, mercy, — which exceed even virginity itself, are wholly neglected." By this it is plain, they did not think the example of Christ sufficient to authorize the imposition of a forty days' fast as a matter of Divine injunction.

gesimam jejunamus, non est humana inventio, auctoritas est Divina: et est mysticum, non præsumentum: nec est de terreno usu, sed de cœlestibus est secretis. — Id. Serm. clixvi. Si ergo quadraginta dierum simplex, purum, æquale tantis testimoniis sub tanti numero sacramenti traditum nobis a Domino jejunium perducetur; unde novitas ista, unde hebdomadæ nunc resolutæ, nunc rigidæ, nunc indulgentes, nimium nunc severæ?

¹ Chrysostom. Hom. xlvii. in Matth. p. 425, B. 5, (p. 518, edit. Francof.) Μάθετε γὰρ, φησιν, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐνίσταμαι· Καὶ τοί γι εἶχεν εἰπεῖν τὰς τιμωρὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμίστας, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγῳ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ· πάλιν πῶς αὐτοῦ, οὐκ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἠσπασίμους· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐδίδου. . . . Ταῦτα δὲ λίγω, οὐχ ἵνα ἠσπασίαν κακίζων μὴ γίνωσκῃ· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἰσχυρῶν ἀλγῶν δι, ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἡμιλημέων ταύτην τομίζῃται ἀρκεῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑμῖν, τὸ ἴσχατος τοῦ χροῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχουσιν μέρος· τὸ γὰρ μίγιστον, ἀγάπη καὶ ἰσχύς καὶ ἐπισημοσύνη, ἣ καὶ σωτηρίας ὑπερκαλύπτει.

SECT. VIII.—*How far allowed to be a Tradition, or Canon Apostolical.*

But, it must be owned, some of them call it a tradition, or canon apostolical. St. Jerom says,^m “ We observe one Lent in the year, according to the tradition of the apostles.” Pope Leoⁿ calls it the apostolical institution of a forty days’ fast, which the apostles instituted by the direction of the Holy Ghost. But it is no small diminution to the judgment of Pope Leo, that Mr. Pagi^o and Quesnel observe of him, that he was used to call every thing an apostolical law, which he found either in the practice of his own Church, or decreed in the archives of his predecessors, Damasus and Siricius. And for St. Jerom, he himself tells us, he sometimes calls particular customs of Churches by the name of apostolical traditions: for, writing about the Sabbath, which some Churches kept a fast, and others a festival, he says,^p “ Every country may abound in their own sense, and take the precepts of their ancestors for apostolical laws.” And if St. Jerom did so here, we may easily apprehend his meaning: if he did otherwise, he was certainly mistaken; since it appears from the premises, that the apostolical Lent was much short of the Lent St. Jerom speaks of, and increased

^m Hieron. Epist. liv. ad Marcellam. Nos unam Quadragesimam, secundum traditionem apostolorum, toto nobis orbe congruo, jejunamus. Illi (Montanistæ) tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint Salvatores, &c. (Venet. vol. i. p. 189, B. 3.)

ⁿ Leo, Serm. vi. de Quadragesima, (Lugd. 1700, p. 108.) Quod ergo, dilectissimi, in omni tempore unumquemque facere convenit Christianum, id nunc sollicitus et devotius est exsequendum, ut apostolica institutio quadraginta dierum jejuniis impleatur. — Id. Serm. ix. (ibid. p. 113.) In quibus merito a sanctis apostolis per doctrinam Spiritus Sancti majora sunt instituta jejunia, ut per commune consortium crucis Christi, etiam nos aliquid in eo, quod propter nos gessit, ageremus.

^o Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 67, sect. xv. (sect. xix. p. 57, edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Familiare est Leoni, ut quum de apostolica traditione sermonem habet, de ea loquatur, quam ab apostolo Petro ecclesiæ Romanæ relictam putabat. Ea vero ex B. Petri traditione descendere existimavit, quæ et olim observata, et decretis sanctis inveniebatur eorum ecclesiæ suæ pontificum, quorum monumenta supererant illa ætate. Hæc Quesnellus.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxviii. ad Lucin. Unaquæque provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges apostolicas arbitretur.

to the number of forty days by various steps and gradations. The apostolical Lent was only a fast of a few days before Easter: by the time of Dionysius of Alexandria it was come to be a whole week, and perhaps somewhat more (an. 250). At Rome, about the same time (as a very learned person^q thinks, who has written very accurately upon the subject), it was three weeks, in the time when Cornelius and Novatian were contending about the bishoprick of Rome: which made the followers of Novatian stick to that term in the time of Socrates, when Lent was improved to six weeks in Rome. From three weeks, that learned person thinks, it was first advanced to six, either by the Council of Nice, in its fifth canon, or not long before it: and then it began commonly to be called *Quadragesima*, or ‘the forty days’ fast,’ because, though in strictness the fasting-days were but thirty-six or thirty-one, yet the first of them was at least forty days before Easter, and that gave denomination to the whole: and thus it was in the time of St. Jerom. But it is a wrong conclusion in him, that because there was an apostolical fast of some few days before Easter, which afterwards improved by various degrees into a fast of forty days, therefore the fast of forty days must needs be of apostolical institution: and it is more insufferable in those who, after four other days were added to thirty-six, to make them precisely forty days of fasting, still pretend it is the very same Lent that was originally settled in the Church by the apostles. The matter in itself is not great, but the prejudice and confidence of men in managing a dispute is wonderful, when they will maintain a paradox, that may, with such glaring evidence, be so easily confuted. For, as Bishop Taylor says very well upon the point,^r “If any man should say, that kings were all created as Adam was, in full stature and manhood, by God himself immediately, he could best be confuted by the midwives and the nurses, the school-masters and the servants of the family, and by all the neighbourhood, who saw them born infants, who took them from their mothers’ knees, who gave them suck, who carried

^q Bishop Hooper, *Of Lent*, pp. 84, 139.

^r Taylor, *Duct. Dubit.* book iii. chap. iv. p. 632.

them in their arms, who made them coats, and taught them their letters, who observed their growth, and changed their ministeries about their persons." The same is the case of the present article. He that says our Lent, or forty days' fast before Easter, was established by the apostles in that full growth and state we now see it, is perfectly confuted by the testimony of those ages that saw its infancy and childhood, and helped to nurse it up to its present bulk. And with this I shall end the present inquiry about the original and progress of Lent, in the first ages of the Church.

SECT. IX.—*What were the Causes or Reasons of instituting the Lent-Fast.* 1. *The Apostles' Sorrow for the Loss of their Master.*

The next inquiry may be into the causes and reasons of its institution. And here, first of all, if we respect the original institution, the reason is given by Tertullian, who makes the Catholics say, as we have heard before, that the reason of the apostles' fasting at this time was, because the Bridegroom was taken away from them. In compliance with which practice, the ancients generally observed those two days in which our Saviour lay in the grave with the greatest strictness, as we shall see more hereafter. Though the Montanists, who pretended to the spirit of prophecy, understood the taking away of the Bridegroom in another sense, for our Saviour's ascension or assumption into heaven, and therefore they kept one of their Lents, or fasts (for they had three in the year), after our Lord's Ascension, in opposition to the Church, which celebrated the whole time of Pentecost as a solemn festival. This we learn from St. Jerom, who not only says,^{*} "The Montanists kept three Lents in the year, but also that they kept one of them after Ascension,"[†] pretending to know, by their new inspiration,

^{*} Hieron. Epist. liv. ad Marcellam. Illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint salvatores.

[†] Ibid. Comment. in Matth. ix. (Venet. 1769, vol. vii. p. 51), (p. 13, fin. edit. Paris. 1642.) Sponsus, Christus: sponsa ecclesia est. De hoc sancto spiritu-alique connubio, apostoli sunt procreati: qui lugere non possunt, quamdiu sponsam in thalamo vident, et sciunt sponsum esse cum sponsa. Quando vero transierint nuptiæ, et passionis ac resurrectionis tempus advenit, tunc sponsi filii jejuna-

that that was the time which our Saviour meant, when he said, "The Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." So both the Catholics and the Montanists agreed upon the reason of a fast, though they applied it to a different time, according to their different apprehensions.

SECT. X.—*Secondly, The Declension of Christian Piety from its first and primitive Fervour.*

Cassian gives another reason for the institution of Lent. He says, "At first there was no observation of Lent, as long as the perfection of the Primitive Church remained inviolable: for they who fasted, as it were, all the year round, were not tied up by the necessity of this precept, nor confined within the strait bounds of such a fast, as by a legal sanction: but when the multitude of believers began to depart from that apostolical devotion, and brood continually upon their riches; when, instead of imparting them to the common use of all, they laboured only to lay them up, and augment them for their own private expenses, not content to follow the example of Ananias and Sapphira; then it seemed good to all the bishops, by a canonical indiction of fasts, to recall men to holy works, who were bound with secular cares, and had almost forgotten what continency and compunction meant, and to compel them, by the necessity of a law, to dedicate the tenth of their time to God." To the same pur-

bunt. Nonnulli putant, idcirco post dies quadraginta passionis, jejunia debere committi: licet statim dies Pentecostes et Spiritus Sanctus adveniens, indicant nobis festivitatem. Et ex hujus occasione testimonii, Montanus, Prisca, et Maximilla, etiam post Pentecosten faciunt Quadragesimam: quod ablato sponso, filii sponsi debeant jejungere.

* Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xxx. (Lips. 1733, p. 573.) Sciendum sane hanc observantiam quadragesimæ, quamdiu ecclesiæ illius primitivæ perfectio inviolata permansit, penitus non fuisse. Non enim præcepti hujus necessitate, nec quasi legali sanctione constricti, arctissimis jejuniorum terminis clauderentur, qui [per] totum anni spatium æquali jejunio concludebant. Verum quum ab illa apostolica devotione descendens, quotidie credentium multitudo suis opibus incubaret, nec eas usui cunctorum [fidelium] secundum apostolorum instituta divideret, sed privatim impendiis suis consulens, non servare tantum sed etiam augere contenderet, Ananiæ et Sapphiræ exemplum non contenta sectari, id tunc universis sacerdotibus placuit, ut homines curis sæcularibus illigatos, et pene (ut ita dixerim) continentiae vel compunctionis ignaros, ad opus sanctum canonica jejuniorum indictione revocarent, et velut legalium decimarum necessitate compellerent, &c.

pose Pope Leo says,^v “ Whilst men are distracted about the various cares of this life, their religious hearts must needs be defiled with the dust of this world : and therefore it is provided, by the great benefit of this Divine institution, that the purity of our minds might be repaired by the exercise of these forty days, in which we may redeem the failings of other times, and do good works, and exercise ourselves in religious fasting.”

SECT. XI.— *Thirdly, That Men might prepare themselves for a worthy Participation of the Communion at Easter.*

A third reason was, that men might prepare their souls for a worthy participation of the communion at Easter. For though men, at first, were used to communicate every Lord's-day, and to keep themselves continually in a constant, habitual preparation for that holy mystery ; yet, as the primitive spirit of Christianity declined, men came by degrees to communicate chiefly at Easter, and some at no other time but that only. For the sake of these men, therefore, the observation of the preceding fast was much urged, that by proper and spiritual exercises they might be duly prepared to receive the communion at Easter, who could not be prevailed upon to frequent it at other seasons. This is what we have heard St. Chrysostom^w say before, “ That because men were used to come indevoutly and inconsiderately to the

^v Leo, Serm. iv. de Quadragesima, (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 1014, edit. Lugd. 1677), (Lugd. 1700, p. 104.) Quamvis nulla sint tempora, quæ Divinis non sint plena muneribus, et semper nobis ad misericordiam Dei per ipsius gratiam præstetur accessus; nunc tamen omnium mentes majori studio ad spirituales profectus moveri, et ampliori fiducia oportet animari, quando ad universa pietatis officia illius nos diei, in quo redempti sumus, recursus invitat: ut excellens super omnia Passionis Dominicæ sacramentum, purificatis et corporibus et animis, celebremus. Debeatur quidem tantis mysteriis ita incessabilis devotio et continuata reverentia, ut tales permaneremus in conspectu Dei, quales nos in ipso Paschali festo dignum est inveniri. Sed quia hæc fortitudo paucorum est, et dum carnis fragilitate austerior observantia relaxatur, dumque per varias actiones vitæ hujus sollicitudo distenditur, necesse est de mundano pulvere etiam gloriosa corda sordescere: magna Divinæ institutionis salubritate provisum est, ut ad reparandam mentium puritatem quadraginta nobis dierum exercitatio mederetur, in quibus aliorum temporum culpas, et pia opera redimerent, et jejunia casta decoquerent.

^w Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejunant, tom. v. p. 709, (p. 633, edit. Francof.) See sect. vi. note (b), p. 184.

communion, especially at Easter, when Christ first instituted the holy supper; therefore the Fathers, considering the mischiefs arising from such careless approaches, met together, and appointed forty days of fasting; that in these days men, being carefully purified by prayer, and alms-deeds, and fasting, and watching, and tears, and confession of sins, and other the like exercises, might come with a pure conscience to the holy table." To the same purpose, in another place,^x "As they that take great pains to run in a race, reap no advantage if they fail of the prize; so we have no benefit from all the labour and pains we bestow upon fasting, unless we can come with a pure conscience to partake of the holy table. For this end we use fasting and Lent, and assemblies for so many days together, and hearing, and praying, and preaching; that by our diligence in the use of these means, and regard to the Divine commands, we may wipe off the sins of the whole year that stick to us, and so with spiritual boldness and reverence partake of the unbloody sacrifice." The like is said by St. Jerom,^y "That our Lord fasted forty days, and leaving us the inheritance of fasting under this number, prepares our souls for the eating of his body." And this I take to have been the principal cause of the Church's enlarging her Lent to the length of forty days, as occasion required, from such small beginnings, as it seems to have had in its first original.

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. de Ira, tom. i. p. 276, B. (p. 245, edit. Francof.)

"Ὅστις οὐδὲν ὄφιλος τῶν πολλῶν διαύλων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἂν τῶν βραδείων ἐκπίσσειν οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται τι κέρδος ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν σίνων καὶ ἰδρώτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν νηστίας, ἢ μὴ μετὰ καθαροῦ συνιδότος δυνήσωμεν τῆς ἱεῖας ἀπολαῦσαι τραπέζης. διὰ τοῦτο νηστία καὶ τισσαρακοστὴ, καὶ τοσούτων ἡμερῶν σύναξις, καὶ ἀκρίβειαι, καὶ ἰσχυαί, καὶ διδασκαλίας, ἵνα παντὶ τρέσῃ τὰ παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἱναυτὸν ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα προστριβίντα διὰ τῆς σπουδῆς ταύτης τῶν θείων ἰσταλμάτων ἀποσμηζέμενοι, μετὰ παρρησίας πνευματικῆς μετέσχωμεν ὑλασῶς τῆς ἀναιμακτου ἰκύνος θυσίας.

^y Hieron. in Jon. c. iii. (Venet. 1768, vol. vi. p. 416, D.) Ipse Dominus verus Jona, missus ad predicationem mundi, jejunat quadraginta dies: et hereditatem nobis jejunii derelinquens, ad esum corporis sui sub hoc numero nostras animas præparat.

SECT. XII. — *Fourthly, That Catechumens might prepare themselves for Baptism.*

Besides these general reasons for the observation of Lent, there were two particular reasons more peculiarly respecting two orders of men in the Church, viz. the catechumens who were preparing for baptism, and the penitents who were preparing for absolution. It has been noted elsewhere,* that Easter was the fixed and solemn time, both for admitting catechumens to baptism, and readmitting penitents after lapsing, and performing a solemn penance, into the communion of the Church again. And solemn fasting was preparatory to each of these. Justin Martyr speaks of a general fast of the whole Church, together with the catechumens, who presented themselves to baptism: "As many," says he,^a "as are persuaded, and do believe that the things taught and said by us are true, and promise to live accordingly; they are instructed to pray, and, with fasting, to beg of God remission of sins, we praying and fasting together with them. Then they are brought to the place where water is, and are regenerated after the same manner of regeneration, as we were regenerated before them." This is a plain account of a public fast before baptism. Afterward, when the time of baptism was settled to Easter, it is certain the Lent-fast was observed by the catechumens, as preparatory to their baptism. For Cyril of Jerusalem thus addresses himself to the catechumens:^b "The present season is a season of confession: all worldly cares are to be laid aside; for you strive for your souls. You that have been busy about the things of the world, and troubled in vain so many years, will ye not

* Book xi. chap. vi. sect. vii. vol. iii. p. 509.

^a Justin. Apol. i. (Paris. 1742, p. 71, D.) "Οσοι ἂν πισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύουσιν, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λογόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑποσχεύονται, ὑποσχεθῆναι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν ἡστυεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προσημαρτημένων ἔφθισιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχόμενοι καὶ συνηστυεύοντες αὐτοῖς. Ἰσχυρὰ ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἰσθὰ ὕδαρ ἵσται, καὶ τρέπον ἀναγεννήσεις ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται.

^b Cyril. Catech. i. sect. v. (Paris. 1609, p. 26.) Καὶ εἰς ἐξομολογήσεις ὁ παρὼν . . . πᾶσαν μίεμιν ἀνθρώπινην ἐξάλειψον ἀπὸ σου· περὶ ψυχῆς γὰρ τρέχουσιν . . . τοσοῦτους κύκλους ἐνικαυτῶν διπλῆς, περὶ τὸν κόσμον μάστιγι ἀσχολούμενοι, καὶ τισὶ σκεπόμενοι ἡμέρας οὐ σχολάζουσιν τῇ προσευχῇ διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς.

bestow forty days in prayer for the salvation of your souls?" So again,^c "There is a large time given you: you have the penance before you of forty days, sufficient space and opportunity to put off the old garments, and put on the new." Upon this account, all candidates of baptism were obliged to give in their names forty days before baptism, which Cyril calls *ὀνοματογραφία*, 'the entering of their names,' in the same place. This is intimated by the fourth Council of Carthage, which orders,^e "That they who are to receive baptism, shall give in their names, and continue a long time under abstinence from wine and flesh, and use imposition of hands, and frequent examination." The time of forty days is not particularly specified here, but it is plainly expressed in one of the canons of Siricius, which speaks of giving baptism, at Easter,^f only to such as gave in their names forty days before, and continued under the daily discipline of exorcism, prayer, and fasting. Which shews that this fast of forty days was then a time more peculiarly observed by such catechumens, as were preparing for baptism at Easter following.

SECT. XIII. — *And Penitents for Absolution at Easter.*

The like discipline was observed towards penitents, who, after their canonical penance was completed, were generally absolved about the time of the Paschal festival: and therefore it is reasonable to suppose, that the preceding time of Lent was always more strictly observed by them, as a decent preparation for the absolution they then expected. Not that this was the only time of penance, especially for great and

^c Cyril. in Præfat. sect. iii. (Paris. 1609, p. 6, line 13.) Πολλή σοι ἡ προησμία· τσεσράκοντα ἡμερῶν μετάνοιαν ἔχουσ· ἔχουσ πολλὰν εὐκαιρίαν, καὶ ἐκδύνασθαι, καὶ ἀποσπλύνεσθαι, καὶ ἐκδύνασθαι, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν.

^d Ibid. sect. i. (ibid. p. 3, line 7.) 'Ονοματογραφία τίως ὑμῖν γίγνεται, καὶ σερατίως κλύουσ. — Id. sect. iii. "Ονομά σου ἐνιγράφη.

^e Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxv. Baptizandi nomen suum dent, et diu [sub abstinence vini et carnis, ac manus impositione crebra examinati]one baptismum percipiant. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1206.)

^f Siric. Epist. i. ad Himerium, c. ii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1018, C. 6.) Genera-lia(tim) baptismatis tradi convenit sacramenta, his duntaxat electis, qui ante quadraginta vel eo amplius dies nomen dederint, et exorcismis, quotidianisque orationibus æque jejuniis fuerint expiati.

scandalous criminals : for many of these were kept under penance for many years successively, as has been shewed in a former Book : but the ordinary time of absolving them was Easter ; as we learn not only from the testimony of St. Ambrose^g and others, alleged heretofore in the discourse of absolution,^h but from Gregory Nyssen, who says,ⁱ “The anniversary solemnity of Easter was not only the time of regenerating catechumens, but of begetting those again to a lively hope, who had forfeited it by their sin, but were desirous to regain it by repentance and conversion from dead works, to walk again in the paths of life.” The same is intimated in the canons of Ancyra,^j and those of Peter of

^g Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. Sororem. Erat dies, quo Dominus sese pro nobis tradidit, quo in ecclesia penitentia relaxantur. (Paris. 1836, vol. iv. p. 270.)

^h Book xix. chap. ii. sect. x.

ⁱ Nyssen. Epist. Canon. ad Letoium, (tom. ii. opp. p. 114, edit. Paris. 1638.) (Paris. 1615, vol. i. p. 946, B. 10.) ‘Ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς κτίσεως ἱερῇ κατὰ τὴν τιταγωγμὴν περιόδου τοῦ ἱναυσιαίου κύκλου καθ’ ἡμέρας ἵστος, ἐν παντὶ πληρομένη τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τοῦ πιστωπέτου ἰππιλιύται· πῶς δὲ ἴστος ἡ ἁμαρτία· ἀνάστασις δὲ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀνέθωσις· καλῶς ἂν ἔχῃ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ παλιγγινείας μεταστοιχειούμενους, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ χάριτος τῇ Θεῷ προσάγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῆς μετανόας τε καὶ ἰπιστροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὴν ζῶσαν ὁδὸν πάλιν ἱκανήσας, καὶ τούτους χυρωγωγμῇ πρὸς τὴν σώζουσαν ἰλπίδα, ἥς διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀπεξῆλθον.

^j Conc. Ancyran. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1457.) Περὶ τῶν ἀπειλῇ μόνον ἐξάντων κολάσεως, καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων, ἡ μετανοίας, καὶ θανάτων, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ μὴ μετανοήσαντων, μηδὲ ἰπιστρεψάντων, ὧν δὲ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συνόδου προσελθόντων, καὶ εἰς διάνοιαν τῆς ἰπιστροφῆς γινόμενοι ἴδοξε μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας εἰς ἀπράσιν διχθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν ὑποπιστῶν τρία ἔτη, καὶ μετὰ ἄλλα δύο ἔτη κοινωθῆναι χωρὶς προσφορῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἰλθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον, ὅστις τὴν πᾶσαν ἔξαιτίαν πληρῶσαι. Εἰ δὲ τις πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἰδίχθησιν εἰς μετανόαν, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἰλογίσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔξαιτίας· εἰ μὲν τοι κίνδυνος καὶ θανάτου προσδοκία ἐκ νόου ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς προφάσεως συμβαίη, τούτους ἐπὶ ὅρῳ διχθῆναι. — Petr. Alex. c. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 995.) ‘Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τίταρτον ἦδη πάσχα ἰκιναιτίληφιν τὸν διωγμὸν, αὐτάρεως ἔχῃ τοῖς μὲν προσνιχθῆσι καὶ φυλακισθῆσι, βασιάνους τε ἀνυπόσταυς ὑπομνησίου καὶ ἀφορητῶν μάστιγας, καὶ πολλὰς ἰτίρας ἀνάγκας διπλῆς, ὕστερον δὲ προδομένοις ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθινείας τῆς σαρκὸς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρεδίχθησαν διὰ τὴν παρακολούθησιν μεγίστην πᾶσιν, ὅμως διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἡλληκίαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντιμάχισθαι· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν τούτῳ ἰληύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καταπροδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθινείας τῆς σαρκὸς· ἰπιδὴ καὶ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἰνδίκναι ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦδη τινὲς τρίτον ἔτος ἔχουσι καταπαθούνους· προσπινιμθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς προσῆλυσιν καθ’ ὑπόμνησιν, ἄλλας τισσαζάνοντα ἡμέρας, ἥς καίτιρε νηστύσας ὁ Κύριος καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι, ἰκινεσθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς ἃς καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸ πειρᾶν δι-

Alexandria, and the Epistles of Cyprian, all which speak of Easter as the great and solemn time of admitting penitents ; as a learned prelate of our Church has, with great judgment and acuteness, observed out of them.^k And thence we may infer, that penitents, who were bound to strict rules of penance all the year round, and many times year after year under a long course of discipline, were more exactly careful in the observation of this season, in hopes of obtaining their absolution in the close of it. Whence St. Jerom observes,^l “ That forty was a number proper for penitents, and fasting, and sackcloth, and tears, and perseverance in deprecating God’s anger. For which reason Moses also fasted forty days in Mount Sinai : and Elias flying from Jezebel, and the wrath of God impending upon Israel, is described as fasting forty days. Our Lord also himself, the true Jonas, who was sent to preach to the world, fasted forty days ; and leaving us the inheritance of his fasting, he still prepares our souls for the eating of his body by the same number.”

γυμνασθέντες, ἰστορώμενοι τε νήφαντες, γενηγορήσουσιν εἰς προσευχὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, καταμιλιτῶντες τὸ λιγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὸν πιερόζοντα αὐτὸν, ἵνα προσκυνήσῃ αὐτῷ, “Τίπαγε ἐπίσω μου Σατανᾶ” γίγρεσθαι γάρ, Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.—Cyprian. Ep. lvi. Oxon. 1682, p. 116, (Amstelod. p. 251), tot. in primis sub finem : Quoniam scripsistis, ut cum pluribus collegis de hoc ipso plenissime tractem, et res tanta exigit majus et impensius de multorum collatione consilium, et nunc omnes fere, inter Paschæ prima solennia, apud se cum fratribus demorantur ; quando solennitati celebrandæ apud suos satisfecerint, et ad me venire cœperint, tractabo cum singulis plenius, &c.

^k Hooper, Of Lent, chap. vi. p. 93.

^l Hieron. Comment. in Jon. iii. (Venet. 1768, vol. vi. p. 416, C.) Quadragenarius numerus convenit peccatoribus, et jejuniis, et orationi, et sacco, et lacrimis, et perseverantiæ deprecandi : ob quod et Moyses quadraginta diebus jejunavit in Monte Sina, et Elias fugiens Jezabel, indicta fame terræ Israel, et Dei desuper ira pendente, quadraginta dies jejunasse describitur. Ipse quoque Dominus, verus Jona, missus ad prædicationem mundi, jejunat quadraginta dies : et hæreditatem nobis jejunii derelinquens, ad esum corporis sui sub hoc numero nostras animas præparat.

SECT. XIV.—*Lent generally observed by all Christians, though with a great Liberty and just Allowance to Men's Infirmities, being, in a great Measure, left to their own Discretion.*

Thus we see catechumens and public penitents were strictly obliged to the observation of Lent, as part of their discipline and preparation for baptism and absolution. Nor was the great body of the Church backward, at this season, to concur in fasting and prayer with them. For Chrysostom says,^m “Though at other times when we preachers cry up and preach the duty of fasting never so much all the year, scarce any one hearkens to what we say: yet when the season of forty days is come, though none exhort or advise them, the most negligent set themselves to it, taking admonition and advice from the very season.” Lent, it seems, was then generally reputed a proper time to fast, and repent, and mourn for sin; that such as were negligent at other times, might take this opportunity to recollect and humble themselves, and come duly prepared to the communion at the Easter festival. “Therefore,” he adds immediately, “If a Jew or a heathen ask you, why you fast; do not tell him, ‘It is for our Saviour’s Passion, or the cross:’ for so you will give him a handle to accuse you: for we do not fast for the Passion or the cross, but for our sins, because we are to come to the holy mysteries. The Passion is not the occasion of fasting or mourning, but of joy and exultation: we mourn not for

^m Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos, qui Pascha jejunt, tom. v. p. 709, D. 4, (p. 636, edit. Francof.) ‘Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἱερατοῦ μένομεν βοῶντες καὶ κηρύττοντες νηστίας, οὐδὲς προσίχμι τοῖς λεγομένοις· ἂν δὲ ἰασηθῇ μόνον ἡ τοῦ τρισαρακοστῆς καιρὸς, καὶ μηδὲν παρανοῶντος, μηδὲ συμβουλευόντος, καὶ ἡ σφοδρὰ νοθεύεται διακρίνεται, τὴν παρὰ τοῦ καιροῦ λαμβάνων συμβουλὴν καὶ παραινέσιν· ἂν οὖν ἴκηται εἰ Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ Ἕλλητι, τίνας ἵκεν νηστείας; μὴ εἴπῃ, ὅτι διὰ τὸ πάσχα, μηδὲ ὅτι διὰ τὸν σταυρὸν, ἰαυὶ πολλὴν αὐτῷ δίδως τὴν λαβὴν. οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστεύομεν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν σταυρὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τὰ ἡμῶν, ἰαυὶ μίλλομεν μυστηρίῳ προσίκα· ἰαυὶ τόγῃ πάσχα οὐ νηστείας ἐστίν, οὐδὲ πένθους, ἀλλ’ εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς ὑπόθεσις. . . . Οὐ γὰρ πινθόμεν δι’ ἰαυὸν [σταυρὸν], μὴ γίνωτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ οἰκία ἁμαρτήματα· διὰ τοῦτο νηστεύομεν. . . . ἂν μὲν καθαροῦ προσίλθῃ συνιδότος, πάσχα ἰαυιλιῇ, καὶ σήμερον, καὶ αὔριον, καὶ ὁποιοῦν μισάσχη τῆς κοινωνίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐν παρατηρήσει καιρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐν συνιδότι καθαροῦ ἡ ἀρίστη κρίνεται πρόσδοξος.

that, but for our sins; and therefore we fast." But then this fast was observed with a great deal of liberty. For he says in the same place, "If a man come with a pure conscience, he keeps the Pasch, whether he partakes of the communion to-day, or to-morrow, or at any other time." And therefore, he says, in another place,^a "It was usual, in Lent, for the people to ask one another how many weeks they had fasted; and one would answer, he had fasted two weeks; another, three; another, all. And what advantage is it, if we have kept the fast without mending our morals? If another says, 'I have fasted the whole Lent,' say thou, 'I had an enemy, and I am reconciled to him; I had a custom of reviling, and I have left it off; I was used to swearing, and I have broken the evil habit.' It is of no advantage to fast, if our fasting do not produce such fruits as these." In other places, he intimates that a great liberty was allowed men in regard to their infirmities: and that they were left, in a great measure, to fast at their own discretion. "Let no one," says he,^c "place his confidence in fasting only, if he continues in his sins without reforming. For it may be, one that fasts not at all, may obtain pardon, if he has the excuse of bodily infirmity: but he that does not correct his sins, can have no excuse. Thou hast not fasted by reason of the weakness of thy body: but why art thou not reconciled to thy enemies? Canst thou pretend bodily infirmity here? If thou retainest

^a Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 211, B. 7, (p. 188, edit. Francof.) "Εὖς ἄσκειν ἱερωτῆν κατὰ τὴν τισσαρακοστὴν, πῶς ἵκαστος ἰδομάδας ἰηστῆσαι· καὶ ἴσται ἀκούσαι λιγόντων, τῶν μὲν, ὅτι δύο, τῶν δὲ, ὅτι τρεῖς, τῶν δὲ, ὅτι πᾶσαι ἰηστῆσαν ἰδομάδας. καὶ τί τὸ κίβδω, ἰὰν ἔρημαι παρορθωμάτων περιέλθωμεν τὴν νηστείαν; ἰὰν ἴτερος λίγη, ὅτι πᾶσαι ἰηστῆσαν τὴν τισσαρακοστὴν, οὐδὲν ἰστί, ὅτι ἰχθρὸν εἶχον καὶ κατηλλάγην ἴσος εἶχον κατηγορεύειν, καὶ ἰσαυδῆσαι ἴσος εἶχον ὁμνῆσαι, καὶ ἴλυσαι τὸ ποτηρὸν ἴσος. Οὐδὲν ὄφιλος τοῖς ἰμπέροις, ἂν πολὺ μῆκος πιλᾶγους παραδράμωσιν, ἀλλ' ἰὰν μετὰ φερτίων πλῖνσι καὶ πολλῇς τῆς ἱμπερίας. οὐδὲν ὄφιλος τῆς νηστείας ἡμῶν, ἂν περιέλθωμεν αὐτὴν ἀπλῶς, εἰμὴ καὶ μέτρη.

^c Ibid. Hom. xxii. de Ira, tom. i. p. 277, A. (p. 245, edit. cit.) [Μηδεὶς μόνῃ τῇ νηστείᾳ ἱπποκρεῖσθω, ἰὰν τοῖς κακοῖς ἔμινει ἀδιόρθωτος·] τὸν μὲν γὰρ μὴ νηστεύοντα εἰκὸς καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, σώματος ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενον· τὸν δὲ μὴ διαφθάνοντα ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἀλημιελήματα, ἀμῆχανον ἀπολογίας τυχεῖν. Οὐκ ἰηστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσθένειαν τοῖς ἰχθροῖς σου τίνας ἵναισι οὐ κατηλλάγης, εἰπὶ μοι; μὴ καὶ ἰναυθῆς ἀσθένειαν σώματος προβαλίσθαι ἔχεις; πάλιν ἂν βασιλείαν καὶ φθόον μῆτις ἔχων, πῶς ἔξεις ἀπολογίαν, εἰπὶ μοι; οὐδαμῶ γὰρ ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖς ἰλαστώμασι ἐπὶ σώματος ἀσθένειᾷ ἴσται καταφυγῆν.

hatred and envy, what apology canst thou make? In such crimes as these thou canst not fly to the refuge of bodily weakness." So again more copiously prosecuting this matter in another place: "If thou canst not pass all the day fasting, by reason of bodily weakness, no wise man can condemn thee for this. For we have a kind and merciful Lord, who requires nothing of us above our strength. He neither requires abstinence from meat, nor fasting simply of us; nor that, for this end, we should continue without eating only; but that sequestering ourselves from worldly affairs, we should spend all our leisure time in spiritual things. For if we would order our lives soberly, and lay out our spare hours upon spiritual things, and eat only so much as we had need of and nature required, and spend our whole lives in good works, we should not need the help of fasting. But because human nature is negligent, and gives itself rather to ease and pleasure; therefore our kind Lord, as a compassionate father, hath found out this medicine of fasting for us, that we should abridge ourselves in our pleasures, and transfer our care of secular things to works of a spiritual nature. If, therefore, there be any here present who are hindered by bodily infirmity, and cannot continue all the day fasting, I exhort them to have regard to the weakness of their bodies, and not

P Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 91, A. 8, (p. 80, edit. Francof.) Εἰ δὲ ἀσθένειαν σωματικὴν οὐ δύνασαι ἄσιτος παρατείνειν τὴν ἡμέραν, οὐδεὶς εὐφρονῶν ὑπὲρ τούτου σοὶ ἐγκαλίσσει δυησίσεις. Δισπόσῃ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς καὶ φιλόνητον, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκζητοῦντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν βρωμάτων, καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἀπλῶς ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα ἄσιτοι διαμείνωμεν μόνοι, ἀλλὰ ἵνα ἀφιστῶντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, πᾶσαν τὴν σχολὴν ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἀναλίσκωμεν. ὥς εἰ μετὰ νηφύσεως διανοίας τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον οἰκονομῶμεν, καὶ περὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πᾶσαν τὴν σχολὴν ἐπιδικνούμεθα, καὶ τῇ τρεφῇ οὕτω προσέωμεν, ὥς τὴν χρεῖαν μόνοι πληροῦν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς πράξεσιν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον καταναλίσκωμεν, οὐδὲ χρεῖα ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς βοηθείας τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας· ἀλλ' ἰσιδὴ ῥάθυμός ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη, καὶ τῇ ἀνίσει καὶ τῇ τρεφῇ μάλλον ἑαυτὴν ἐσιδίδουσι, διὰ τοῦτο καθάπερ πατὴρ φιλόστοργος τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας ἡμῶν ἰατρείαν ἐπινοήσας ὁ φιλόνητος δισπόσας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς τρεφῆς ἡμῖν ἐκπύσσηται, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ βιωτικὰ φροντίδα μεταγάγωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐργασίαν. ἂν τοίνυν δόξῃ τις τῶν ἰσταῦθα συνίστασθαι ὑπὸ ἀσθένειας σωματικῆς κωλυόμενος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἄσιτος διαμείνειν, τούτοις παραῖω καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τὴν σωματικὴν παραμυθίσθαι, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης τῆς πνευματικῆς μὴ ἀποστρεφῆναι ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ταύτη μᾶλλον κλείουσα τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιδικνύσθαι. εἰσι γάρ, εἰσι ἴδοι πολλοὶ μίζους τῆς ἀποχῆς τῶν βρωμάτων, αἱ δυνάμεις τὰς θύρας

upon that account deprive themselves of this spiritual instruction, but, for that very reason, to pay more diligent attendance on it. For there are many ways besides abstinence from meat, which will open to us the door of confidence towards God. He, therefore, that eats, and cannot fast, let him give the more plentiful alms; let him be more fervent in his prayers; let him shew the greater alacrity and readiness in hearing the Divine oracles: for the weakness of the body is no impediment in such offices as these: let him be reconciled to his enemies, and forget injuries, and cast all thoughts of revenge out of his mind. He that does these things, will shew forth the true fasting, which the Lord chiefly requires. Therefore I exhort you who are able to fast, to go on with all possible alacrity in this good and laudable work. For by how much more our outward man perishes, so much more our inward man is renewed. For fasting restrains the body, and checks and bridles its inordinate sallies; but makes the soul much brighter, and gives it wings to mount up and soar on high. Do you also exhort your brethren that are not able to fast for the weakness of their bodies, that they should not, upon that account, absent themselves from this spiritual food: but teach them and inform them what you have learned of us, that he that eats

ἡμῖν ἀνοίγει τῆς παρήσσιας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν ὁ τροφῆς τοῖνον μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ νηστεύειν μὴ δυνάμειος, δαψιλιστεύειν τὴν ἰλιημοσύνην ἐπιδικνούσθω, εὐχὰς ἐκτενίει, τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιτιταμίην ἰχίτω περὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν θείων λόγιων. ἰνταῦθα οὐδὲν ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθίνεια ἱμῶν ἰμῶν γίνονται τοῖς ἰχθροῖς καταλλαττίσθω, πᾶσαν μνησικακίαν ἐξορίζω τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς. ἂν ταῦτα κατορθοῦν βούληται, τὴν ἀληθῆ νηστείαν ἐπιδικάζω, καὶ ἢν μάλιστα πάντων ἀπαιτῶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ δισπότης. ἰπὶ καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν βρωμάτων διὰ τοῦτο κελύει γίνεσθαι, ἵνα χαλινοῦνται τὰ σκιετήματα τῆς σαρκὸς, εὐήσιοι αὐτὴν ἐργαζώμεθα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰντολῶν ἐκπλήρωσιν. εἰ δὲ μίλλοιμι μὴδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς προσάγειν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθίνειαν, καὶ πλείονα τὴν βρωμίαν ἐπιδικνούσθω, λαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὰ μέγιστα ζημιούμην. εἰ γὰρ μετὰ νηστείας ἢ τῶν περιεργμένων κατορθωμάτων ἔλλειψις οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ὀνίσει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον εἰ μὴδὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ τῆς νηστείας χεῖρασθαι δυνάμην, πλείονα τὴν βρωμίαν ἐπιδικνούμεθα. ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν, παρακαλῶ, οἱ νηστεύοντες δυνάμην, αὐτοὶ τε καθ' ὅσον οἶοντε ἐπιτενίει ἡμῶν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην καὶ ἰσαινιστὴν προθυμίαν. ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθίρεται, τοσοῦτον ὁ ἔσω ἀνακαινοῦται. ἢ γὰρ νηστεία τὸ μὲν σῶμα κατατίνει, καὶ χαλινῶν τὰ ἄτακτα σκιετήματα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν διανιγιστὴν ἐργάζεται καὶ πτεροῖ, καὶ μεταρσιον καὶ κούφην ποιεῖ. καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ὅσοι διὰ σωματικὴν ἀσθίνειαν νηστεύειν οὐ δύναται, προτρέψω μὴ ἀπο-

and drinks with moderation, is not unworthy of this auditory, but only he that is negligent and dissolute. Tell them what the apostle says, 'Both he that eateth, eateth to the Lord: and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks: ' therefore he that fasteth, giveth God thanks, who has enabled him to bear the labour of fasting; and he that eateth, gives God thanks likewise, that this is no prejudice to the salvation of his soul, if he be otherwise willing and obedient." I have recited these passages at large out of Chrysostom, to shew what notion he had of the obligation men were under to observe the Lent-fast. If men were in health, and able to bear it, the rule and custom was for them to observe it; and they generally did so without any further admonition: but if they did not comply, their non-compliance did not debar them from the communion at Easter, or lay them under any ecclesiastical censure as great delinquents. On the other hand, if they pleaded bodily infirmity and weakness, that was always accepted as a just apology, provided they made it appear by their other good works, that they were sincere and zealous, and not merely acting a part in the business of religion.

And some footsteps of this liberty, in leaving men to a discretionary observation of Lent, are described by learned men in several other writers. Bishop Hooper observes,⁹ out of Tertullian, 'That except Friday and Saturday before Easter, the Catholics, in his time, kept no other days of

λυμῆναισθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς ταύτης τροφῆς, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς διαπερφυμένους, καὶ διευκύντας, ὅτι ὁ φαγὼν καὶ πίνων μιστήριος οὐκ ἀνάξιος ἵσθαι ταύτης τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ῥάθυμος καὶ διακίχρυνος. καὶ λίγιστοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν λόγιον, "Οτι καὶ ὁ ἰσθίων, Κυρίῳ ἰσθίει, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἰσθίων, Κυρίῳ οὐκ ἰσθίει, καὶ εὐχαριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ" καὶ ὁ ἡσυχῶν τοῖνον εὐχαριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι δύναμις ἔχει δυναμίσαι ἀντισχυῖν πρὸς τὸν πόνον τῆς ἡσυχίας· καὶ ὁ ἰσθίων πάλιν εὐχαριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τοῦτο λυμῆναισθαι δύναται πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν, ἢ ἂν θίλῃ.

⁹ Hooper's Discourse of Lent, p. 64.

¹ Tertul. de Jejun. c. ii. (Paris. 1664, p. 544, C.) Certe in Evangelio illos dies jejuniis determinatos putant, [physici, h. e. Catholici] in quibus ablatus est sponsus; et hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum, abolitis legalibus et prophetiis vetustatibus.—Cap. xiii. Ecce convenio vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus, et stationum semi-jejunia interponentes, et vero interdum pane et aqua vicitantes, ut cuique visum est: denique respondetis hæc ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio. (P. 554, B. 8.)

fasting in Lent, but only at discretion ; and that their fast was, for the most part, private, and not distinguished by any public action. And Bishop Taylor asserts the same, not only out of Tertullian, but Socrates, Prudentius, Victor Antiochenus, Prosper, and St. Austin : “ For the fasts of the Church were arbitrary, and chosen without necessity and imposition from any authority.” He means not only the imposition of apostolical or Divine authority upon the Church in general, but the imposition of them by any authority of the Church

* Taylor, Duct. Dub. lib. iii. c. iv. (Lond. 1696, p. 629), *ibid.* 1828, vol. (works) xiv. p. 32. This first appears in that we find it affirmed often in antiquity, that the fasts of the Church were arbitrary, and chosen without necessity and imposition from any authority, which thing was observed by Socrates (lib. v. c. xxii.), speaking of the Lent-fast : ‘ Quoniam nemo scriptum de hac re præceptum proferre potest, apparet apostolos arbitrio cujusque ac voluntati id permisisse, ut unusquisque quod bonum est, sua sponte, non metu ac necessitate, perageret.’ ‘ Sic abstinere, vel jejunare debemus,’ saith Prosper (de Vita Contempl. lib. ii. c. xxiv.) ut non nos jejunandi vel abstinendi necessitati subdamus : ne jam non devoti, sed inviti rem voluntariam faciamus.’ But of this we have elder testimony ; for when Tertullian scraped together all that he could to justify the Lents of Montanus, the new fasts, which he for discipline would have had the Churches for ever to observe ; he laid hold upon the practice of the Catholics to verify Montanus’s imposition, saying, that the Catholic bishops did enjoin fasts sometimes, ‘ et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa,’ upon the occasion of some trouble or affliction in the Church, that is, temporary fasts, or solemn days upon special emergent accidents. He adds also, that they kept the Paschal fast, the two days before Easter, in which the Bridegroom was taken from them ; but in these days they sometimes live on bread and water, ‘ ut cuique videbatur, et hæc ex arbitrio agentes et non ex imperio ;’ they did this not by any command, but by choice, as they pleased themselves : for so the Catholics did say and believe, ‘ sic et apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum’ (cap. ii.) ; that the apostles did fast as every Christian else did, and ought to do, ‘ ex arbitrio, pro temporibus et causis unuscujusque,’ as every one had cause, and opportunity, and will ; but they imposed no other yoke of certain, and for ever to be observed fasts.

Laxus ac liber modus abstinendi

Ponitur cunctis : neque nos severus

Terror impellit : sua quemque cogit

Velle potestas.

Sufficit, quicquid facias, vocato

Numinis nutu prius, inchoare,

Sive tu mensam [renuas] renoves, cibumve

Sumere tentas. (Valpy, vol. i. p. 122.)

So Prudentius (Cathemer. Hymn. viii.) expressly affirming, that even in his time there were no laws of set and annual fasts : for that very thing Victor Antiochenus (in Marc. cap. ii.) makes to be a difference between the Old and New Testament : for the faithful in that time had fasting days appointed by God, ‘ que

upon her own members, as laying any necessary obligation on them. And this is true of the three or four first ages of the Church, but more questionable of those that followed after. For the fourth Council of Orleans orders,^t "That all who refused to fast on Saturday in Lent, should be made liable to ecclesiastical censure." And among those called the Apostolical Canons, there is one that orders,^u "That every clergyman, who, not being infirm, refuses to fast in Lent, shall be deposed; and laymen to be suspended from communion for the same transgression." But this is one of those canons which are known to be of later date, and there-

proinde modis omnibus explere obligabantur, etiamsi alias noluissent,' which they were bound by all means to observe, though against their will; but under the Gospel, we fast by the love of virtue, and the choice of our own will, rather than by the coercion of any law. For, 'quibus diebus jejunandum sit, nullo apostolorum præcepto definitum reperiri,' said St. Austin, (Epist. lxxviii. ad Casulanum); What days we are to fast, is nowhere to be found determined by any precept of the apostles.

^t Conc. Aurel. IV. an. 541, c. ii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 382.) Ut Quadragesima ab omnibus ecclesiis æqualiter teneatur; . . . neque per Sabbata absque infirmitate quisquam solvat Quadragesimæ jejunium, nisi tantum die Dominico prandeat; quod sic fieri specialiter patrum statuta sanxerunt. Si quis hanc regulam irruperit, tamquam transgressor disciplinæ a sacerdotibus censeatur.

^u Can. Apost. lxxix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 10.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἀναγνώστης, ἢ ψάλτης, τὴν ἁγίαν τισσαρακοστήν, τοῦ πάσχα, ἢ τιτράδα, ἢ παρασκευὴν, οὐ νηστεύει, καθαιρεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐὰν μὴ δι' ἀσθενίαν σωματικὴν ἐμπυδίζοιτο· ἵαν δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾗ, ἀφορεῖσθαι. — Conc. Tolet. VIII. c. ix. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 407.) Novæ intentionis admonitu detecta est ingluvies horrenda voracium, quæ dum fræno parsimoniz non adstringitur, religioni contraria censetur. Nam dicente Scriptura, 'Qui spernit minima, paulatim decidet in maxima;' illi tanto(æ) edacitatis improba(itate) sumptu grassantur, ut cœlestia et pene summa contemnere videantur. Etenim quum Quadragesimæ dies anni totius decimæ deputentur, quæ in oblatione jejunii Domini(o) consecrantur, quibus etiam saluberrime conditio humani generis expiatur, dum a quatuor mundi partibus ad hanc homo religionem crediturus adducitur; quatuor elementis formatus, propter transgressionem Decalogi quater decies convenienter adfigitur: illi ausu temerario hæc omnia contemnentes, voracitatis ingluviem non frænant, et (quod pejus est) Paschalia festa illicitorum esum præ(per)ceptione profanant. Quibus ex hoc adeo acerrime interdicitur, ut quisquis absque inevitabili necessitate, atque fragilitatis evidenti languore, seu etiam ætatis impossibilitate, diebus Quadragesimæ esum carniū præsumerit attentare, non solum reus erit resurrectionis Dominicæ, verum etiam alienus ab ejusdem diei sancta communione. Et hoc illi cumuletur ad penam, ut ipsius anni tempore ab omni esu carniū abstineat gulam: quia sacris diebus abstinentiæ oblitus est disciplinam. Illi vero, quos aut ætas incurvat, aut languor extenuat, aut necessitas arctat, non ante prohibita violare præsumant, quam a sacerdote permissum accipiant.

fore cannot be concluded to be according to the ancient rule of the Church.

SECT. XV. — *How the Montanists differed from the Church about the Imposition of Fasts.*

From this it will be easy to account for the difference which happened between the Church and the Montanists about the imposition of fasts. Montanus is condemned by the writers of that age, for making new laws about fasting. In the fragment of Apollonius, mentioned by Eusebius,^x it is laid to his charge, that he was the first *ὁ νηστίας νομοθετήσας*, 'who imposed fastings by his laws.' Which some understand as if he was the first that ever brought fasting under any rule or law. Which cannot be true: for, as we have seen before, the Church also thought she had a rule for fasting two days before Easter: and Tertullian also, in vindication of Montanus, tells the Catholics (which they themselves did not deny), that their bishops were used to appoint fasts upon necessary occasions of the Church.^y Therefore this could not be the dispute then, Whether fasting might be imposed by a law: but the Montanists said, beside the fast of Lent observed by the Catholics, there were other fasts imposed by the Spirit, under the ministry and revelation of the will of God made to Montanus. For the Montanists kept three Lents^z in the year, each of these two weeks; and that upon dry meats, in perfect abstinence from flesh; and these also, as necessary to be observed, as injunctions of the Spirit by the new revelation made to Montanus, which they

^x Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. (Vales. p. 149.) *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων ὁ νηστίας νομοθετήσας.*

^y Tertul. de Jejuniis, c. xiii. (Paris. 1664, p. 551, C. 4.) Bene autem, quod et episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent; non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestræ capturæ est; sed interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa.

^z Hieron. Epist. liv. ad Marcellam. Nos unam quadragesimam . . . jejunamus, illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas. — Id. Commentar. in Hagg. c. i. (p. 225, edit. Paris. 1643.) Qui tribus quadragesimis per annum jejunantes, et *ξεροφαγίας* humiliantes animam suam, &c. — Tertul. de Jejun. c. xv. (Paris. 1664, p. 552, C. 10.) Quantula est apud nos interdictio ciborum? duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo; abstinentes ab eis, quæ non rejicimus, sed differimus.

preferred before the writings of the apostles, and said these laws were to be observed for ever : which is the reason why the Montanists, in the time of Sozomen, kept their ante-Paschal fast still confined to two weeks, when the Catholics fasted a much longer space. For, as a learned person observes,^a “ Those great fasters would hardly have been left behind, had not those two weeks been the space determined them by their prophet, and they obliged to keep punctually to all his institutions.” This, then, was the great dispute between the Catholics and the Montanists, “ Whether the Spirit had appointed these fasts?” which the Montanists asserted, and the Catholics denied. And, therefore, though the Church augmented her fast from two days to forty, yet still she did it with a great deal of liberty reserved to every particular Church ; and every particular Church, in a great measure, left all her members to judge of their own abilities by Christian prudence and discretion : exhorting men to fast, but imposing rigidly upon none more than they were able and willing to bear, nor enforcing it under pain of ecclesiastical censure.

SECT. XVI. — *The Lent-Fast kept with a perfect Abstinence from all Food every Day till Evening.*

The manner of observing Lent among those that were piously disposed to observe it, was to abstain from all food till evening. For anciently a change of diet was not reckoned a fast ; but it consisted in a perfect abstinence from all sustenance for the whole day, till evening : and in this the Lent-fast differed from the *semijejunia*, or ‘ half-fasts’ of the ordinary stationary days, as we shall see hereafter. St. Ambrose, speaking of the Lent-fast, says,^b “ It was a total abstinence every day throughout the whole season, except on the Sabbath and the Lord’s-day.” And, in another place, exhorting men^c to observe the Lent-fast,

^a Hooper, Of Lent, p. 65.

^b Ambros. de Elia et Jejunio, c. x. Quadragesima totis, præter sabbatum et Dominicam, jejunatur diebus.

^c Ibid. Serm. viii. in Psalm. cxviii. (tom. ii. p. 945, 1. edit. Paris. 1642.) Differ aliquantulum, non longe finis est diei. (Paris. 1836, vol. ii. 288.)

he bids them "defer eating a little; the end of the day is not far off." So Chrysostom frequently, in his Lent sermons, speaks of the same circumstance. "Let us set a guard^d upon our ears, our tongues, and minds, and not think that bare fasting till the evening is sufficient for our salvation. What profit^e is it to fast, and eat nothing all the day, if you give yourself to playing at dice, and other vain pastimes, and spend the whole day many times in perjuries and blasphemies? The true fast is abstinence^f from vices: for abstinence from meat was appointed upon this occasion, that we should curb the tone of our flesh, and make the horse obedient to his rider. He that fasts ought, above all things, to bridle his anger, to learn meekness and clemency, to have a contrite heart, to banish the thoughts of all inordinate desires, to set the watchful eye of God before his eyes, and his uncorrupted judgment; to set himself above riches, and exercise great liberality in giving of alms; and to expel every evil thought against his neighbour out of his soul. This is the true fast. Therefore let this be our care: and let us not imagine, as many do, that we have fasted rightly,

^d Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 37, A. 8, (p. 32, edit. Francof.)

Τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν παιδεύομεν μηδὲν πρᾶτθαι τῶν βλαβερῶν ἀλλὰ ὡς ἔχοντι τι ἐπισηφίηται τοιοῦτο, ταῦτα ὡς περιττὰ καὶ βλάπτειν δυνάμειν ἀποσιτίσθαι, ὡς ἰδοθέν τιτύπεται, ταχίως αὐτὰ φυγαδεύειν τῇ ἐνδοκίᾳ λογισμῷ, καὶ μὴ νομίζωμεν τὴν ἀσκήσιαν μόνον τὴν μέχρι τῆς ἱστίας ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

^e Ibid. Hom. vi. in Genes. p. 60, A. 7, (p. 52, edit. cit.) Τί γὰρ ἔφιλος, ἐπὶ μοι, τῆς νηστείας, ὅταν ἄριστος μὲν διημερεύης, κύβους δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδῷς, καὶ φλυαρίαις ἀνὴρτοῖς, πολλάκις δὲ ἰσιορκίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις πᾶσαν ἀναλάσῃς τὴν ἡμέραν;

^f Ibid. Hom. viii. in Genes. p. 78, D. 11, (p. 69, edit. cit.) Πᾶσα ἡμῶν ἡ φρονεῖς ἴσως περὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν σωτηρίας, καὶ ὅπως δυνηθῶμεν τὰ σκευήματα τῆς σαρκὸς χαλινώσαντες τὴν ἀληθινὴν νηστείαν ἐπιειξασθαι, λίγω δὲ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀποσχὴν τοῦτο γὰρ νηστεία. καὶ γὰρ ἡ βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ διὰ τοῦτο παρεῖληπται, ἵνα τὸν τύπον τῆς σαρκὸς χαλινώσῃ, καὶ εὐήθειον ἡμῶν τὸν ἴππον ἐργάσθῃται τὸν νηστεύοντα μάλιστα πάντων προσήκει τὸν θυμὸν χαλινῶν, κρατέηται πειθαδικθῆναι, καὶ ἐπιεικίαν, συντηγερμένην ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν, τῶν ἐκθυμῶν ἀτόπων ἰερεῖται τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις, πρὸ ἐφθαλμῶν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἀκούμηνον ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τὸ κρατέηται τὸ ἀδίκαστον, χρήματων κρείττονα γίνεσθαι, περὶ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην πολλὴν τὴν ταψίλειαν ἐπιδοκίμασθαι, πᾶσαι κακίαι τὴν περὶ τὸν πλησίον ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπειλάνειν. αὕτη ἀληθὴς ἡ νηστεία . . . ταύτην ἀσκήσωμεν, καὶ μὴ ἀπλῶς κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς νομίζωμεν, ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τῆς νηστείας ἡμῖν περιερίξασθαι, ἵαν μὴ περὶ τῆς ἱστίας ἔσται διαιρέσιμος. οὐ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον, ἀλλ' ἵνα μετὰ τῆς τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν βλαπτόντων ἐκδιδοῦμεθα, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐργασίαν πολλὴν σπουδὴν ποιησώμεθα.

when we have abstained from eating until evening. This is not the thing required of us; but that, together with our abstinence from meat, we should abstain from those things that hurt the soul, and diligently exercise ourselves in things of a spiritual nature. Bellarmine^a himself shews the same out of St. Basil,^b and other ancient writers, who speak always of the Lent-fast as a perfect abstinence from all food till evening. And it is very remarkable, by what he cites out of Micrologus, Gratian, and St. Bernard, that this custom continued till the twelfth century, even in the practice of the Romish Church.

SECT. XVII. — *Change of Diet not accounted a proper Fast for Lent, without perfect Abstinence till Evening.*

Whence it were easy to conclude, that the pretence of keeping Lent only by change of diet from flesh to fish, or a more delicious food, which allows men the use of wine, and other delicacies, is but a mock fast, and a mere innovation, utterly unknown to the ancients, whose Lent-fast was a strict and rigorous abstinence from all food till the evening. Their refreshment was only a supper, and not a dinner of any kind: and then it was indifferent, whether it was flesh or any other food, provided it was used, as became the refreshment of a fast, with sobriety and moderation. They generally, indeed, abstained from flesh, and wine, and fish, and all other delicacies, at this season; but yet there was no such universal rule, or custom in this matter, but that when men had fasted all the day, they were allowed to refresh themselves with a moderate supper upon flesh, or any other food, without distinction. This appears from the observation which Socrates makes upon the different manner of fasting in Lent: “Some,” says he,ⁱ “abstain from all kind of living creatures; others abstain from all but fish; others eat fowls

^a Bellarmin. tom. iv. de Bonis Oper. lib. ii. c. ii. Sanctus Basilius oratione prima de jejuniis, de Quadragesima loquens, ‘Exspectas,’ inquit, ‘vesperam, ut cibum capias, sed diem totum absumis apud tribunalia,’ &c.

^b Basil. Hom. i. de Jejuniis. Paris. 1638, tom. i. p. 284, E. 3. Τὴν ἰστίαν ἀναμίμνεις εἰς μετέληψιν; ἀλλὰ δαπανᾷς τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς δικαστήρια.

ⁱ Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. See sect. iii. note (r), p. 179.)

as well as fish, saying, that, according to Moses, they come of the water; others abstain from fruits and eggs; others eat only dry bread; and others even not so much as that:" yet the greatest ascetics made no scruple to eat flesh in Lent, when a just occasion required it. Sozomen tells a remarkable story of Spyridion, bishop of Trimythus, in Cyprus,^k "That a stranger once happening to call upon him, in his travels in Lent, he having nothing in his house but a piece of pork, ordered that to be dressed and set before him: but the stranger refusing to eat flesh, saying, 'He was a Christian,' Spyridion replied, 'For that very reason thou oughtest not to refuse it; for the word of God has pronounced all things clean to them that are clean.'" Eusebius^l tells a like story of one Alcibiades, a martyr, who, being a great ascetic, had used to abstain from flesh all his life, and live only upon bread and water, which course of life he continued even in prison; but it was revealed to Attalus, one of his fellow-prisoners, that Alcibiades did not well to refuse using the creatures of God, and thereby give scandal to others. Upon which admonition, Alcibiades changed his manner of living, and began to use all meats indifferently, with thanksgiving.—By this it appears, that the eating or not eating of flesh was a thing indifferent to them at all times; and that they made no scruple to eat flesh even in

^k Sozomen. lib. i. c. xi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1790, p. 340, B. 11.) "Ἦδη τῆς τισ-
σαρκωστῆς ἰστορίας, ἥκί τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ ὀδοπορίας, ἐν αἷς ἰώθει μὲν τὰ τῶν οἰκίων
ἐπισυνάπτειν τὴν ἡσασίαν, καὶ εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμίραν γινώσκειν, ἅσιτος τὰς ἐν μίσῳ δια-
μῖνων ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν ζῖνον μάλα κωμωκῶτα, "Ἄγε δὴ, πρὸς τὴν θυματέρα ἔφη, ὅπως
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοὺς πόδας νίψῃς, καὶ φαγῶν αὐτῷ παράβις· ἐκπούσης δὲ τῆς παρθένου,
μή τι ἄρτον εἶναι, μήτι ἄλφιτα· περιττὴ γὰρ ἡ τοῦτων παρασκευὴ διὰ τὴν ἡσασίαν·
διεξάμινος πρότερον καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτήσας, ἐκίλισε τῇ θυματρὶ, κρία ὕια ἄπει-
τευχε τῇ οἰκίᾳ τιταριχυμῖνα ἰψῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤψητο, καθίσας ἅμα αὐτῷ τὸν ζῖνον,
παρατίθενται τῶν κριῶν ἡθεῖα, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα παρικάλει αὐτὸν μιμῆσθαι· παρατιού-
μινος δὲ, λίγοντα Χριστιανὸν ἑαυτὸν, Ταύτη μᾶλλον, ἔφη, οὐ παραιτητίον· πάντα γὰρ
καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαρῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεφῆνατο λόγος.

^l Euseb. lib. v. c. iii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 136, B. 4.) 'Ἀλκιβιάδου γὰρ
τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν, πάνυ αὐχμηρὸν βιοῦντος βίον, καὶ μηδινὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον μεταλαμ-
βάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρτον μόνον καὶ ὕδατι χρωμίνου, περιωμῖνον τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρετῇ
οὕτω διὰ γιν, Ἀττάλα μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα, ἐν ἢ τῷ ἀμφιβιάτρῳ ἦνυσεν, ἀπι-
καλύφθη, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, μὴ χρωμῖνος τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ,
καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδάλου ὑπολιπτόμενος· πεισθεὶς δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, πάντων ἀνίστην
μιτιλάμβανει, καὶ νύχαριςτι τῷ Θεῷ.

Lent, upon a necessary occasion, without any prejudice to their rules of fasting. But the thing they chiefly guarded against, was luxury, and pampering the body, under pretence of fasting. St. Austin makes a smart reflection in one of his sermons, upon such pretenders as these: ^m "There are some observers of Lent," says he, "that study deliciousness more than religion, and seek out new pleasures for the belly, more than how to chastise the concupiscence of the old man; who, by costly and plentiful provisions, strive to outdo the varieties and tastes of the several fruits of the earth. They are afraid of any vessels in which flesh has been boiled, as if they were unclean; and yet in their own flesh, fear not the luxury of the throat and the belly. These men fast, not to diminish their wonted voracity by temperance, but, by deferring a meal, to increase their immoderate greediness: for when the time of refreshment comes, they rush to their plentiful tables as beasts to their mangers, and stuff their bellies with great variety of artificial and strange sauces, taking in more by devouring than they are able to digest again by fasting. There are some, likewise, who drink no wine, that they may provide themselves other more agreeable liquors, to gratify their taste, rather than set forward their salvation: as if Lent were intended, not for the observation of a pious humiliation, but as an occasion of seeking out new pleasures." They did not think commutation of diet a proper fast, if the abstinence of the day was

^m Aug. Sermon. lxxiv. de Diversis, tom. x. p. 550, (tom. v. p. 931, edit. Monach. Bened. Paris. 1683.) (Bened. 1700, vol. v. p. 648, D. 3.) Sunt quidam observatores Quadragesimæ delictiosi potius quam religiosi, exquirentes novas suavitates magis quam veteres concupiscentias castigantes; qui copiosis pretiosisque apparatibus fructuum diversorum, quorumlibet obsoniorum varietates et sapes superare contendunt: vasa, in quibus coctæ sunt carnes, tamquam immunda formidant, et in sua carne ventris et gutturis luxuriam non formidant: jejulant, non ut solitam temperando minuant edacitatem, sed ut immoderatam differendo augeant aviditatem. Nam ubi tempus reficiendi advenerit, opimis mensis, tamquam pecora præsepibus, irruunt; numerosioribus ferculis corda obruunt, ventresque distendunt; artificiosis et peregrinis condimentorum diversitatibus gulam, ne vel copia compescatur, irritant. Denique tantum capiunt manducando, quantum digerere non sufficiunt jejunando. Sunt etiam qui vinum ita non bibunt, ut aliorum expressione pomorum alios sibi liquores, non salutis causa, sed jucunditatis, exquirant: tamquam non sit Quadragesima piæ humilitatis observatio, sed novæ voluptatis occasio.

spoiled by any immoderate indulgence of an evening banquet: much less did they esteem it a fast to dine upon delicacies, and use a mere abstinence from flesh, without deferring the time of their ordinary meal till evening; but they abstained all the day from food of any kind, and then contented themselves with a sober and plain refreshment in the close of it, without any scrupulous nicety about the kind of their food, so long as they used it only with temperance and moderation.

SECT. XVIII.—*What they spared in a Dinner, not spent in Evening Luxury, but bestowed on the Poor.*

And what they thus spared from their own bodies in abridging them of a meal, they that were piously disposed, bestowed upon the bellies of the poor. This we learn from one of the homilies of Cæsarius Arelatensis, or whoever was the author of it, under the name of St. Austin:^a “Before all things,” says he, “on our fasting-days, what we were used to spend upon a dinner, let us bestow upon the poor, that no one concern himself about providing a sumptuous supper, or an exquisite and delicious feast, and seem rather to have changed the diet of his body than diminished any thing in the quantity of it. There is no profit in keeping a long fast all the day, if afterward a man overwhelm his soul either with the delicacy of his meat, or the abundance of it.” That which is gained by the fast at dinner, ought not to be turned into a feast at supper, but be expended on the bellies of the poor. “*Proficiat eleemosynis, quod non expenditur mensis,*” says Leo;^o “That which is not expended upon our tables, should be laid out in alms; and then it will bring us in great

^a Aug. Serm. lvi. de Tempore, (Bened. 1700, vol. v. Append. p. 177, A), tom. x. p. 252, (p. 703, edit. Basil. 1569.) Ante omnia in diebus jejuniorum, quod solebamus prandere, pauperibus erogemus; ne forte aliquis sibi sumtuosas cœnas et exquisitis saporibus epulas studeat præparare, et corpori suo magis commutasse quam subtraxisse ciborum abundantiam videatur. Nihil prodest tota die longum duxisse jejunium, si postea ciborum suavitate vel nimietate anima obruatur.

^o Leo, Serm. iii. de Jejun. Pentecost. Proficiat eleemosynis, quod non impenditur mensis. Tunc enim demum ad animæ curationem proficit medicina jejunii, quum abstinencia jejunantis esuriem reficit indigentis. (Lugd. 1700, p. 162).

gain." Origen says,^p "He found it in some book, as a noted saying of the apostles, 'Blessed is he who fasts for this end, that he may feed the poor: this man's fast is acceptable unto God.'" "Mercy and piety," as Chrysologus words it,^q "are the wings of fasting, by which it mounts up to heaven, without which it lies dead upon the earth: therefore when we fast, let us lay up our dinner in the hands of the poor, that the hands of the poor may preserve for us what our bellies would destroy. The hand of the poor is the treasury of Christ: fasting without mercy, is but an image of famine: fasting without works of piety, is only an occasion of covetousness; because, by such sparing, what is taken from the body, only swells in the purse."

SECT. XIX.—*All Corporeal Punishments forbidden by the Imperial Laws, in Lent.*

Therefore Lent was thought the proper season for exercising more abundantly all sorts of charity. "Let us spend those vacant hours," says Cæsarius or St. Austin,^r "which we were used to lavish away without any benefit to our souls, now in visiting the sick, in searching the prisons, in entertaining strangers, in reconciling those that are at variance with one another." This was required of those, more especially, who pretended bodily infirmity, that they could not fast, as we have heard before out of St. Chrysostom:^s "Thou

^p Origen. Hom. x. in Levitic. Beatus est, qui etiam jejunit pro eo, ut alat pauperem. Hujus jejunium valde acceptum est apud Deum.

^q Chrysol. Serm. viii. de Jejunio et Eleemosyna. Misericordia et pietas jejunii sunt alæ, per quas tollitur et portatur ad cælum, sine quibus jacet et volutatur in terra. Jejunium sine misericordia simulacrum famis est, imago nulla est sanctitatis: sine pietate jejunium occasio est avaritiæ: quia parcitas ista, quantum siccatur in corpore, tantum tumescit in sacco. Jejunantes ergo prandium nostrum reponamus in manu pauperis, quod venter nobis fuerat perditurus. Manus pauperis est gazophylacium Christi: quia, quidquid pauper accipit, Christus acceptat.

^r Aug. Hom. lvi. de Tempore, (Bened. 1700, vol. v. Append. p. 176, F. 12), tom. x. 252, (p. 702, fin. edit. Basil. cit.) Horarum spatiis, in quibus solebamus cum damno animæ detineri, visitentur infirmi, requirantur in carcere constituti, peregrini suscipiantur, et discordes ad concordiam revocentur.

^s Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. de Ira. tom. i. p. 277, (p. 245, edit. Francof.) See sect. xiv. note (c), p. 199. Et Hom. x. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 91, (p. 80, edit. Francof.) See sect. xiv. note (c), p. 200.

canst not fast by reason of the weakness of thy body : but why art thou not reconciled to thy enemy ? Canst thou pretend bodily infirmity here ? If thou retainest hatred and envy, what apology canst thou make ? In such crimes as these, thou canst not take sanctuary in bodily weakness. He that cannot fast, let him give the more plentiful alms : let him be reconciled to his enemies, let him forget injuries, and cast all thoughts of revenge out of his mind." This was a time when men expected mercy and pardon from God : and therefore it was the more reasonable they should be more eminent in the exercise of mercy towards their brethren. Upon this account, the imperial laws forbade all prosecution of men in criminal actions, which might bring them to corporal punishment and torture, during the whole season. Theodosius the Great made two laws to this purpose :[†] " In the forty days which, by the laws of religion, are solemnly observed before Easter, let the examination and hearing of all criminal questions be superseded : and in the holydays of Lent, let there be[‡] no punishments of the body, when we expect the absolution of our souls." St. Ambrose[‡] mentions a like answer given by the younger Valentinian, in the case of some rich noblemen, who were prosecuted in a criminal cause before the provost of the city, who inclined to give a speedy sentence against them ; but the emperor sent him an inhibition, forbidding any sentence of blood to be pronounced during the holy season. Nor was there any exception made to this rule, but only in the case of the Isaurian robbers, whose practices were so very dangerous to the common safety, that Theodosius Junior thought it proper to allow their examination by scourging and the

[†] Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxv. de Quæstionibus, leg. iv. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 252.) *Quadräginta diebus, qui auspicio cærimoniarum Paschale tempus anticipant, omnis cognitio inhibeat* criminalium quæstionum.

[‡] Ibid. leg. v. (p. 253.) *Sacratiss Quædragesimæ diebus nulla supplicia sint corporis, quibus absolutio expectatur animarum.*

[‡] Ambros. de Obitu Valentin. (tom. v. opp. p. 108, h. edit. Paris. 1642.) *Quid de pietate ejus loquar ? qui quum homines nobili ortos genere et locupleti prosapia, quæ cito movere invidiam solet, regię cupiditatis accusator urgeret, præfectus insisteret ; respondit, ut nihil cruentum sanctis præsertim diebus statueretur.* (Paris. 1836, vol. iv. p. 180.)

rack at any time, not excepting any day in Lent,⁷ or the Easter festival; because it was greater charity to discover their wicked counsels and conspiracies, to preserve the life and safety of other innocent men, than to grant any reprieve or respite to such criminals upon the account of the holy season. So that mercy and charity was still the thing in view, as most proper to be shewed to the bodies of men at such a season, 'when all expected, by their fasting and repentance, to obtain absolution of their souls from the hands of God,' as one of the forementioned laws elegantly words it.

SECT. XX.—*Religious Assemblies and Sermons every Day in Lent.*

Lent was a time of more than ordinary strictness and devotion; and therefore, in many of the great churches, they had religious assemblies for prayer and preaching every day throughout the whole season. I cannot affirm that it was so in every parochial church and country village; but that it was so in the greater, or cathedral churches, is evident from undeniable proofs and matter of fact. Chrysostom's Homilies on Genesis, and those famous ones of the Statues, called *ἀνδριάντες*, to the people of Antioch, were sermons preached after this manner, day after day, in the Lent season, as any one may be satisfied that looks but into them. I will only relate one single passage in one of these homilies,⁸ which will give any reader satisfaction. "This is not," says he, "the only thing that is required, that we should meet here every day, and hear sermons continually, and fast the whole Lent: for if we gain nothing by these continual meetings, and exhortations, and season of fasting, to the

⁷ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxv. de Quæstionibus, leg. vii. Provinciarum iudices moneantur, ut in Isaurorum latronum quæstionibus nullum Quadragesimæ, nec venerabilem Pascharum diem existiment excipiendum, &c. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 255.)

⁸ Chrysostom. Hom. xi. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 107, D. 6, (p. 93, edit. Francof.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ ζητούμενον, ἵνα καθ' ἡμέραν ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῦτα παρρησιάζομεθα, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συνεχῶς ἀκούωμεν, καὶ τὴν τισσαρακοστήν πᾶσαν νηστεύοντες ᾤμην. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ μέλλομεν τι κερδαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἐν ταῦτα συνεχῶς βλασφημίας, καὶ παρρησιάζοις, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηστείας καιροῦ προσφέρειν τι τῶν χρησέμεν ἕως τὴν

advantage of our souls, they will not only do us no good, but be the occasion of a severer condemnation. If, after so much care and pains bestowed upon us, we continue the same; if the angry man does not become meek, and the passionate mild and gentle; if the envious does not reduce himself to a friendly temper, nor the covetous man depart from his madness and fury in the pursuit of riches, and give himself to alms-deeds and feeding the poor; if the intemperate man does not become chaste and sober, and the vain-glorious learn to despise false honour, and seek for that which is true; if he that is negligent of charity to his neighbour, does not stir up himself, and endeavour not only not to come behind the publicans (who love those that love them), but also to look friendly upon his enemies, and exercise all acts of charity toward them; if we do not conquer these affections, and all others that spring up from our natural corruption; though we assemble here every day, and enjoy continual preaching and teaching, and have the assistance of fasting; what pardon can we expect, what apology shall we make for ourselves?" By this it is plain, no day passed in Lent without a sermon to put men in mind of the great duties of Christianity, and reformation, and repentance, which were more peculiar to the design of that holy season.

ἱαντῶν ψυχὴν, ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσου, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίζζονες ἡμῖν κα-
τακρίσιως ἀφορμὴ γινήσεται, ὅταν τοσαύτης ἐπιμιλείας ἀπολαύοντες, οἱ αὐτοὶ δια-
μῖνουμεν, καὶ μήτι ὁ ἐργίλος ἐπιεικὴς γίνηται, μήτι ὁ θυμῶδης εἰς πραότητα μετα-
βάλλοιτο, μήτι ὁ βᾶσκανος εἰς φιλοφροσύνην ἑαυτὸν ἐπαγάγῃ, μήτι ὁ περὶ τὰ
χρήματα μεμηνὼς, ἀποστὰς τοῦ πάθους πρὸς ἐλιημοσύνην ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάσῃ καὶ
τὴν τῶν πινήτων διατροφήν, μήτι ὁ ἀπόλαστος σώφρων γίνωιτο, μήτι ὁ περὶ τὴν
κίσην ταύτην δόξαν πατοήμιος, μάθη ταύτης ὑπερεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπίσταται
δόξης, μήτι ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν περὶ τὸν πλησίον βᾶθυμος, διαναστροφῆς αὐτὸν
παιδίσκη, μὴ μόνον τῶν τιλῶν μὴ εἶναι ἐλάττω. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃ τοὺς ἀγα-
πῶντας ὑμᾶς, φησι, τί περισσὸν ποιῶσι; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τιλῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῶσιν;
ἀλλ' ἵνα παρασκευάζῃ αὐτοῦ τὸν λογισμὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθροὺς ἡμῶς ἐρεῖν, καὶ
πολλὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀγάπην ἐπιδείκνυσθαι ἵαν μὴ τούτων περιγινώμεθα τῶν
παθῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τιτατομένων, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παραγινώμενοι,
καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπελάουσιν, καὶ τοσαύτης διδασκαλίας μιτίχοντες, καὶ τὴν
ἀπὸ τῆς ησυχίας ἔχοντες βοήθειαν, ποία ἡμῖν ἔσται συγγνώμη, ποία δὲ ἀπολογία;

SECT. XXI.—*And frequent Communion, especially on the Sabbath and Lord's-Day.*

They had also frequent communions at this time, at least on every Sabbath and Lord's-day. For though the festivals of martyrs were not ordinarily to be celebrated in this time of humiliation, yet the Sabbath and the Lord's-day were kept as standing festivals even in Lent, as has been shewed before : and, therefore, on these days they offered the oblation of bread and wine in the eucharist, as at other seasons. But by a canon of the Council of Laodicea^a this oblation seems confined to those two days : for it is prohibited to offer it upon any other : and that may seem to imply, that there was no communion on any other days in Lent. But then it may be considered, that in the time of the Council of Trullo,^b there was a custom of communicating, on other days in Lent, upon the presanctified elements, that is, such as had been consecrated the Lord's-day before : and if we can suppose this custom to have been anciently in the Church, then nothing hinders but that they might have a daily communion in Lent, as well as a daily sermon ; which seems most agreeable to the fervent piety of those primitive ages. But in a doubtful matter I will not be positive, seeing there is otherwise evidence enough for frequent communion in Lent, by supposing it only to be administered on every Sabbath and Lord's-day.

SECT. XXII.—*All Public Games and Stage-Plays prohibited at this Season.*

For the further advancement of piety and encouragement of religious assemblies at this season, all public games and stage-plays were utterly forbidden by the laws of the Church. Gothofred^c thinks the whole time of Lent is included in that famous law of Theodosius Junior, which prohibits all public

^a Conc. Laodic. c. xlix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Οτι οὐ δι' ἐν τισσαρχικοστῇ ἔσται προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

^b Conc. Trull. c. lii. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 1165.) Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τισσαρχικοστῆς τῶν νηστῶν ἡμέραις, παρικτὸς τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ ἐναγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προσηλασμένων ἐκτὸς λειτουργία.

^c Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. See Book xx. chap. ii. sect. iv. note (*), p. 31.—Gothofred. in loc. Theodosius Jun. hac lege non

games and shows on days of supplication, when the minds of Christians ought wholly to be employed in the worship of God. For though Lent be not expressly named in that law, yet it is comprised in the general name of the days of supplication. And it is certain the Church was very solicitous to restrain men from these pleasures and diversions at this holy season. Gregory Nazianzen has a very sharp epistle written to one of the judges upon this occasion, wherein he thus rebukes him :^d “You that are a judge, transgress the laws in not observing the fast : and how will you observe the laws of man, who transgress and despise the laws of God? Purge the judgment-seat, lest one of these two things befall you, either to be really wicked, or to be thought so. To exhibit profane shows is to make yourself a spectacle. In a word, stand corrected, O judge, and you will sin less for the future.” St. Chrysostom, in his Lent sermons, with equal zeal, sets himself to chastise and correct this grand abuse of the holy season. He prefaces one of these homilies with this sharp invective against those that frequented the horse-racings of the Cirque at this time : “When I consider,” says he,^e “how at one blast of the devil ye have forgotten all my daily admonitions and continued discourses, and run to that pomp of Satan, the horse-race in the Cirque ; with what heart can I think of preaching to you again, who have

Dominico tantum die, etsi hunc primum nominet, verum omnibus festis supplicationumque Christianarum diebus spectacula edi vetat : in quibus certe jejuniorum dies nonnulli fuere, quibus proinde spectacula prohibita hac lege. (Vol. v. p. 354.)

^d Nazianz. Ep. lxxi. al. lxxiv. Παρανομίῃς ὁ δικαστὴς οὐ νηστεύων καὶ πῶς φυλάττει τοὺς ἀνθρώπινους νόμους, τοὺς θείους περιφρονῶν ; καθάριζον σου τὸ δικαστήριον, ἵνα μὴ δυοῖν ἴνῃ, ἢ γίνῃ κακὸς, ἢ νομίζῃ τὸ προτιθεῖν θείας ἀσυχρίας, ἑαυτὸν ἰσχυρὰ διατρέχειν κερφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου, ἵσθι κρινόμενος ὁ δικαστὴς, καὶ ἥττον ἀμαρτήσις. (Colon. 1690, vol. i. p. 830.)

^e Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 49, (p. 44, edit. Francof.) Βούλομαι τῆς συνήθους εἰσελθεῖν διδασκαλίας, καὶ ὁκνῶ, καὶ ἀναδύμαι ἰψὸς γὰρ ἀθυρίας ἐπιλθὼν συνέχει καὶ συνιστάρεξί μου τὸν λογισμὸν· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἀθυρίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ', ὅ, τι πράξω ἀπορία γὰρ κατέχει τὴν διάνοιαν. Ὅταν γὰρ ἰνοήσω, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀνίσταντος τοῦ διαβόλου, πάσαν ἡμῶν ἐκλείνῃ τὴν συνεχῆ διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὴν καθημερινὴν παραίνεσιν λήθῃ παραδόντες, εἰς τὴν Σατανικὴν πομπὴν ἐκείνην ἅπαντες διδραμήκασι, τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν καταλαβόντες· ποῖος προθυμίας δυηθήσομαι πάλιν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι διδασκαλίαν, τῶν προστίμων οὕτως ἀβρόν διαβρύνωνται. . . . Τί τῆς νηστείας ὄφιλος, εἰπέ μοι ; τί τῆς ἑταυῦθα συνελεύσεως τὸ κέρδος ;

so soon let slip all that I said before? This is what chiefly raises my grief, yea, my anger and indignation, that together with my admonition ye have cast the reverence of this holy season of Lent out of your souls, and thrown yourselves into the nets of the devil. What profit is there in your fasting? What advantage in your meeting together so often in this place?" He pursues the same argument in the next discourse,^f dissuading them, in a very pathetic way, to wave this unseasonable practice: "Subdue, I beseech you, this wicked and pernicious custom: and consider, that they who run to the Cirque, not only do much harm to themselves, but are the occasion of great scandal to others. For when the Jews and Gentiles see you, who are every day at church to hear a sermon, come notwithstanding to the horse-race, and join with them in the Cirque; will they not reckon our religion a cheat, and entertain the same suspicion of us all? They will sharpen their tongues against us all; and, for the offence of a few, condemn the whole body of Christians. Neither will they stop here, but rail at our Head; and for the servant's fault, blaspheme our common Lord, and think that a sufficient apology and excuse for

^f Chrysostom. Hom. vii. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 61, C. 6, (p. 53, edit. Francof.) Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥαθυμίας προστριβύσαν ὑμῖν κηλῖδα ἀπονίψασθι, περιγινόμενοι τῆς ἀκαίρου συνηθείας καὶ ἱσιζαλοῦς, καὶ λογιζάμενοι, ὡς οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἔστι τὸ διῆναι, ὅτι ἑαυτοῖς πολλὴν τὴν βλάβην προστρίβονται οἱ αὐτοὶ παραγινόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις σκαυδάλου ὑπόθεσις γίνονται. ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωσιν "Ελληνας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἱφ' ἐκείστης ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διημεριεύοντα, καὶ συνηχοῦς ἀπαλαύοντα διδασκαλίας ἀθρόον ἐκεί φαινόμενοι, καὶ μὴτ' αὐτῶν συμφυρόμενοι, πῶς οὐ νομίσουσιν ἀπάτην εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόληψιν ἔχουσιν; ἢ οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου παρανοήτους λαμπερῶς τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συμβουλευόντος, "Απρόσκοποι γίνεσθι; εἴσα ἵνα μὴ νομίσης περὶ τῶν οἰκίων μόνον τὴν παραγωγίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἡμῶν σιταγμένων, προσέθῃς, Καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ "Ελληνας· καὶ τότε ἱσθήγαι, Καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐδὲν γὰρ εὖτω λυμαίνεται καὶ βλάπτει τὴν θεησιαίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὡς τὸ τοῖς ἀπίστοις λαβὴν τινα παρείχῃ. "Όταν οὖν ἴδωσι τινες ἐν ἀρετῇ διαλάμποντας παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ πολλὴν τῶν βιωτικῶν ὑπεροφίαν ποιούμενους, (p. 62) οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπονήγονται ἐκκλητηγόμενοι, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὄντες οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς μιτῶσιν. ἀμίλι ἐπιβλὴν θιλάσονται· τινα μικρὰν ῥαθυμίαν προσγινόμενῃ, ὑθίως τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀνοῦσι κατὰ πάντων ὁμοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἱνὸς ῥαθυμίας κατὰ παντός τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἴθους τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφίζονται. Καὶ οὐδὲ μίχρη τούτου ἴστανται, ἀλλ' ὑθίως κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πειθαλῆς φθιγγόμενοι, διὰ τὴν τῶν δούλων ῥαθυμίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν διασφότον βλασφημῶν τολμῶν, καὶ νομίζουσι τῆς οἰκίας πλάνης παραπίτασμα αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν ἑτέραν ῥαθυμίαν.

their own errors, that they have something to object to the life and conversation of others." By this it appears, there was no pardon for those who were so eager after the public diversions, as to follow them in Lent, when men's public professions of repentance, humiliation, and sorrow, made it utterly unseasonable and absurd to pursue the vain recreations and pleasures of the world, which, at such a juncture, could become none but those who lived in darkness and heathenish superstition.

SECT. XXIII.—*As also the Celebration of all Festivals, Birthdays, and Marriages, as unsuitable to the present Occasion.*

For the same reason they forbade the celebration of all festivals of martyrs at this season, except it were upon the Sabbath or the Lord's-day : because all festivals were days of rejoicing, which were not consistent with deep humiliation and mourning belonging to a strict and severe fast : but the Sabbath and the Lord's-day were excepted from fasting even in Lent, as has been noted before ; and, therefore, on these days, the festivals of martyrs might be celebrated, but on no other during the whole time of Lent, as appears from an express canon of the Council of Laodicea made in this behalf.^s And by another canon of the same Council,^b all celebration of marriages and birthdays are absolutely forbidden in Lent : where by birthdays called γενέθλια in the canon, we are to understand private men's natural birthdays ; which being celebrated with great tokens and solemnities of joy, with feasting, and other ceremonies of pleasure and delight, were not proper to be kept in the time of fasting, as being things inconsistent and incompatible with one another ; and the rather to be forborne, because, at this time, the Church did not allow the solemnizing of the nativities,

^s Conc. Laodic. c. li. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρεσσῶν μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἑορταζέειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνήμην ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.

^b Ibid. c. lii. (ibid. vol. i. p. 1505.) "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρεσσῶν γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἑορταζέειν.

or birthdays of her martyrs, which otherwise were of great esteem in the Church.

SECT. XXIV. — *The Great Week before Easter observed with greater Strictness and Solemnity.*

These were the common rules observed in keeping the Lent-fast, when it was come to the length of forty days. But there was one week, called the *hebdomas magna*, or 'the great week' before Easter, which they observed with greater strictness and solemnity above all the rest. No one can better describe it to us than St. Chrysostom, who tells us,ⁱ "It was called 'the great week,' not because it consisted of longer days, or more in number than other weeks, but because, at this time, great things were wrought for us by our Lord. For in this week the ancient tyranny of the devil was dissolved, death was extinct, the strong man was bound, his goods were spoiled, sin was abolished, the curse was destroyed, Paradise was opened, heaven became accessible, men and angels were joined together, the middle wall of partition was broken down, the barriers were taken out of the way, the God of Peace made peace between things in heaven and things on earth: therefore it is called 'the great week:' and as this is the head of all other weeks, so the great Sabbath is the head of this week, being the same thing

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. sive in Hebdomade Magna, tom. iii. p. 821, D. 3, (p. 711, edit. Francof.) Διὸ καὶ μεγάλην καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἰσχυρὰ μῖζον ἔχουσι μῆκος τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν αἱ ταύτης ἡμέραι, (καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἴσην μίζουσι,) οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὰ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν, (καὶ γὰρ ἴσαι ταῖς ἄλλαις εἰσὶν) ἀλλ' ἰσχυρὰ μεγάλη ἡμῖν γίνονται ἐν αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ Δισπύτου κατορθώματα. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑβδομαδί τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡ χρονία τοῦ διαβόλου κατελύθη τυραννίς, ὁ θάνατος ἐστίσθη, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἰδίσθη, τὰ σκίγη αὐτοῦ διηρπάγη, ἁμαρτία ἀνῆρθη, (p. 822) ἡ κατάρα κατελύθη, ὁ παράδεισος ἀνέχθη, ὁ οὐρανὸς βάσιμος γίνοντο ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀνιμίγησαν, τὸ μισότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ ἤρθη, τὸ θρίγκιον περιερίθη, ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης Θεὸς εἰρηνοποιεῖ τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλη καλεῖται ἑβδομάς καὶ ὥσπερ αὕτη κεφάλαιον τῶν λοιπῶν ἑβδομάδων, οὕτως ταύτης κεφαλὴ τὸ εἰσάγειν τὸ μέγα καὶ καθάπερ ἐν σώματι κεφαλὴ, οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἑβδομαδί τὸ εἰσάγειν διὰ τοῦτο ἐν αὐτῇ πολλοὶ τὴν σπουδὴν ἱπτικίνουσιν καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν νηστείαν αὐξοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τὰς ἱερὰς, οἱ δὲ ἰλιμνοσύνην δαφιλιστίαν ἐργάζονται, τῇ περὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς πράξεις σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ συντηταμένῃ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐλαβείᾳ τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐεργισίας τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς γιγνιμένης παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτυροῦντες. Καθάπερ γὰρ, ὅτι τὸν Δάξασον ἀνίστησιν ὁ Κύριος, ἀπῆλθον αὐτῶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις, καὶ τῷ πλῑθι μαρτυροῦντες, ὅτι ἀνίστησιν τὸν νεκρὸν (ἡ γὰρ σπουδὴ τῶν ἐξιλεόντων).

in this week as the head is in the body. Therefore, in this week, many increase their labours; some adding to their fastings; others, to their watching; others give more liberal alms, testifying the greatness of the Divine goodness by their care of good works, and more intense piety and holy living. As the Jews went forth to meet Christ, when he had raised Lazarus from the dead, so now not one city, but all the world, go forth to meet him, not with palm-branches in their hands, but with alms-deeds, humanity, virtue, fasting, tears, prayers, watchings, and all kinds of piety, which they offer to Christ their Lord. And not only we, but the emperors of the world, honour this week, making it a time of vacation from all civil business; that the magistrates, being at liberty from business of the law, may spend all these days in spiritual service. Let the doors of the courts, say they, now be shut up: let all disputes and all kinds of contention and punishment cease: let the executioner's hands rest a little: common blessings are wrought for us all by our common Lord, let some good be done by us his servants. Nor is this the only honour they shew to this week, but they do one thing more no less considerable. The imperial letters are sent abroad at this time, command-

τοῦ θαύματος ἢ ἀποδιέξῃς) οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν ἡ σπουδὴ ἡ περὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐξδομάδα ταύτην, τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τελεμήσαντι ἵστι καὶ ἀποδιέξῃς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως ἐξερχόμεθα ἀπαντῶντες τῷ Χριστῷ σήμερον· οὐδὲ ἐξ ἱεροσολύμων μόνον· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης μυριάνδρῳ πάντοθεν ἐκκλησίαι ἐξερχονται ἀπαντῶσαι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὐ βατὰ φοινίκων κατέχουσιν καὶ ἰσιεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλιημοσύνην, καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἡσυχίαν, καὶ δάκρυα, καὶ ὑχάς, καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, καὶ πᾶσαν εὐλάβειαν προσφέρουσαι τῷ Διεσπότη Χριστῷ. Οὐχ ἡμεῖς δὲ μόνον ταύτην τιμῶμεν τὴν ἐξδομάδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης, οὐχ ὡς ἴσχυιν, αὐτὴν τιτιμήσασιν, ἐκτελειῶντες πᾶσι δόντες τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων πρᾶττουσι πράγματα, ἵνα τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἀπολαύσαντες σχολῆς, τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἀπάσας τῇ πνευματικῇ προσέχωσι θραυσίᾳ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλεισαν· ἀργεῖται, φησὶ, πᾶσα ἀμφισβήτησις καὶ μάχης ἴδος καὶ τιμωρίας· ἀναπαυσάσθωσαν μικρὸν τῶν δημίῳν αἱ χεῖρες· κοινὰ τὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ Διεσπότη γίγνῃ· γινέσθω δὲ τι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν δούλων ἀγαθόν· οὐ αὕτη δὲ μόνον αὐτὴν τιτιμήσασιν τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τιμῇ, (p. 823) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰτίεα οὐκ ἔλαττον ταύτης· βασιλικά κατατίμονται γράμματα λίγοντα, τοὺς τὸ δισμωτήριον οἰκούντας ἀφίσθαι τῶν δισμῶν· καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ Διεσπότης ἡμῶν ἐν ᾧ δούλοις, τοὺς κατεχόμενους ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου πάντας ἀτίλυνει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ δούλοι τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν εἰσφέροντες, καὶ τὴν δισποτικὴν μιμούμενοι φιλανθρωπίαν, διεμῶν ἀπολύουσι τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν νοητῶν οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν.

ing all prisoners to be set at liberty from their chains. For as our Lord, when he descended into hell, set free those that were detained by death; so the servants, according to their power, imitating the kindness of their Lord, loose men from their corporal bonds, when they have no power to relax the spiritual." All this is repeated by Chrysostom in another of his Lent-Sermons,^k much in the same words, which therefore it is needless to recite at length in this place: but it will not be improper to review the particulars, and confirm them by parallel passages of other writers. It is evident the strict observation of this week was in use in the time of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who was scholar to Origen, though with some difference, according to men's ability or zeal in observing it: for he thus speaks of it in his Canonical Epistle:^l "Some make a superposition of the whole six days, continuing all the time without eating; some add two days together, some three, some four, and some not one. Now to those who have borne such superpositions, continuing without sustenance, and grow unable to hold out, and are ready to faint, to them leave is to be given for an earlier refreshment. But if there be any who have been so far from superponing the preceding days, that they have not so much as kept a common fast, but, it may be, have feasted on them, and then coming to the two last days, Friday and the Saturday, have kept a fast of superposition on them, and think they do a great thing if they hold out till break of day; I cannot think these have striven equally with those who have been engaged in the exercise more days before."

^k Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 426, (pp. 328, 329, ed. Francof.)

^l Dionys. Epist. Canon. c. i. apud Bever. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 3. 'Ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰς ἑξ τῶν νηστῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μὴδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διαμείνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ πάσας ὑπερτίθουσιν ἅπαντες διατελοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες, οἱ δὲ οὐδεμίαν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πᾶν διασπυνθῆσιν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερτίθουσιν, ὥστε ἀποκαταμεῖναι καὶ μονοῦ ἐκλείπειναι, συγγνώμη τῆς ταχυτέρας γνώσεως. Εἰ δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ὅλης ὑπερτίθουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ νηστύσαντες, ἢ καὶ περὶφάσκουσιν τὰς παραγούσας τήσασθαι, ὥστε ἰλθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς τελευταίας δύο καὶ μόνας ἡμέρας, αὐτὰς ὑπερτίθουσιν, τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ σάββατον, μέγα τι καὶ λαμπρὸν ποιῶν νημίζουσι, ἂν μίχρ' τῆς ἡμέρας διαμείνουσιν οὐκ οἶμαι τὴν ἴσην ἄλλοις αὐταῖς πεποιῆσθαι τοῖς τὰς πλείους ἡμέρας προσηκνήσει. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 836, A. 2.)

SECT. XXV.—*What meant by the Fasts called υπερβέσεις, and Superpositiones, 'Superpository or Additional Fasts,' in this Week.*

It is plain from hence, that in this great week many made an addition to the common way of fasting. For whereas, in the foregoing part of Lent, they took some refreshment every evening, and never fasted on the Sabbath; now they not only fasted on the Sabbath in this week, but added to it, some one day, some two, some three, some four, some five days, which they passed in perfect abstinence, eating nothing all this week till the morning of the resurrection. This kind of fasting the Greeks call υπερβέσεις, and the Latins *superpositiones*, 'superpository or additional fasts.' Dionysius, in the place last mentioned, uses the name υπερτιθέμενοι, for those that passed the whole six days fasting. And Epiphanius, speaking of the manner of observing the same six days, says,^m "All the people kept them ἐν ξηροφαγίᾳ, 'living on dry meats;' namely, bread, and salt, and water, which they only used at evening: and they that were more zealous, superadded two, three, four days; and some the whole week, till cock-crowing on Sunday morning." Where we may observe two sorts of additions made to the common fast in this week above others;ⁿ first, that they confined themselves to the use of dry meats only, which they did not generally

^m Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. Τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἐν ξηροφαγίᾳ διατελοῦσι πάντες οἱ λαοί· φημι δὲ ἄρτον, καὶ ἄλι, καὶ ὕδατι τότε χρῶμενοι πρὸς ἱστίαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς, καὶ τριπλᾶς, καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπερτίθονται, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἑβδομάδα τινὲς ἄχει ἀλεκτρούωνων κλαγγῆς, τῆς κυριακῆς ἱπιφασκούσης.

ⁿ Constit. Apost. lib. v. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 366.) 'Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ πάσχα ηστυεύει, ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ διυτίρας μέχρι τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ σαββάτου, ἕξ ἡμέρας, μόνῃ χρῶμενοι ἄρτῳ, καὶ ἄλι, καὶ λαχάνοις, καὶ ποτῶ ὕδατι· οἷον δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἀπίχισθαι ἐν ταύταις· ἡμέραι γάρ εἰσι πίπθους, καὶ οὐχ ἰορτῆς· τὴν μὲν τοι παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ σάββατον ἐλόκληρον ηστυεύσασαι, οἷς δύναμις πρόσισαι τσιούτη, μηδὲν γινόμενοι μέχρις ἀλεκτροφανίας νυκτός· εἰ δέ τις ἀδυνατεῖ τὰς δύο συνάπτειν ἡμῶν, φυλασσέσθω καὶ τὸ σάββατον· λίγῃ γάρ σου ὁ Κύριος περιέλουτο φάσκων, "Ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, ηστυεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις." Ἐν ταύταις οὖν ἤρθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιδυανύμων Ἰουδαίων, καὶ σταυρῶν προσπάγη, καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἰλογίσθη.

in the former part of Lent; and, secondly, that they continued their fast for several days together, without any sustenance, some passing over the whole six days in this rigorous way, without any abatement. And so Epiphanius represents it in another place, where he speaks of the manner of observing the holy week of the Pasch: ° “Some continued the whole week ὑπερτιθέμενοι, ‘making one continued fast of the whole;’ others eat after two days, and others every evening.” This was otherwise called ἐπισυνάπτειν, and *jejunia conjungere et continuare*, as we find in Sozomen and Tertullian. For Sozomen, speaking of Spyridion’s way of observing the great Paschal week, says, p “At that time, he was used, with his whole family, ἐπισυνάπτειν τὴν νηστείαν, ‘to join one day of fasting to another,’ and only eat at a certain day, continuing without any food all the days between.” And this, in Tertullian’s phrase, is *jejunia conjungere*, ‘to join one day of fasting to another;’ q and *Sabbatum continuare cum jejuniis Parasceues*, r to make Friday and Saturday in the Passion-week one continued fast. This was an exercise which many of those who followed the ascetic life, used at other times: for Evagrius, speaking of the monks of Palestine, says, s “They observed τὰς καλουμένας ὑπερθεσίμους, ‘those called superpository fasts,’ continuing them for two or three days, and some for five days together.” This, in the Latin writers, is called *superpositio jejunii*: as in the

° Epiphan. Hæres. xxix. Nazar. sect. v. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 120, C. 8.)
 “Ὡς τινες ἰεδομᾶτα τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν Πάσχα ὑπερτιθέμενοι διτίλουν, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ δύο ἰσθίοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἰσθίον.”

p Sozom. lib. i. c. xi. See sect. xvii. note (k), p. 209.

q Tertul. de Patient. c. xiii. (Paris. 1664, p. 147, D. 1.) Imprimis ad afflictatio carnis, hostia Domino placatoria per humiliationis sacrificium, quum sordes cum angustia victus Domino libat, contenta simplici pabulo puroque aquæ potu, quum jejunia conjungit, quum cineri et sacco inolescit.

r Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 552, C.) Cur stationibus quartam et sextam Sabbati dicamus, et jejuniis Parasceuen? quamquam vos etiam Sabbatum, si quando continuatis, numquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum secundum rationem alibi redditam. Vid. Constit. Apostol. lib. v. c. xviii. note (n), p. 223.

s Evagr. lib. i. c. xxi. (Vales. Amstel. 1695, p. 278, B. 11.) Οἱ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ὑπερθεσίμους πράττουσι, δήμεροι καὶ τριήμεροι τὰς νηστίας ἐκτελοῦντες· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ πεμπταῖοι, ἧ καὶ πρὸς, κ. τ. λ.

fragment of *Victorinus Petavionensis*, published by Dr. Cave,[†] where he speaks of the several sorts of fasts observed among Christians, some of which were only till the ninth hour, some till evening, and some with a superposition, or addition of one fasting-day to another. Though we must note, that the superposition of a fast is not always taken in this sense, but sometimes denotes a new appointed fast of any kind, though it had nothing extraordinary but only the newness of the imposition in it, as we find in the Council of Eliberis,[‡] of which more hereafter in its proper place.

SECT. XXVI.—*Christians more liberal in their Alms and Charity this Week above others.*

The next addition mentioned by Chrysostom, as made in the spiritual exercise and observation of this week, is their more liberal distribution of alms to the poor, and exercise of all kinds of charity to those that stood in need of it. For the nearer they approached to the passion and resurrection of Christ, by which all the blessings in the world were poured forth upon men, the more they thought themselves obliged to shew all manner of acts of mercy and kindness toward their brethren.

SECT. XXVII.—*This Week a Week of Rest and Liberty for Servants.*

Particularly this week before Easter, and the following week, was a time of rest and liberty to servants. Many, in great charity, had their freedom granted them, in imitation of the spiritual liberty which Christ, at this time, had procured for all mankind. This is clear from what has been shewed before^{*} out of Gregory Nyssen, and the laws of

[†] Victorin. de Fabrica Mundi, ap. Cave, Hist. litt. vol. i. p. 103, (p. 73, edit. Genevens. 1693.) Nunc ratio novitatis ostenditur, quare dies 4 tetras nuncupatur: quare usque ad horam nonam jejunamus, usque ad vesperam, aut superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. (Basil. 1741, vol. i. p. 148.)

[‡] Conc. Illiber. c. xxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 973.) Jejuniorum superpositiones per singulos menses placuit celebrari, exceptis diebus duorum mensium Julii et Augusti, ob quorundam infirmitatem. — Can. xxvi. Errorrem placuit corrigi, ut omni Sabbati die superpositiones celebremus.

^{*} Book xx. chap. v. sect. vi. and vii. p. 105.

Theodosius, which allow all juridical acts done in favour of slaves in the fifteen days of the Paschal solemnity, in which both the Pasch of the cross and the Pasch of the resurrection are equally included. Both these weeks, likewise, were equally set apart for Divine service: and, for that reason, all servants had a vacation from their ordinary bodily labour, that they might have more leisure and opportunity to attend the worship of God, and concerns of their souls. The author of the Constitutions, in conformity to this custom, which he found in the practice of the Church, gives this direction: ' "In the whole great week (before Easter) and the week following, let servants rest from their labour; because the one is the time of our Lord's Passion; and the other of his resurrection; and servants have need to be instructed in the knowledge of those mysteries."

SECT. XXVIII. — *A general Release granted at this Time by the Emperors to all Prisoners, both Debtors and Criminals, some particular Cases of Criminals only excepted.*

That particular sort of charity which Chrysostom speaks of, as shewed by the emperors to all prisoners, as well criminals as debtors, in granting them a general release out of prison at this season, is demonstrated from the imperial laws still in being: for they are said to grant this indulgence with a particular respect to the Paschal solemnity, which includes as well the great week before as the week following Easter-day.* And so not only Chrysostom, but St. Ambrose understood it, when he said,^a "The holy days of the last week in Lent, was the time when the bonds of debtors used to be loosed." Wherefore whatever has been said before of this indulgence as belonging to the Easter festival, is so to

[†] Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 498, D. 6.) Τὴν μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα πᾶσαν, καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν ἀργεῖταισαν οἱ δοῦλοι· ὅτι ἡ μὲν πάθος ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσις· καὶ χρεία διδασκαλίας, τίς ὁ παθὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς, ἢ τίς ὁ συγχωρήσας.

* Cod. Theod. lib. ix. c. xxxviii. de Indulgent. Crimin. leg. iii. et iv. See before, Book xx. chap. v. sect. vi. note (1), p. 106.

^a Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. Sanctis diebus hebdomadis ultimæ, quibus solebant debitorum laxari vincula, &c.

be understood as belonging to this holy and great week of our Saviour's Passion, when these indulgences first commenced, and continued in force till the whole festival was ended.

SECT. XXIX. — *All Processes at Law, as well Civil as Criminal, suspended this whole Week before Easter.*

What Chrysostom says further of the emperor's commanding all suits and processes at law to cease in this great week, and the tribunal doors to be shut up, is taken from the express words of the law of Theodosius, still extant in both the Codes. For these, appointing what days shall be exempted from juridical actions, expressly mention the fifteen days of the Paschal solemnity, the week preceding and the week following Easter.^b St. Austin speaks of the same:^c and Scaliger^d mentions a law of Constantine, wherein he had made a like decree, that the two Paschal weeks, the one immediately before, and the other following Easter, should be exempted from all business of the law. The design of which was, that nothing of animosity, or contention, or cruelty, or punishment, or bloodshed, should appear at this holy season, when all men were labouring to obtain mercy and pardon by the blood of Christ; and that men sequestering themselves from all civil and worldly business, might, with greater assiduity, attend the exercises of piety which were peculiar to the solemn occasion.

SECT. XXX. — *The Thursday in this Week, how observed.*

The Thursday in this week, which was the day on which Christ was betrayed, and instituted the communion at his last supper, was observed with some peculiar customs. For on this day, in some of the Latin Churches, the communion was administered in the evening after supper, in imitation of

^b Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. viii. de Feriis, leg. ii. Sanctos quoque Paschæ dies, qui septeno vel præcedunt numero, vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 121.)

^c Aug. Serm. xix. ex editis a Sirmondo, tom. x. p. 811. See before, Book xx. chap. v. sect. i. note (°), p. 86.

^d Scaliger. de Emendat. Tempor. lib. vii. p. 776. See *ibid.* note (°), p. 87.

the communion of the apostles at our Lord's last supper : as we find by a provision made in one of the canons of the *third Council of Carthage*,* (?) " That the sacrament of the altar should always be received by men fasting, except on one anniversary day, when the Lord's last supper was solemnly commemorated." St. Austin takes notice of the same custom, and withal observes,^f that the communion, in some places, was administered twice on this day ; in the morning, for the sake of such as could not keep the day a fast ; and in the evening, for those that fasted till evening, when they ended their fast, and received the communion after supper. He likewise tells us, there was a particular reason why many could not fast upon this day, and therefore they received the communion in the morning : for it was customary with many who had kept Lent, to bathe and wash their bodies on this day, as the catechumens did, in order to appear decently, pure and clean from the filth which their bodies might have contracted by the austerities of Lent, when they came to be baptized on the vigil, or night between the great Sabbath and Easter-day : they could not bear both bathing and fasting, and therefore they fasted not on this day, but received the communion in the morning, and ate their dinner as at other times ; whilst others fasted all the day, and received the communion after supper.

On this day, the *competentes*, or ' candidates of baptism,' publicly rehearsed the Creed before the bishop or presbyters

* Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiii. Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur. [N.B. The preceding words are a translation of part of the *forty-first* canon of the *African Church*. See Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1069.]

^f Aug. Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. c. vii. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 96, B. 10.) Nonnullis probabilis quædam ratio delectavit, ut uno certo die per annum, quo ipsam cœnam Dominus dedit, tamquam ad insigniorem commemorationem post cibos offerri et accipi liceat corpus et sanguinem Domini. Honestius autem arbitror ea hora fieri, ut qui etiam jejunaverit, post refectionem, quæ hora nona fit, ad oblationem possit occurrere. Quapropter neminem cogimus ante Dominicam illam cœnam prandere, sed nulli etiam contradicere audemus. Hoc tamen non arbitror institutum, nisi quia plures et prope omnes in plerisque locis eo die lavare [cœnare] consueverunt. Et quia nonnulli etiam jejunium custodiunt, mane offertur [Christo] propter prandentes, quia jejunia simul et lavacra tolerare non possunt, ad vesperam vero propter jejunantes.

in the church, as we learn from the Council of Laodicea,^g which fixes this rehearsal to the fifth day of the great week ; and from Theodorus Lector, who says,^h “ Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, was the first that ordered the Creed to be recited in every church-assembly, which before was used to be repeated only once a-year by the catechumens on the *parasceue*, or ‘ preparation to our Saviour’s Passion,’ when the bishop was wont to catechize them.”

On this day it was customary for servants to receive the communion, as we find in Joannes Moschus ;ⁱ who tells us a remarkable story of one who laid up the eucharist in his chest, which he had brought home from church with him, τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ πέμπτῃ, ‘ on this great and holy fifth day of the Passion-week :’ under which name we find it also in the title of one of Chrysostom’s sermons upon this day,^k τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ πεντάδι. The modern ritualists call it ‘ Maundy-Thursday,’ *dies Mandati*, because on this day our Saviour washed his disciples’ feet, and gave them commandment to follow his example ;^l or, because he instituted the sacrament of his Supper upon this day, commanding his disciples to do the same in remembrance of him, as others^m expound it. But the pope’s custom of excommunicating all people and princes that are enemies to the Roman Church on this day ; and, among the rest, the King of Spain, for

^g Conc. Laodic. c. xlv. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1504.) “Οτι διὰ τοὺς φωτισζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἱκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἱπισκόπῳ, ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

^h Theodor. Lect. Vales. Amstel. 1695, lib. ii. p. 563, C. 4. Τιμήσις τὸ τῶν τριαντησίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, κατ’ ἰκαστὴν σύναξιν λίγισθαι παρισκιάσαι, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ, δῆθεν Μακιδονίου, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ διχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λιγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πέντε, τῇ καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἱπισκόπου κατηχήσιον.

ⁱ Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. xxix. “Ἐχον δὲ πιστικὸν κοινοῦντα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὗτος ὁ πιστικὸς, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς χώρας, ἔλαβεν κοινοῦσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πέμπτῃ καὶ βαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐν μουζικίῳ ἀπέβιτο ἐν τῇ ἰδίῳ ἀεμαρίῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^k Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. de Proditione Judæ, tom. v. p. 453, (hom. xxxii. p. 405, edit. Francof.) Εἰς τὴν παραδοσίαν τοῦ Ἰουδα, καὶ εἰς τὸ πάσχα, καὶ εἰς τὴν παραδόσιν τῶν μυστηρίων, καὶ πρὶ τῷ μὴ μνησικακίῃν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ πεντάδι.

^l Bishop Sparrow’s Rationale on the Common Prayer, p. 135.

^m L’Estrange’s Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 142.

invading the rights of the Church^a (whom he absolves again, without asking any pardon on Good-Friday), as it is a grand ridicule and mock of Church-discipline, so it is without all foundation in the practice of the ancient Church.

SECT. XXXI.—*Of the Passion-Day, or the Pasch of our Lord's Crucifixion.*

Some with greater probability suppose, that such public penitents as had completed their penance for one, two, three years, or more, the Lent preceding (for the years of penance were usually reckoned from Easter to Easter), were absolved on this day: at least, it is certain, they were reconciled either this or the day following. For St. Ambrose says very expressly,^o “That the day of relaxation of penance in the Church was the day on which our Lord gave himself for us:” which must mean either the day on which he was betrayed by Judas, or the day of his Passion, when he offered himself a sacrifice for the sins of mankind; that is, the *Parasceue*, or ‘Good-Friday,’ or ‘the Pasch,’ as it is often called; meaning ‘the Pasch of the Cross,’ *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, in opposition to the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, or ‘Pasch of the Resurrection.’ Nor was it only particular absolutions that were granted to public penitents on this day of the Passion, but a general absolution or indulgence was proclaimed to all the people, observing the day with fasting, prayers, and true contrition or compunction. As we find in the fourth Council of Toledo, which makes a complaint, that in some of the Spanish Churches, the day of the Lord’s Passion was not regularly observed; for the church-doors were shut up, and no Divine service performed: wherefore they order,^p

^a Bull. in Cœna Domini. Moulin, Buckler of Faith.

^o Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Sororem. Erat dies, quo sese Dominus pro nobis tradidit, quo in ecclesia penitentia relaxatur.

^p Conc. Tolet. IV. c. vii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 1707.) Oportet eodem die mysterium crucis, quod ipse Dominus cunctis nuntiandum voluit, prædicari, atque indulgentiam criminum clara voce omnem populum postulare [præstolari]: ut penitentiae compunctione mundati, venerabilem diem Dominicæ resurrectionis remissis iniquitatibus suscipere mereamur; corporisque ejus et sanguinis sacramentum mundi a peccatis sumamus.

“ That the mystery of the cross should be preached on this day; and that all the people should wait for the indulgence or absolution, that being cleansed by the compunction of repentance and remission of sins, they might worthily celebrate the venerable feast of the Lord’s resurrection, and come pure and clean to partake of the sacrament of his body and blood.” They further condemn such as ended their fast on this day at the ninth hour; and order,^q “ That all, except little children, old men, and the sick, should spend the whole day in abstinence and mourning, and not give over their fast, *ante peractas indulgentiæ preces*, ‘ before the prayers of absolution were ended.’ ” Whence it may be inferred, that this absolution was the close of the public service of this day, which whoever did not attend, was to be denied the communion on Easter-day, “ Because,” as the canon words it, “ he paid not a due respect by abstinence to the passion of his Lord.” Indeed this day, as we have seen before, was one of those two great days which all Christians, in general, thought themselves obliged strictly to observe: even they who kept no other Lent, religiously observed these, as the days on which the Bridegroom was taken from them: and that seems to be the reason why this canon treats those with a little more severity who neglected the day of our Saviour’s Passion, because they contemned the general custom and observation of Christians.

SECT. XXXII. — *Of the Saturday, or Great Sabbath before Easter.*

The Saturday, or Sabbath in this week, was commonly known by the name of the ‘ Great Sabbath,’ as we find it

^q Conc. Tolet. IV. c. viii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 1707.) Quidam in die ejusdem Dominicæ passionis ad horam nonam jejunium solvunt, conviviis abutuntur, et dum sol ipse eodem die tenebris palliatus lumen subduxerit, ipsaque elementa turbata mœstitiam totius mundi ostenderint, illi jejunium tanti diei polluant, epulisque inserviunt. Et quia totum eundem diem universalis ecclesia in mœrore et abstinentia peragit; quicumque in eo jejunium, præter parvulos, senes, et languidos, ante peractas indulgentiæ preces, resolverit, a Paschali gaudio repellatur, nec in eo sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini percipiat, qui diem passionis ipsius per abstinentiam non honorat.

^r Chrysostom. Epist. i. ad Innocent. tom. iv. p. 680, D. 6, (p. 595, edit. Francof.)

termed in Chrysostom, and others. It had many peculiarities belonging to it: for this was the only Sabbath throughout the year that the Greek Churches, and some of the Western, kept as a fast. All other Sabbaths, even in Lent, were observed as festivals, together with the Lord's-day, as has been shewed several times before: but this Great Sabbath was observed as a most solemn fast, which some joined with the fast of the preceding day, and made them both but one continued fast of superposition; and they who could not thus join both days together without some refreshment, yet observed the Saturday with great strictness, holding out their fast till after midnight, or cock-crowing in the morning. Thus we find it ordered in the Constitutions, conformable to the practice of the Church: "Let as many as are able, fast the Friday and the Sabbath throughout, eating nothing till cock-crowing in the morning; but if any cannot, τὰς δύο συνάπτειν ὁμοῦ, 'join both days together in one continued fast,' let him, however, keep the Sabbath a fast: for the Lord, speaking of himself, said, 'When the Bridegroom shall be taken away from them, in those days shall they fast.'" So this day was kept an universal fast over the whole Church: and they continued it not only till evening, but till cock-crowing in the morning, which was the supposed time of our Saviour's resurrection. The preceding time of the night was spent in a vigil or pernoctation, when they assembled together to perform all parts of Divine service, psalmody, and reading the Scripture, the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, praying and preaching, and baptizing such of their catechumens as presented themselves to baptism: all which acts are particularly mentioned by the author of the Constitutions^t in his description of the

^t Ἡμῶν αὐτὰ, καθάπτις ἔμπροσθεν εἶπεν, προτινόντων, ἀθέρον στρατιωτικὸν πλῆθος αὐτῷ τῇ μεγάλῃ σαββάτῃ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγινόμενης, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἰακυσιλδὸν, τὸν κλῆρον ἅπαντα τὸν σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν ἐξέχον, κ. τ. λ.

^a Constitut. lib. v. c. xviii. See sect. xxv. note (^a), p. 223.

^t Ibid. c. xviii. (xix.) (Labbé, vol. i. p. 366, C. 4.) Τῇ δὲ σαββάτῃ μίχρως ἀλειποροφωρίας παρατινόντες, ἀπονησιζισθεὶς ἐπιφωσκούσης μῶς σαββάτων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ κυριακὴ, ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως ἀλειποροφωρίας ἀγρυπνοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροίζόμενοι, γηγηροῦντες, προσευχόμενοι καὶ διόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ διανυκτερίσῃ ὑμῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μίχρως

Paschal vigil. The account of the several vigils observed in the Church has been given in a former Book:^a here I only take notice of this one, which was the most famous of all others, between the Great Sabbath and Easter-day. Of which there is frequent mention made in the ancient writers, Chrysostom,^v Epiphanius,^x Palladius,^y Gregory Nyssen,^z and many others: particularly Lactantius and St. Jerom tell us, they observed it upon a double account. "This is the night," says Lactantius,^a "which we observe with a pernoctation [or watching all the night] for the advent of our King and God: of which night there is a twofold reason to be given: because in this night our Lord was raised to life again after his Passion; and in the same he is expected to return to receive the kingdom of the world;" that is, to come to judgment. St. Jerom says,^b "It was a tradition among the

ἀλεκτερεύοντι κραυγῆς· καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ ἀναγόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρομῇ, καὶ πρὸς λαλήσαντες τῇ λαῷ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, παύσαντες τοῦ πίνους ὑμῶν.

^a Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. vol. iv. p. 357.

^v Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. p. 426. [Not. Nihil hic invenio de isto præcipue pervigilio; p. autem 424, (p. 329, edit. Francof.) habentur quædam de vigiliis magnæ hebdomadis in genere.—Grischov.] See Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. note (!), vol. v. p. 359.

^x Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. sect. xxii. "Ἐν τισὶ δὲ τόποις τὴν μετὰ τὴν πίμπτην ἀγρυπνοῦσιν, ἐκφράσκουσιν εἰς τὸ προσάβειτον, καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν μόνας.

^y Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. ix. pp. 82, 83, edit. Paris. 1680. "Ἐν τούτοις πίστις ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου ἡμεῖς, ἐν ᾗ ὁ σωτὴρ σταυρωθεὶς ἐκύλιυσεν τὸν ἄδην. . . οἱ μὲν τοὶ πρεσβύτεροι Ἰωάννου, οἱ τὸν Θεὸν ἔχοντες φόβον, ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ λούτρῳ τῇ ἱπικαλουμένῃ Κωνσταντιανῇ, τοὺς λαοὺς συναγαγόντες, εἴχοντι τὰς ἀγρυπνίας· οἱ μὲν τὰ θεία λόγια ἀναγινώσκοντες· οἱ δὲ βαπτίζοντες τοὺς κατηχουμένους, ὡς εἰκὸς διὰ τὸ πᾶσχα.

^z Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. in Resurrect. Domini. [Not. Vaga allegatio. Nysæus quinque habet orationes de hoc argumento, quarum priores tres bene longæ sunt, quas, lector ipse, si volet, evolvat.—Grischov.]

^a Lactant. lib. vii. c. xix. (Vesont. 1838, p. 213.) Hæc est nox, quæ a nobis propter adventum regis ac Dei nostri pervigilio celebratur: cujus noctis duplex ratio est, quod in ea et vitam tum recepit, quum passus est; et postea regnum orbis terræ recepturus est.

^b Hieron. in Matt. xxv. 6. Traditio Judæorum est, Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem Ægyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est, et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transiit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut in die vigiliarum Paschæ, ante noctis dimidium populos dimittere non liceat, expectantes adventum Christi. Et postquam illud tempus transierit, securitate præsumta, festum cuncti agunt diem. (Venet. 1769, vol. vii. p. 203.)

Jews, that Christ would come at midnight, as he did upon the Egyptians at the time of the Passover:" and thence, he thinks, "the apostolical custom came, not to dismiss the people on the Paschal vigil before midnight, expecting the coming of Christ: after which time, presuming upon security, they keep the day a festival." Eusebius says,^c "In the time of Constantine this vigil was kept with great pomp: for he set up lofty pillars of wax, to burn as torches, all over the city, and lamps burning in all places, so that the night seemed to outshine the sun at noon-day." Nazianzen also speaks of this custom of setting up lamps and torches both in the churches and their own private houses: "Which," he says,^d "they did as a *prodromus*, or 'forerunner' of that great light, the Sun of Righteousness, arising on the world on Easter-day." Tertullian intimates, that this vigil was solemnly kept in his time by all sorts of people, by women as well as men: for, writing against the marriage of Christian women with heathens, among other arguments he puts this question to them, to dissuade them from such dangerous engagements:^e "What unbelieving husband will be content to let his wife be absent from him all night at the celebration of the Paschal vigil?" And it is plain, from Socrates, that the sectaries, as well as the Catholics, had this night in

^c Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 443, A. 3.)

Τὴν δὲ ἱερὰν διανυκτερίυσιν μετίβαλλιν εἰς ἡμερινὰ φῶτα, κηροῦ κίονας ὑψηλοτάτους καθ' ὅλης ἐξαπτόντων τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῃ τεταγμένων λαμπάδας δ' ἦσαν πυρὸς, πάντα φωτίζουσαι τόπον ὡς λαμπρῆς ἡμέρας τηλαυγιστίαν τὴν μυστικὴν διανυκτερίυσιν ἀποτιλιῶσθαι.—Cap. lvii. p. 458. "Ἦδη δ' ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ πάσχα ἱερὰ παρῆν' ἐν ᾗ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδους, συνδυσυκτερίζει τοὺς Ἕλλησι.

^d Nazianz. Orat. xlii. de Pasch. (Colon. 1690, p. 676, D. 2.) Καλὴ μὲν ἡ χθὺς ἡμῖν λαμπροφῶρεια καὶ φωταγωγία, ἣν ἰδίᾳ τι καὶ δημοσίᾳ συνιστηάμεθα· πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μικροῦ, καὶ ἀξία πᾶσα, θαυσιλὶ τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νύκτα φωτίζοντες, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου φωτὸς ἀντίτυπος· ὅσον τι οὐρανὸς ἔσθαι φεγγαρεῖ, κόσμον ὅλον αὐγάζων τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ κάλλισι, καὶ ὅσον ὑπερουράνιον, ἐν τῇ ἀγγέλοις τῇ πρώτῃ φωτινῇ φύσει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τῇ ἐκείνῃ πηγάζεσθαι, καὶ ὅσον ἐν τῇ τριᾷδι (p. 677), παρ' ἧς φῶς ἅπαν συνίστηκεν ἐξ ἀμείστου φωτὸς μερίζονται καὶ τιμώμενοι. καλλίον δὲ ἡ σήμερον καὶ περιφανιστέρα ὅση χθὺς μὲν πρόδρομον ἦν τοῦ μεγάλου φωτὸς ἀνισταμένου τὸ φῶς, καὶ οἷον εὐφροσύνη τις προιόρτιος· σήμερον δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὴν ἱερτάζομεν, οὐκ ἔτι ἰλπιζομένην, ἀλλ' ἤδη γιγνημένην, καὶ κόσμον ὅλον αὐτῇ συνάγουσαν.

^e Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iv. Quis solennibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? (Paris. 1664, p. 168, D. 5.)

great veneration: for it was upon one of these Paschal vigils,^f that the Sabbatians, who were a subdivision of the Novatian schismatics, were seized with such a panic terror in the night, that flying in a strange confusion through a strait passage from the place where they were met, they pressed so hard upon one another, that threescore and ten of them were trodden to death.

This night was famous above all others for baptizing of catechumens, as we learn not only from the general account given of the ancient time of baptizing, as fixed chiefly to the Paschal solemnity; but more particularly from those sad relations made by Chrysostom^g and Palladius^h of the barbarous invasion of Chrysostom's church, and the assaults made upon him, and his clergy and people, as they were

^f Socrat. lib. vii. c. v. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 279, C. S.) Μιστ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ἐκ παρὰλήφιας ἱερτὴν ἡμερὰν [ὁ Σαββάτιος] καὶ συνήρουν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Ἰθους πολλοί· καὶ τὴν ἐκ Ἰθους παννυχίδα ποιούντων, θόρυβός τις δαιμόνιος ἐνέπειν εἰς αὐτοὺς, ὥς ἄρα Σισίνιος ὁ αὐτῶν ἱστάσκειος σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει ἔρχεται κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ταραχῆς γινομένης, οἷα ἐκός, ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ στυγρῇ τόπῳ ἀποληφθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς συντείψαν ὥς ἀπολίσθαι ἐκ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἀνθρώπους.

^g Chrysostom. Epist. i. ad Innocent. tom. iv. p. 680, D. 6. (p. 596, edit. Francof.) Ἡμῶν αὐτὰ, καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶπον, προτινόντων, ἀθέρον στρατιωτικὸν πλῆθος αὐτῶν τῇ μεγάλῃ σαββάτῃ, πρὸς ἰστίαν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγινωμένους, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπισιελθόν, τὸν κλῆρον ἅπαντα τὸν σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ἔπλαντο τὸ βῆμα περιεσείχιστο· καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἰκῶν πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα (p. 681), ἀποδυσάμηναι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, γυμναὶ ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῆς χαλιπῆς ταύτης ἰφθόου. οὐδὲ τὴν πρίπουσαν γυναῖξιν εὐσχημοσύνην συγχαροῦμαι περιθῆναι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τραύματα διέξάμηναι ἐξεάλλοντο, καὶ αἵματος αἱ κολυμβῆθραι ἐπληροῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμάτων ἰφθαίμιστο νάματα.

^h Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. ix. pp. 84–86. Παρατίνουσιν γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἐν τοῖς μέρεισιν ἡμῶν ὡς ἀλίκτορος πρῶτου, ἔχον θράσος ἐπιφθρείς νοστρατίστους κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαῦ τιτρακασίους, ἀναιδεῖς περισσῶς, ἐπισπῆθυσιν αἰφνίδιον κατὰ τὴν νύκτα, πῦρ τοῖς ἐπιδικνύουσι κληρικῶς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἰταμῶς, ὥς ἔτι λύκος, σιδήρεφ στίλβοντι διασχίσας τοὺς ὄχλους· χωρήσας δ' ἴδον τῶν μακαρίων ὑδάτων ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῶν μουμύων τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ σωτῆρος· καὶ τῇ μὲν διακόνῃ θρασείας ἐντιναχθεῖς, τὰ σύμβολα ἐκρίν· τοὺς δὲ περιστυρίους ἦδη που καὶ ἡλικιωτάς, ῥοπαλοῖς κατὰ κρανίου παύσας, αἵματι κινεῖσθαι τὴν κολυμβήθραν· τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀγγλικὴν ἐκείνην νύκτα, ἐν ἣ καὶ δαίμονες πίπτουσι ἐκταχότις, εἰς λαβύρινθον μεταβληθεῖσαν· γυμναὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσι δρασμῷ ἐχρῶντο, φόβῳ τοῦ σφαγῆναι ἢ ἀσχημονῆσαι, τὸν ἀσχημόνα ἀσπαζόμεναι δρόμον· . . . τῇ ἱσαύριον γοῶν ἐξελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι ἐν τῇ παρακρίσει πιδίω, ἰδὼν τὴν ἄσπερον γῆν, τὴν περὶ τὸ Πίματον, λυχυμονοῦσαν· καὶ ἐκπλαγίς ἐπὶ τῇ θία τοῦ ἀνθους τῶν νοσφωτίστων· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους· ἤρειτο παρὰ τῶν δρομῶν· τίς ἢ λογὰς τῶν ἐκεί συνηθροισμένων, κ. τ. λ.

assembled together this night to keep the Paschal vigil, and baptize the catechumens. Where, among other grievous acts of hostility, they take notice of this one unparalleled instance of indecent cruelty; that the enemy forced the women-catechumens, who were divested, in order to baptism, to fly away naked, and slew many of them in the very baptisteries, making the holy fonts swim with blood. And yet in this one night, notwithstanding the tumult, three thousand persons were baptized, as is particularly noted by Palladius. From whence it is easy to conclude, that this night was a celebrated time of baptism; and that as the penitents were restored the day before to the communion, which they had lost; so on this day the catechumens were made complete Christians, and admitted to the communion, which they never had before, and both, in order to participate of the holy eucharist on Easter-day. So we have seen the whole practice of the Church from first to last, in relation to the observation of Lent, or the first great anniversary fast of forty days.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE FASTS OF THE FOUR SEASONS, OF MONTHLY FASTS,
AND THE ORIGINAL OF EMBER-WEEKS AND ROGATION-DAYS.

SECT. I.—*The Fast of March, or the first Month, the same with the Lent-Fast.*

THE next anniversary fasting-days were those which were called *jejunia quatuor temporum*, ‘the fasts of the four seasons of the year.’ These were called the fasts of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, or the fasts of the spring, summer, autumn, and winter, observed in March, June, September, and December, which were accounted the beginning of the four several seasons of the year. These were at first designed, not to be the seasons of ordination, but to beg a blessing of God upon the several seasons of the year, or to return thanks for the benefits received in each of them;

or to exercise and purify both body and soul in a more particular manner, at the return of these certain terms of stricter discipline and more extraordinary devotion. One of the first that speaks formally of these fasts, under the name and number of the four seasons, is Pope Leo, in his Sermons, about the year 450, in one of which he thus recounts them :^a “ The ecclesiastical fasts are so distributed through the whole year, that there is a law of abstinence affixed to all the four seasons: for we keep the spring fast in Lent, the summer fast in Pentecost, the autumnal fast in the seventh month, and the winter fast in the tenth month.” In another place he says,^b “ These fasts are incessantly renewed with the course of days and times, that the medicinal power of them may put us in mind of our infirmities.” Philastrius also speaks of four noted annual fasts kept by the Church in the course of the year; but, instead of the fast of September he puts the fast of Epiphany, reckoning them in this order :^c “ The Church celebrates four fasts in the year; the first before the Nativity, the second before the Pasch, the third before Epiphany, and the fourth in Pentecost.” So that these four fasts were not exactly the same in the time of Philastrius, that they were in the time of Pope Leo. The spring fast, or the fast before Easter, is evidently the Lent-fast, of which we have spoken before :

^a Leo, *Serm. viii. de Jejunio Decimi Mensis*, (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 991, h. edit. Lugd. 1677.) *Jejunia ecclesiastica ita per totius anni circulum distributa sunt, ut lex abstinentiæ omnibus sit adscripta temporibus. Siquidem jejunium verum in Quadragesima, æstivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense septimo, hiemale autem in hoc, qui est decimus, celebramus.* (Lugd. 1700, vol. i. p. 67.)

^b *Ibid. vii. (ibid. p. 990, fin.) (p. 66.) Præsidia [militiæ Christianæ] sanctificandis mentibus nostris atque corporibus divinitus instituta, ideo cum dierum temporumque curriculis sine cessatione reparantur, ut infirmitatum nostrarum ipsa nos medicina commoneat.* — *Id. Serm. ix. (ibid. p. 1060, e.) Ideo ipsa continentiæ observantia quatuor est assignata temporibus, ut in id ipsum totius anni redeunte decursu cognosceremus, nos indesinenter purificationibus indigere; semperque esse nitendum, dum hujus vitæ varietate jactamur, ut peccatum, quod fragilitate carnis et cupiditatum pollutione contrahitur, jejuniis atque eleemosynis deleatur.*

^c Philastr. *Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. p. 48, (p. 723, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Per annum quatuor jejunia in ecclesia celebrantur. In Natali primum, deinde in Pascha, tertium in Epiphania, quartum in Pentecoste, ab Adscensione inde usque ad Pentecosten diebus decem.*

for as yet there was no particular week in Lent set aside for ordinations, to make a distinct fast of it, as we shall see hereafter.

SECT. II.—*The Fast of Pentecost.*

The fast of Pentecost, which Leo calls the ‘summer-fast,’ is mentioned also by Athanasius: for in his *Apology to Constantius* he says,^d “The people in the week, after the holy Pentecost, having finished their fast, went to pray in the cemetery,” or church-yard. The Council of Gironne, in Spain,^e fixes this to the week after Pentecost: so that after the solemnity of that festival was over, a three days’ fast was to be kept on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, in the week immediately following. The second Council of Tours^f appoints the whole week after Pentecost to be kept an exact fast by those of the monastic life: but whether this was in the week following Whit-Sunday, or the week after that, appears not from those canons. Neither were these fasts of the four seasons so fixed to any certain week, but that they sometimes varied a week or more in their observation, as appears from the Council of Salegunstade,^g which gives par-

^d Athanas. *Apol. de Fuga*, Colon. 1686, tom. i. p. 704, (p. 323, c. edit. Paris. 1698.) Τῇ γὰρ ἑβδομάδι μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν πεντηκοστὴν ὁ λαὸς νηστύσας ἔξῃς πρὶ τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ εὐχασθαι.

^e Conc. Gerund. c. ii. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1568.) De litanis, ut, expleta solennitate Pentecostes, sequens [in sequenti] septimana, a quinta feria usque in Sabbatum, per hoc triduum abstinentia celebretur.

^f Conc. Turon. II. c. xvii. (ibid. vol. v. p. 456.) Post Quinquagesimam tota hebdomade ex asse jejunent.

^g Conc. Salegunstad. an. 1022, c. ii. (ibid. vol. ix. p. 845.) De incerto jejunio quatuor temporum hanc certitudinem statuimus, ut si Kalendæ Martii in quarta feria sive antea evenerint, eadem hebdomada jejunium celebretur. Si autem Kalendæ Martii in quintam feriam aut sextam aut Sabbatum distenduntur, in sequentem hebdomadam jejunium differatur. Simili quoque modo si Kalendæ Junii in quartam feriam, aut antea evenerint, in subsequente hebdomada jejunium celebretur. Et si in quintam feriam aut sextam aut Sabbatum contigerint, jejunium in tertiam hebdomadam reservetur. Et hoc sciendum est, quod si quando jejunium mensis Junii in vigilia Pentecostes secundum prædictam regulam evenierit, non ibi celebrandum erit, sed in ipsa hebdomada solenni Pentecostes: et tunc propter solennitatem Spiritus Sancti, diaconus Dalmaticis induatur, et Alleluia cantetur, et, Flectamus genua, non dicatur. Eodem modo de Septembris jejunio constitutum est, ut si Kalendæ Septembris in quarta feria evenerint, aut antea, jejunium in tertia hebdomada celebretur: et si in quinta aut sexta aut Sabbato

ticular directions how to order and accommodate these variations. And in one of our English Councils, held at Oxford,^b under Stephen Langton (an. 1222), which settles the fasts of the four seasons, it is intimated, “That the fast of Pentecost was differently observed by many: for some kept it in the week after the Litanies, or Rogation-days, and others in the week of Pentecost:” which shews, that there was no universal rule or tradition about this fast in the Church.

SECT. III.—*The Fast of the Seventh Month, or the Autumnal Fast.*

The fast of the seventh month, or the autumnal fast, is not so much as mentioned by Philastrius, nor any other writer that I know of, before Pope Leo. But after him Gelasiusⁱ speaks of it as one of the four solemn times of ordination, which were always accompanied with fasting from the time that they were first introduced into the Church: but this was not till after the time of Pope Leo.^j For though he often speaks of the fast of September, or the seventh month, yet he never so much as intimates that it was a stated time of ordination, but assigns other reasons for it; because it was fit men should purge themselves from sin at the return of every various season of the year.

contigerint, in quarta hebdomada jejunandum erit. In Decembri illud observandum erit, ut proximo Sabbato ante vigiliam natalis Domini celebretur jejunium: quia si vigilia in Sabbato evenerit, simul vigiliam et jejunium celebrare non convenit.

^b Conc. Oxon. c. viii. (Labbé, vol. xi. p. 275, E.) In Martio prima hebdomada jejunandum est feria quarta, et sexta, et Sabbato. In Junio in secunda, quod dupliciter observatur a pluribus; in prima hebdomada post litanias, aut in hebdomada Pentecostes. In Septembri per tres dies. In proxima septimana integra ante natalem Domini.

ⁱ Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcopos Lucaniæ, c. xi. (ibid. vol. iv. p. 1191.) Ordinationes presbyterorum et diaconorum, nisi certis temporibus et diebus exerceri non debent, id est, quarti mensis jejunio, septimi et decimi, sed et etiam quadragesimalis initii ac mediana Quadragesimæ die, Sabbati jejunio circa vesperam noverint celebrandas.

^j Leo, Sermon. ix. de Jejun. Mensis Septimi, p. 88. See sect. i.

SECT. IV.—*The Advent, or Nativity-Fast, called the Fast of December, or the Tenth Month.*

The fast of December, or the tenth month, by some called the Advent, or Nativity-fast, is mentioned by Philastrius as one of the four solemn fasts of the Church. This fast, anciently, was kept from the festival of St. Martin till Christmas-day, three days in the week, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, as we find in the first Council of Mâcon, which orders, that it should be observed after the manner of Lent; that is, that the oblation should not be celebrated on^k those days, and that the canons should be read at this time, that no one might pretend ignorance for the non-observance of them. The second Council of Tours^l appoints the monks to fast every day during this season: but in the Councils of Saiegunstade^m and Oxford,ⁿ this fast is reduced to the week immediately before Christmas.

SECT. V.—*The Fast at Epiphany.*

Besides these fasts at the four seasons, Philastrius mentions a fast before Epiphany, or rather, as has been observed before, put it in the room of the fast of September. The second Council of Tours takes notice of this, and tells us,^o “It was a fast of three days, and that it was appointed particularly, at that time, in opposition to the heathen festivals, which they were used to observe with a great deal of

^k Conc. Mâcon. I. c. ix. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 968.) Ut a feria S. Martini usque ad natale Domini, secunda, quarta, et sexta Sabbati jejunetur, et sacrificia quadragesimali debeant ordine celebrari. In quibus diebus canones legendos esse speciali definitione sancimus, ut nullus se fateatur per ignorantiam deliquisse.

^l Conc. Turon. II. c. xvii. (ibid. vol. v. p. 856.) De Decembri usque ad natale Domini omni die jejunent.

^m Conc. Saiegunstad. c. ii. (ibid. vol. ix. p. 845.) In Decembri illud observandum erit, ut proximo Sabbato ante vigiliam natalis Domini celebretur jejunium.

ⁿ Conc. Oxon. c. viii. (ibid. vol. xi. p. 275.) In proxima septimana integra ante natalem Domini [jejunandum].

^o Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (ibid. vol. v. p. 856.) Inter natale Domini et Epiphania omni die festivitates sunt. Excipitur triduum illud, quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudinem patres nostri statuerunt privatas in Kalendis Januariis fieri litanias, &c.

corruption and licentious revellings for three days together: which three days, therefore, the fathers rather chose to make days of abstinence and private Litanies, to restrain the people from running into the extravagant riots and excesses of the heathen: so that New-year's-day, or Circumcision, was rather kept as a fast than a festival, for several ages, in the Church. For it appears, from the foresaid council, that the Kalends of January was included in the three days, which was called the Epiphany-fast.

SECT. VI. — *Of Monthly Fasts.*

In some places they had also monthly fasts throughout the year, except in the two months of July and August. Thus it was in Spain, by an order of the Council of Eliberis, which orders,^p “That extraordinary fasts should be celebrated every month, except those two, because of the sickness of the season.” That these were something more than the ordinary fasts of Wednesday and Friday, seems evident from the name that is given them of fasts of superposition, which in this place denotes not the length of the fast, but the newness of the imposition, as Albaspinæus^q observes upon the place; though what sort of fasts they were is not very easy to determine. If I may be allowed to conjecture in an obscure matter, I should conclude this superposition of fasts was the addition of Monday to Wednesday and Friday, because we find it so in one of the French^r councils, which, ordering the manner of fasting in several months of

^p Conc. Illiber. c. xxiii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 973.) Jejuniorum superpositiones per singulos menses placuit celebrari, exceptis diebus duorum mensium Julii et Augusti, ob quorundam infirmitatem.

^q Albaspin. in loc. (ibid. vol. i. p. 993.) Jejunia ‘superponere’ est jejunia de novo imponere et indicare: quæ autem fuerint illa jejunia, quæ singulis mensibus, præter stationes feriæ sextæ et Sabbati, superimposita essent in Hispania, non facile est dicere, quum ea peculiari quadam lege et consuetudine celebrarentur in illa provincia.

^r Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (xvii.) (ibid. vol. v. p. 856.) Post Quinquagesimam tota hebdomade ex asse [exacte] jejunent. Postea usque ad Kalendas Augusti ter in septimana jejunent, secunda, quarta, et sexta die, exceptis his, qui aliqua infirmitate constricti sunt. In Augusto, quia quotidie missæ sanctorum sunt, prandium habeant. In Septembri toto, et Octobri, et Novembri, sicut prius dictum est, ter in septimana.

the year for those of the ascetic life, appoints them to fast three times a-week, viz. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from Pentecost till August; and so again for the months of September, October, and November. But August is excepted, because in this month every day almost was celebrated as the festival of some martyr,^a with the manication, or morning-service, proper to a festival. Besides, that the Council of Eliberis itself, in another canon,^t introducing the Saturday-fast into Spain, which before was used to be a festival, for that reason calls it a fast of superposition, because it was newly taken into use in Spain, after the example of the Church of Rome. But if this conjecture about monthly and superpository fasts be not satisfactory, every reader is at liberty to judge for himself upon better light and information.

SECT. VII. — *The Original of the Four Ember-Weeks, or Ordination-Fasts.*

Some think the ember-weeks, or ordination-fasts, were the same with the fasts of the four seasons, and therefore commonly take it for granted, that what proves the one, proves the other also. But I have formerly had occasion to shew,^u that for several ages there were no certain times of ordination settled by the Church; but that she ordained persons to all offices and degrees at any time, as the necessity of affairs required. And when the fasts of the four seasons were first instituted, they were appointed for other ends, and not upon the account of ordinations: because the ordinations in the Church of Rome were still performed in December only, after the fasts of the four seasons were in use, till Simplicius, about the year 467, added February to December. This is noted by Amalarius Fortunatus,^v as I have shewed

^a Conc. Turon. II. c. xix. (xviii.) (Labbé, vol. v. p. 858, B. 5.) Toto Augusto manicationes fiant, quia festivitates sunt et missæ Sanctorum.

^t Conc. Illiber. c. xxvi. (ibid. vol. i. p. 973.) Errorem placuit corrigi, ut omni Sabbati die jejuniorum superpositionem celebremus.

^u Book iv. chap. vi. sect. vi.

^v Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. i. (In Bibl. Patr. tom. xiv. p. 968.) Primi apostoli, semper in Decembrio mense, in quo nativitas Domini nostri Jesu Christi celebratur, consecrationes ministrabant, usque ad Simplicium, qui fuit a B. Petro quadragessimus nonus. Ipse primus sacravit in Februario.

before : and Mr. Wharton tells us^w he found the same remark made by Ivo Carnotensis, in a manuscript book of his Ecclesiastical Offices. The Council of Mentz, in the time of Charles the Great, mentions the fasts of the four seasons;^x and fixes them to the first week in March, the second week in June, the third week in September, and the week in December that comes immediately before Christmas-day : but yet says nothing of their being ember-weeks, or the fasts of ordination. And some think Gregory VII. was the first that ordered the ordination-fasts, and the fasts of the four seasons, to concur exactly together ; before which time, as the seasons of ordination were arbitrary and movable, so were the fasts that depended on them, which were always of use in the Church, though not always fixed to four certain seasons.

SECT. VIII.—*The Original of the Rogation-Fast.*

About the middle of the fifth century, there was a new fast begun in France, by Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, under the name of the ‘ lityny,’ or ‘ rogation-days,’ which were the three days immediately before Ascension-day, in the middle of Pentecost. The affixing of a fast to these days was altogether new, because heretofore the whole fifty days of Pentecost were one entire festival, and all fasting and kneeling were prohibited at this time, as has been shewed in the last Book.^y Supplications, or litanies, were in use before upon extraordinary occasions, but Mamercus was the first that fixed them to these days : and many Churches in the West

^w Wharton, Auctar. ad Usser. Hist. Dogmat. de Scriptura et Sacris Vernaculis, p. 363. Omnes apostolicos a Beato Petro usque ad Simplicium papam ordinationes tantum in jejuniis Decembris celebrasse adnotavit Ivo Carnotensis in libro de Ecclesiasticis Officiis MS.

^x Conc. Mogunt. c. xxxiv. (Labbé, vol. vii. p. 1249.) Constituimus, ut quatuor tempora anni ab omnibus cum jejuniis observentur, id est, in mense Martio hebdomada prima : et feria iv. et vi. et Sabbato veniant omnes ad ecclesiam, hora nona, cum litiis ad missarum solennia. Similiter in mense Junio hebdomada secunda, feria iv. et vi. et Sabbato jejunetur usque ad horam nonam, et a carne ab omnibus absteineatur. Similiter in mense Septembrio tertia, et in mense Decembrio hebdomada, quæ fuerit plena ante vigiliam natalis Domini, sicut est in Romana ecclesia traditum.

^y Book xx. chap. vi. p. 117.

followed his example, as Sidonius Apollinaris informs us.^a But the Spanish Churches chose rather to stick by the old custom of keeping Pentecost an entire festival: and therefore the Council of Girone ordered that this fast of the rogation-days should rather be kept in the week after Pentecost;^a and appointed another such litany, or rogation-fast, to be kept on the Kalends, or first day of November, which is now become the festival of All Saints, transferred from Trinity-Sunday. The fifth and sixth Councils of Toledo appointed another litany-fast to be kept on the Ides, or thirteenth day of December.^b And the seventeenth Council of Toledo (an. 694) made a more general decree,^c “ That

^a Sidon. lib. v. ep. xiv. Quidquid illud est, quod vel otio, vel negotio vacas, in urbem tamen rogationum contemplatione revocare: quorum nobis solennitatem primus Mamercus pater, et pontifex, reverentissimo exemplo, utilissimo experimento, invenit, instituit, inexit. Erant quidem prius (quod salva fidei pace sit dictum) vagæ, tepentes, infrequentesque, utque sic dixerim, obscuræ supplicationes, quæ sæpe interpellantium prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres, aut serenitatem deprecaturæ, ad quas (ut nihil amplius dicam) figulo pariter atque hortulano non oportuit convenire. In his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, jejunatur, oratur, psallitur, fietur. (Paris. 1609, p. 352.) — Id. lib. vii. Epist. i. ad Mamercum. Solo invectorum te auctore Rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis instituendisque populus Arvernus, etsi non effectui pari, adfectu certe non impari cæpit initiari. (P. 409.)

^a Conc. Gerund. c. ii. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1568.) De litania, ut expleta solennitate Pentecostes, sequens (ti) septimana, a quinta feria usque in Sabbatum, per hoc triduum abstinencia celebretur. — Can. iii. Item secundæ litaniæ faciendæ sunt Kalendis Novembris, ea tamen conditione servata, ut si iisdem diebus Dominica intercesserit, in alia hebdomada, secundum prioris abstinenciæ observantiam, a quinta feria incipiantur, et in Sabbat-o(-i) vespere missa facta finiantur. Quibus tamen diebus a carnibus et a vino abstinendum decrevimus.

^b Conc. Tolet. V. c. i. (ibid. vol. v. p. 1735.) Scilicet ut in cuncto regno a Deo sibi concessio specialis et propria hæc religiosa omni tempore teneatur observantia, ut a die Iduum Decembris litaniæ triduo usque [ubique] annua successione peragantur, et indulgentia delictorum lacrimis impetretur, &c. — Ibid. VI. c. ii. p. 1742. Universalis auctoritate censemus concilii, ut hi dies litaniarum, qui in synodo præmissa sunt instituti, eodem in tempore, quo jussi sunt excoli, annuo recurso omni observantione habeantur celeberrimi, ut pro illis, quibus nunc usque simul implicati sumus delictis, sit nostra expiatio ante oculos Dei omnipotentis.

^c Ibid. XVII. c. vi. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 1367.) Quamquam priscorum Patrum institutio, per totum annum, per singulorum mensium cursum, litaniarum vota decreverit persolvend-um(a), nec tamen specialiter pro quibus causis id ipsum sit peragendum, tamen, quia cooperante humani generis adversario, multa inolevit oberrandi consuetudo, et jurisjurandi transgressio, ideo secundum Evangelistam, qui ait: ‘ Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in tentationem,’ in commune statuentes

such litanies, or rogations, should be used in every month throughout the year." And under this head of monthly fasts, we may conclude that the rogation-fast of Pentecost, though not received at first, might perhaps come at last to be admitted in the Spanish Churches: which yet is not indisputably certain, because Walafridus Strabo, who lived a whole age after this Council, observes of them,^d "That they refused to keep any fast in Pentecost, but put it off till afterward, because it is written, 'The children of the bride-chamber cannot fast, so long as the bridegroom is with them.'" But whether he made this observation of the Spanish Church as it was in his own time, or as it was in former times, when the Council of Girone forbade all fasting in Pentecost, is a little doubtful: and therefore I content myself with bare hinting the thing here,^e and leave it as a matter under dispute, that may admit of further inquiry. For the Greek Church, the thing seems more uncontested, that they never had any rogation-fast in the time of Pentecost. For besides the silence of all the ancient Greek writers about it, Leo Allatius, who was originally a Greek, assures us,^f that the present Greek Church knows nothing of the three rogation-days before Ascension; neither have they any stated fasts between Easter and Pentecost, — no, not so much as the half-fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, which were observed as stationary days in all other parts of the

*decernimus, ut deinceps per totum annum, in cunctis duodecim mensibus, per universas Hispaniæ et Galliarum provincias, pro statu ecclesiæ Dei, pro incolumitate principis nostri, atque salvatione populi, et indulgentia totius peccati, et a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulsionem diaboli, exomologeses votis gliscen-
tibus celebrentur: quatenus dum generalem omnipotens Dominus afflictionem perspexerit, et delictis omnibus miseratus indulgeat, et savientis diaboli incita-
menta ab animis omnium procul efficiat.*

^d Strabo de Offic. Eccles. c. xxvii. Hispani, propter hoc, quod scriptum est, 'Non possunt filii sponsi lugere, quam diu cum illis est sponsus,' infra Quinquagesimam Paschæ recusantes jejunare, litanias suas post Pentecosten posuerunt, quinta, sexta, et septima feriis ejusdem hebdomadis, eas facientes.

^e See more of this Rogation-fast, book xiii. chap. i. sect. x. vol. iv. p. 91.

^f Allat. de Dominicis Hebdomad. Græc. p. 1456. Rogationes triduo ante adscensionem Domini Græcis ignotæ sunt, nec ulla habent stata jejunia inter Pascha et Pentecosten. . . . Immo vero, quum in aliis hebdomadis feria quarta et sexta jejunium præcipiatur, ea jejunia iis etiam feriis solvere concessum est.

year. And both he and Gretser^s reprove those who ascribe the observation of the rogation-fast to them, upon a mistaken ground, as if the word *διακαινήσιμος*, which signifies 'the week after Easter,' or 'the week of renovation,' was to be read *διακενίσιμος*, 'the week of maceration or fasting,' supposing it to be the week of the rogation-fast, when indeed there never was any such fast in use among them. So that as this fast was of no long standing in the Western Church, nor universally received there; so it is plain the Eastern Church knew nothing of it, but always kept Pentecost an entire festival, according to the ancient and general rule of the Church.

^s Allat. *ibid.* Nomen (*διακαινησίμου*) habuit ex sanctissimo resurrectionis Christi triumpho, quo omnia renovantur, instaurantur, et meliorem in statum reducuntur. Hinc apparet, quantum aberrent ii, qui nullo veterum scriptorum testimonio fido *διακαινήσιμον* scribunt; multoque enormius, qui *διακενίσιμον*, quasi diceret 'exinanitioni' dicatum, quia per illud tempus exinaniunt sua corpora et macerant, oraturi Deum pro commoditate anni, et volunt esse hebdomadem rogationum; quos optime refellit Gretserus in Codinum, lib. iii. c. ix. — Gretser. in Codin. lib. iii. c. ix. (p. 246, edit. Paris. 1648.) Male Junius in notis interpretatur *ἰδεμέαδα διακαινησίμου*. Male etiam rationem nominis reddens, ait, eam dici, *διακενίσιμον*, 'exinanitioni dicatam, quia per illud tempus exinaniunt sua corpora et macerant, oraturi Deum pro commoditate anni.' Primum, non scribendum *διακενίσιμος*, sed *διακαινήσιμος*, ut habent exemplaria Alexandri, rituales libri Græcorum, et Codex Bibliothecæ Augustanæ MS. quo continentur evangelia, diebus sacris prælegi solita, quorum initium, *τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς διακαινησίμου*. Quo circa hebdomas *τῆς διακαινησίμου* dicitur quasi 'septimana renovationis,' τοῦ *διακαινησμοῦ*, quum, Christo resurgente, omnia renovata et instaurata fuerint. Secundo, tantum abest, ut hæc hebdomas ab exinanitione jejunantiumque inedia nomen invenerit; ut tota illa hebdomade jejunium solvere moris fuerit. Testis Balsamon (in c. lxi. Apost.) qui quum percensuisset dies, quibus jejunandum est, excipit quartos dies, et Parasceues seu ferias sextas quæ sunt *πρὸ τῆς ἀποκριῶν*, seu *ἀποκριῶν*, ante carnisprivium: et quæ sunt *πρὸ τῆς τυροβάγου*, et hebdomadem *τῆς διακαινησίμου*.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE WEEKLY FASTS OF WEDNESDAYS AND FRIDAYS, OR
THE STATIONARY DAYS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.SECT. I. — *The Original of these Fasts.*

THUS far we have considered the annual fasts of the ancient Church, which were kept at their stated times in the revolution of every year. Beside these, they had their weekly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, called the stationary-days, and half-fasts, and fasts of the fourth and sixth days of the week ; by the Latins, *feria, quarta, et sexta* ; and by the Greeks, *τετράς* and *παρασκευή*. These are certainly as ancient as the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian. For Clemens describing his Gnostic, or perfect Christian, says,^a “ He understands the mystery of the fasts of the fourth and sixth days, which are called by the names of Mercury and Venus among the Gentiles. He therefore fasts all his life from covetousness and lust :” meaning that those were the peculiar vices of Mercury and Venus among the heathen. Not long after, Tertullian,^b disputing against some who were against all religious observation of times and seasons, because of those words of the apostle (Gal. iv. 10), “ Ye observe days and months, and times, and years ;” he thus refutes them from the practice and observation of the whole Church : “ If the apostle has wholly cancelled all observation of times, and days, and months, and years, why do we celebrate the Pasch in its annual return and revolution? Why do we spend the fifty days after in perpetual joy? Why do we set

^a Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 87, edit. Oxon. Οἷδιν αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς νηστείας τὰ αἰνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τῆς τετράδος καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, λίγῳ ἐπισημίζονται γὰρ, ἢ μὴν Ἑρμοῦ ἢ δὲ, Ἀφροδίτης· αὐτίκα νηστεῖν κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλαργυρίας τι ὁμοῦ, καὶ φιληδονίας· ἔξ ὧν αἱ πᾶσαι ἐκθύονται κακίαι.

^b Tertul. de Jej. c. xiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 552, B. 11.) Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium et annorum erasit apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus in annuo circulo, in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Cur stationibus quartam et sextam Sabbati dicamus, et jejuniis Parasceuen?

apart the fourth and sixth days of the week for our stations, and the *Parasceue*, or ‘Friday,’ for our fasts?” In like manner, Origen: “We have the forty days of Lent consecrated to fasting: we have the fourth and sixth days of the week, on which we observe our solemn fasts:” and Victorinus the Martyr,^d who lived in the latter end of the third century, speaks of both these days as religiously observed with fasting, either till nine o’clock, that is, three in the afternoon, or till evening; or by a superposition (as they called it) to the next day. And he particularly tells us, they observed Friday as a stationary day, because it was the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Which is also noted by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who lived in the same age, and died a martyr a little after in the Diocletian persecution. For thus he speaks in one of his canons: “Let no one blame us for observing the fourth day of the week, and the *Parasceue*, or ‘day of preparation,’ viz. Friday, or the sixth day, on which days we have a rational appointment to fast, from ancient tradition: on the fourth day, because the Jews conspired to betray our Lord; and on the preparation, or sixth day, because then our Lord suffered for us.”

^c Origen. Hom. x. in Levitic. tom. i. p. 969, (p. 99, edit. Paris. 1604.) Habemus Quadragesimæ dies jejuniis consecratos. Habemus quartam et sextam septimanæ dies, quibus sollemniter jejunamus.

^d Victorin. de Fabrica Mundi: Cave, Hist. Litt. tom. i. p. 103, (p. 73, edit. Genev. 1693.) Nunc ratio veritatis ostenditur, quare dies quartus ‘tetras’ nuncupatur: quare usque ad horam nonam jejunamus usque ad vesperam, aut superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. . . . Sextus dies ‘Parasceue’ appellatur: hoc quoque die ob passionem Domini Jesu Christi, aut stationem Deo, aut jejunium facimus. (Basil. 1741, vol. i. p. 148.)

^e Petr. Alex. c. xv. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 968.) Οὐκ ἰγκαλίσαι τις ἡμῶν παρασκευαίους τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν, ἢ αἷς καὶ νηστύειν ἡμῶν κατὰ παραδοσιν εὐλόγως προστίτακτο· τὴν μὲν γὰρ τετράδα διὰ τὸ γινόμενον συμβούλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τῇ παραδοσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν, [ἵτι αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔπαθε.] . . .

SECT. II. — *The Reasons of their Institution.*

Many other such testimonies occur in the writers of the fourth and following ages, St. Basil,^f St. Jerom,^g St. Austin,^h Epiphanius,ⁱ and the authors of the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions :^k but those already alleged are most pertinent to shew the antiquity of the observation. Some derive the original of these fasts from apostolical institution. So Epiphanius and the author of the Constitutions. Which, as a learned person rightly observes,^l is a good argument of their antiquity, seeing those authors could derive them from no other fountain but apostolical institution. However, St. Austin does not carry the matter so high, but rather accounts them an appointment of the Church upon reasons

^f Basil. Ep. cclxxxix. (Paris. 1638, vol. iii. p. 279.) 'Ημῶς μὲν τῶν γε τίταρται καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα ποινοῦμεν' ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τιτράδι, ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῇ σαββάτῳ.

^g Hieron. in Galat. iv. 10, (p. 140, edit. Paris. 1643.) Si dies observare non licet, et menses, et tempora, et annos, nos quoque simile crimen incurrimus, quartam Sabbati observantes, et Parasceuen, &c. (Venet. 1769, vol. vii. p. 456, D.)

^h Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. See note below (^m).

ⁱ Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxv. sect. vi. (Colon. 1682, tom. i. p. 910, B. 4.) Τίνι δὲ οὐ συμπιθῶνται ἐν πᾶσι κλίμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅτι τιτράς καὶ προσάββατον νηστεία ἴσθιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὀρισμένη; Εἰ δὲ καὶ χρὴ τὸ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν Ἀποστόλων λέγειν, πῶς ἐκὶ ὀρίζοντο τιτράδα, καὶ προσάββατον νηστείας διὰ παντός, χωρὶς Πινηκοστῆς; — Id. Exposit. Fidei, sect. xxii. Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθῆναι ἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, τιτράδι, καὶ προσάββατῳ, καὶ κυριακῇ· τιτράδι δὲ, καὶ ἐν προσάββατῳ, ἐν νηστείᾳ ἵως ὥρας ἑνῆντες· ἐπιδήσειε ἐπιφωσκούση τιτράδι συνελθόντες ὁ Κύριος, καὶ τῷ προσάββατῳ ἱσταμένῳ, καὶ παρίδωκεν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν ταύταις νηστείαις ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, πληροῦναι τοῦ ῥήτου, "Ὅτι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ θυμὸς, τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἑαίματι ταῖς ἡμέραις" δι' ὅλου μὲν τοῦ ἔτους ἡ νηστεία φυλάττεται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, φημὶ δὲ τιτράδι καὶ προσάββατῳ, ἵως ὥρας ἑνῆντες, διχα μόνος τῆς πιντηκοστῆς ὅλης τῶν πιντηκόντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὗτοι γονυκλισίαι γίνονται, οὗτοι νηστεία προστίθενται.

^k Can. Apost. lxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 40.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, ἡ ἀναγνώστης, ἡ ψάλτης, τὴν ἀγίαν τισσαρακοστὴν οὐ νηστεύει, ἡ τιτράδα, ἡ παρασκευὴν, καθαιρεῖσθω ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν σωματικὴν ἱμποδίζοιτο· ἢ ἐν δὲ λαϊκὸς ἢ, ἀφορίζεσθω. — Constitut. lib. v. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 362, A. 3.) Τιτράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν προστάζειν ἡμῶν νηστείῳ· τὴν δὲ διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ πάθος. — Lib. vii. c. xxiv. p. 426. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἴστωσαν μιτὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν νηστεύουσι γὰρ διυτίρα σαββάτων καὶ πῖμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πίστει νηστεύσατε ἡμέρας, ἡ τιτράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν.

^l Bever. Cod. Canon. Vindic. lib. iii. c. x. sect. ii.

taken out of the Gospel. "This reason," says he,^m "may be given why the Church fasts chiefly on the fourth and sixth days of the week; because it appears, upon considering the Gospel, that on the fourth day, which we commonly call *feria quarta*, the Jews took counsel to kill our Lord: and on the sixth day our Lord suffered. For which reason, the sixth day is rightly appointed a fast." Peter, bishop of Alexandria,ⁿ assigns the same reason for the observation of these fasts; and so does the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, and Victorinus Martyr, in the passages already cited. So that whatever original these fasts had in point of time, the ancients seem generally to agree in the reason of their institution, that they were made fasts in regard to our Saviour's being betrayed and crucified on these days, which the Churches thought proper to be kept in perpetual remembrance by the return of a weekly observati^on.

SECT. III. — *How they differed from the Lent-Fast, and all others, in Point of Duration.*

But we are to note, that these fasts, being of continual use every week throughout the year, except in the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, were not kept with that rigour and strictness which was observed in the time of Lent. For the Lent-fast, as has been shewed before, commonly held till evening every day that it was observed: but these weekly fasts ordinarily held no longer than nine o'clock, that is, three in the afternoon, unless any chose voluntarily to protract them till the evening, or by a superposition (as Victorinus Martyr phrases it) extended them to the morning of the next day. And for this reason, they are

^m Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 61, A. 10.) Cur quarta et sexta maxime jejundet ecclesia, illa ratio reddi videtur, quod considerato evangelio, ipsa quarta Sabbati, quam vulgo quartam feriam vocant, consilium repერიuntur ad occidendum Dominum fecisse Judæi. Intermissio autem uno die, cujus vespera Dominus cum discipulis manducavit, qui finis fuit ejus diei, quem vocamus quintam Sabbati, deinde traditus est ea nocte, quæ jam ad sextam Sabbati, qui dies passionis ejus manifestus est, pertinebat. . . . Hoc ergo die intermisso, passus est Dominus (quod nullus ambigit) sexta Sabbati: quapropter et ipsa sexta recte jejuni^o deputatur.

ⁿ Petr. Alexandr. c. xv. See before, note (e), p. 248.

commonly spoken of by the distinguishing names of *stationes et semijejunia*, ‘stations and half-fasts;’ because on these days they continued the church-assemblies till three o’clock in the afternoon, and no longer; whereas a perfect and complete fast was never reckoned to end before evening. Tertullian often speaks of them under these covert appellations, in many places besides that already cited. In one place,^o he styles them *stationum semijejunia*, ‘the half-fasts of the stations.’ In other places,^p he distinguishes three sorts of abstinence under the names of *jejunationes*, *xerophagiæ*, *stationes*. Where by *jejunationes*, he understands ‘the complete fasts,’ which held till evening; by *xerophagiæ*, ‘the abstaining from flesh, and living upon dry meats;’ and by *stationes*, ‘the fasts till nine o’clock.’ Which he therefore calls *officia*^q *recusati vel recisi vel retardati pabuli*, ‘the offices of wholly refusing meat till evening; or retrenching it to live upon dry meats—bread and water; or retarding the meal till nine o’clock.’ And again,^r “The bridling of the appetite, *per nullas interdum, vel seras, vel aridas escas*,” either by wholly abstaining from meat till evening, or by deferring the meal to a late hour, that is, three in the afternoon; or by abstaining from flesh, and feeding only upon dry meats, bread and water. In all which distinctions any one may plainly discern, that the stations and half-fasts are put to denote the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday, which, among the Catholics, held only till nine o’clock,

^o Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiii. (Paris. 1664, p. 551.) Ecce conveniꝑ vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatuꝑ est sponsuꝑ, et stationuꝑ semijejunia interponentes, et vero interdum pane et aqua victitantes, ut cuique visum est.

^p Ibid. c. i. (ibid. p. 554, B. 5) Arguunt nos, quod jejunia propria custodiamuꝑ; quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producamuꝑ; quod etiam xerophagias observemus, siccantes cibum ab omni carne, et omni jurulentia, et uvidioribus quibusque pomis; ne quid vinositatis vel edamus vel potemus.—Cap. xi. 550, B. 4. Propterea per singulas direximꝑ species jejunationuꝑ, xerophagiaruꝑ, stationuꝑ, ut, dum recensemꝑ secundum utriusque Testamenti paraturam, quantum proficiant recusati vel recisi vel retardati pabuli officia, eos retardamus qui hæc velut vacantia infirmant.

^q Ibid. c. xi. See previous note.

^r Ibid. c. i. Disciplinam gulæ frenos induentem per nullas interdum vel seras vel aridas escas. (P. 544, A. 9.)

though Tertullian and the Montanists pleaded stiffly for having them protracted till the evening, urging a new revelation and authority from the Holy Ghost for such imposition. But the Church kept constant to her ancient practice, continuing these fasts to nine o'clock, and no longer, as appears from the account which Epiphanius gives of them in his own time, speaking of the customs of the Catholic Church: "On the fourth and sixth days of the week," says he,^s "we continue fasting to the ninth hour." And again, "On the fourth and sixth days throughout the whole year, except in the fifty days of Pentecost, a fast is kept in the holy Catholic Church to the ninth hour." And, therefore, Prudentius, describing the passion of Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr, brings him in thus, answering for himself,^t "We keep fast to-day; I cannot drink: the ninth hour is not yet come." Where he plainly refers to the hour of the day, to which these stationary fasts continued. And in another place,^u "It is now near the ninth hour, and the sun begins to decline: three parts of the day are scarce ended, and the fourth remains. We now offer up our prayers and receive the eucharist; and then we break off our festival, and go to our ordinary refreshment." In which words, the festival denotes one of these stationary days, on which they held religious assemblies in the Church, offered up their devotions, received the eucharist, and then at nine o'clock broke up the assembly, and went to their ordinary meal.

^s Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. sect. xxii. See sect. ii. note (1), p. 249.

^t Prudent. Peristeph. Hymn. vi. (Valpy, vol. i. p. 279.)—

Jejunamus, ait; recuso potum:

Nondum nona diem resignat hora.

^u Ibid. Cathemerin. Hymn. viii. (Valpy, vol. i. p. 120.)—

10 Nona submissum rotat hora solem,

Partibus vix dum tribus evolutis,

Quarta devexo superest in axe

Portio lucis.

Nos brevis voti, dape vindicata,

15 Solvimus festum, fruimurque mensis

Adfatim plenis, quibus imbuatur

Prona voluptas.

SECT. IV.—*With what Solemnity they were observed.*

And hence we learn, that these stationary days were not only observed with fasting, but with religious assemblies, and solemn devotions in the Church, with receiving the eucharist, and the usual service of the Lord's-day in all particulars, save that the sermon, perhaps, was omitted, which was never omitted on the Lord's-day. St. Ambrose, exhorting his hearers to observe the usual fasts of the Church, gives a like account of the service of these stationary days. For the fast of Lent, he exhorts them to put off their meal to the end * of the day, because that was the regular way of observing Lent; but there were many other days on which they were to come to church presently after noon, and sing their hymns, and celebrate the oblation or eucharist, and then their fast was ended. In which words, as he plainly intimates that the fast of the stationary days was shorter than that of Lent, so he expressly affirms, "That on those days they held religious assemblies at church in the afternoon, and there exercised themselves in singing of hymns and receiving the encharist." Which is the same account as is given by Tertullian, St. Basil, and Socrates (as I have had occasion to note elsewhere*), only with this difference, that Socrates says, "At Alexandria they had sermons on these days, and all the other service of the Church, but not the communion; in which that church was singular, and differing from the practice of all other churches."

SECT. V.—*How the Catholics and Montanists disputed about the Observation of them.*

However, this difference in this matter, nor in any other customs and usages of the like nature, raised no dispute in the Catholic Church, because the things were indifferent in themselves, and the Church always practised them with a

* Ambros. Hom. viii. in Psalm. cxviii. vers. 62, (Paris. 1836. vol. ii. p. 288.) Differ aliquantulum, non longe est finis diei: immo plerique sunt ejusmodi dies; ut statim meridianis horis adveniendum sit in ecclesiam, canendi hymni, celebranda oblatio.

* Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. ii. vol. iv. p. 352.

just regard to Christian liberty, having no express command for them in the word of God. The Church never tied them upon men's consciences as Divine injunctions, but only as laudable ecclesiastical institutions, or, at most, as customs descending from ancient tradition, and (in the opinion of some) from apostolical practice. Therefore, though the greatest persons readily observed them (as Socrates observes of Theodosius Junior,' "That he fasted often, especially upon Wednesdays and Fridays, which he did with an earnest desire," ἄκρως Χριστιανίζειν, 'to live up to the height of Christian perfection'), yet if men's infirmities or employments would not suffer them to go so far as others in the observation of these days, a just allowance was made, and no severity of ecclesiastical censure, further than admonition, passed upon them. The clergy, indeed, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and all inferior orders belonging to the Church, are by some canons* obliged to observe these and other fasts under pain of deposition and degradation: and this was thought not unreasonable, because they had ordinarily no other employment but assiduously to attend the service of the Church. But even this would not satisfy the wild and enthusiastic rigour of the Montanists: for they extended these fasts from morning till evening, and would oblige all men to observe them in that extent, not as ordinary usages and customs of the Church, but as necessary and indispensable Divine injunctions, lately given to the world by the new inspiration of the Holy Ghost speaking in their great prophet Montanus, who, as they pretended, had authority from God to give more perfect laws and rules of living to the Church, than any that were delivered by the apostles. This was the dispute between them and the Church, as appears from Tertullian's book *De Jejuniis adversus Psychicos*, 'Of Fasting against the Carnal,' as he slanderously and contumeliously terms the Catholics, whilst he wrote against the Church in

* Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 294, D. 4.) Κατεγὼς δὲ οὕτως ἦν, ὡς καὶ κρύος καὶ καῦμα γυναικῶς ὑπομένειν· ἡστυεύειν τὶ τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς καλούμενας τιτράδας καὶ παρασκευὰς ἡμέρας· καὶ τοῦτο ἰσχυρῶς Χριστιανίζειν ἰσχυροδαικώς.

* Can. Apost. lxix. See sect. ii. note (*), p. 249.

defence of the new hypothesis of the Montanists. The dispute was not whether the Church had an ordinary power to appoint days of fasting proper for her own edification. For this she always claimed and practised, as appears from this whole account that has been given of her fasts; and also from what Tertullian says concerning them:^a “That the bishops of the Church, besides the stated and ordinary annual and weekly fasts, were wont sometimes to enjoin their respective charges to observe certain occasional fasts upon emergent necessities of the Church.” But the Montanists pretended to impose their new fasts as Divine laws, by special direction of the Holy Ghost: and therefore it was that Apollonius, an ancient ecclesiastical writer, mentioned by Eusebius,^b charged Montanus as setting up for a law-giver in imposing fasts. Which imposing fasts by a law, must import his presuming to command fasts as of necessary obligation by Divine precept, and as peculiar dictates from the new pretended inspirations of the Holy Ghost. For, otherwise, the bishops of the Church would have been chargeable with the same crime; because it is certain they appointed fasts, both occasional and constant, yet with just liberties of human laws, for the benefit and edification of the Church. And herein, I conceive, consisted the true difference between them: the one had a just authority to make proper rules about fasting for order and edification, and used their authority only for that end, keeping within their proper bounds; but the other had no authority at all, being no governors or rulers of the Church, and yet pretended to a Divine authority to impose necessary and universal laws of fasting upon the Church, as by the peculiar impulse and direction of the Holy Ghost. And upon this they made a schism, and set up a new communion and conventicles in opposition to the Church, because she would not comply with their pretended oracles and inspirations, which she knew proceeded only from the spirit of imposture.

^a Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiii. Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent; interdum ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa. (Paris. 1664, p. 551, C. 4.)

^b Ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 149, D. 6.) Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ νόμος ὁ νομοθετήσας.

SECT. VI. — *How the Wednesday Fast came to be changed to Saturday in the Western Churches.*

I have but one thing more to observe concerning these weekly fasts, which is, the change that was made of one of them from Wednesday to Saturday in the Western Churches. In the Eastern Church, Saturday, or the Sabbath, was always observed as a festival: and so some learned men think it was originally in the Western Church also, as has been shewed before in the last Book.^c However it is certain, that about the time of the Council of Eliberis, Saturday was made a fast in some of the Western Churches: for that Council orders it to be observed as a fast in the Spanish Churches.^d And St. Austin acquaints us,^e “ That it was kept as a fast in his time at Rome, and some other of the Western and African Churches.” So that in all these places, for some time, they kept three fasts in the week by the superposition of Saturday to the other two. But in process of time, the Saturday fast grew more into repute than the Wednesday, which by degrees came to be neglected or omitted; till at last, as a learned person^f has observed, in all churches which embraced the Saturday fast, Wednesday was wholly laid aside.

^c Book xx. chap. iii. sect. vi. vol. vii. p. 60.

^d Conc. Illiber. c. xxvi. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 973.) *Errorrem placuit corrigi, ut omni Sabbati die jejuniorum superpositionem celebremus.*

^e Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. See Book xx. chap. iii. sect. vi. p. 61.

^f Albaspin. Observat. lib. i. c. xiii. *Notandum porro, simul ac Sabbatis jejunari cœptum est, apud Latinos diei Mercurii jejunium desisse, et in Sabbatum transmissum esse.* (Helmest. 1672, p. 59.)

BOOK XXII.

OF THE MARRIAGE-RITES OBSERVED IN THE ANCIENT
CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE HERETICS WHO CONDEMNED OR
VILIFIED MARRIAGE ANCIENTLY, UNDER PRETENCE OF
GREATER PURITY AND PERFECTION; AND OF SUCH ALSO
AS GAVE LICENSE TO COMMUNITY OF WIVES AND FOR-
NICATION.

SECT. I.—*Community of Wives first taught by Simon Magus.*

BEFORE I enter upon the history of the Church's practice in relation to the holy office of matrimony, and the several rites and usages observed in the celebration thereof, it will not be amiss to give a short account of those heretics who, immediately upon the first plantation of the Gospel, set themselves to vilify and condemn marriage, either by openly condemning it, as a thing unlawful under the Gospel, upon pretence that the Gospel required greater purity and perfection; or by granting license for community of wives and promiscuous fornication. Though God had instituted marriage as an honourable state in man's innocency; and our Saviour had allowed it as such, reducing it to its primitive institution; and the apostle had said, "That marriage was honourable in all, and the bed undefiled:" yet, according to the Spirit's prediction, there presently arose some who departed from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry; and others, who taught men to commit fornication with license and impunity. This latter doctrine was immediately broached by Simon Magus, the arch-heretic, against the faith. For, as

St. Austin^a informs us, he taught “the detestable impurity of the promiscuous use of women.” Which is also signified by Epiphanius^b and Irenæus, when they say, “That Simon corrupted venerable marriage by his filthiness in following his own lusts with Helena, his strumpet.” Theodoret^c gives a more particular account of his impiety, telling us the ground of his doctrine; how he taught, that the old prophets were only the servants of the angels who made the world: upon which account he encouraged his followers not to regard them, nor dread the threatenings of the law, but as free to do whatever they listed; because they were to be saved, not by good works, but by grace. And upon the strength of this principle, they who were of his sect, gave themselves up boldly, without restraint, to all manner of lusts and intemperance, often practising magical enchantments and sorcery, as Divine mysteries, to bring about their amorous designs. All which agrees very well with that short account which is given by Damascen,^d and the author of the Predestinarian Heresy, published by Sirmondus, who say,^e that Simon taught the promiscuous use of women without distinction; and that God regarded not chastity, forasmuch as the world was not made by him, but by angels.

^a Aug. de Hæres. c. i. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 4.) Docebat detestandam turpitudinem indifferenter utendi feminis.

^b Epiphanius. Hæres. i. Simon. al. xxi. sect. ii. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 56, B. 9.) Γυναῖκα γὰρ τινὰ ἰαυτῷ ἐνέαμεινος ῥιμῶσα, Ἑλένην τοῦτομα, ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίων ὀρμαιμένην ἄγεται, μὴ ὑποφαίνων συνάφαιαν ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτήν· ἐν παρακύτῳ δὲ αἰσχρότητι συμπεριπλοκόμενος τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ γόης. — Iren. lib. i. c. xx. Hic Helenam quamdam, quam ipse a Tyro civitate Phenices quæstuarium quum redemisset, secum circumducebat, &c.

^c Theodoret. Fabul. Hæretic. lib. i. c. i. tom. iii. pp. 192, 193, (Schulze, vol. iv. p. 288.) Τοὺς δὲ προφῆτας τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑπουργοὺς γενεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσας ἐκίλιους μὴ προσέχιν ἐκείνοις, μηδὲ φρίττειν τῶν νόμων τὰς ἀπειλὰς, ἀλλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτάξεων· οὐ γὰρ διὰ πρᾶξιν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ χάριτος τιυῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας· οὐ δὲ χάριν, οἱ τῆς τούτου συμμερίας πᾶσαν ἐτόλμων ἀσίλγιαν, καὶ μαγγανίας ἐχρῶντο παντοδαπαῖς, ἱερτικὰ ἐπὶ καὶ ἀγώγιμα μηχανώμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς γοντίας ἰδια ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνου μυστήρια.

^d Damascen. de Hæres. p. 576. Simoniaci a Simone Mago, qui Petri apostoli temporibus ex vico Samariæ, qui Githo dictus est, fuit. Hic quum Christi nomen tantum vendicaret, concubitus passim sine delectu corporum docebat.

^e Prædestinat. lib. i. c. i. Dicebat castitatem ad Deum non pertinere; Deum mundum non fecisse.

SECT. II.—*Afterward by Saturnilus and the Nicolaitans, and many others.*

One of the chief of Simon's scholars was Saturnilus, or Saturninus, a Syrian, who confirmed Simon's impurity, as St. Austin says, and that upon the very same foundation,^b viz. "That God did not regard the world, because it was made by certain angels without his knowledge, or against his will." Others say, he condemned matrimony and procreation of children universally; and that he was the first that asserted openly, that marriage was a doctrine and work of the devil. So Irenæus,^c Epiphanius,^b Theodoret,ⁱ and others after them. Perhaps he might maintain both opinions, equally injurious to lawful matrimony: for it has been no unusual thing with men that have stiffly opposed matrimony, to be more favourable to real impurity and fornication.

The Nicolaitans are said, by all writers, to have trod in the steps of Simon Magus, in teaching the liberty of fornication. And this is supposed to be the doctrine and deeds of the Nicolaitans, condemned in the Revelations: for it is certain there were some at that time who taught men to commit fornication, as appears from the reproof given to the angel of the Church of Thyatira (Rev. ii. 20), "Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication." Which makes some learned men think, that the doctrine of Jezebel was the same with that of the Nicolaitans, and that they are but different names of the same persons; for all ecclesiastical writers agree, that the Nicolaitans held this

^f Aug. de Hæres. c. iii. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 5.) Saturninus turpitudinem Simonianam in Syria confirmasse perhibetur: qui etiam mundum solos angelos septem præter conscientiam Dei Patris fecisse dicebat.

^g Iren. lib. i. c. xxii. Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse.

^h Epiphanius. Hæres. xxiii. sect. ii. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 63, at bottom.) Τὸ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ γινῆναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἀγύρτης ἐκ τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὑπαρχῶν λίγυ.

ⁱ Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. i. c. iii. (Schulze, Hal. vol. iv. p. 291.) Τὸν δὲ γάμον οὗτος πρῶτος τοῦ διαβόλου διδασκαλίαν ἀνέμασι.

doctrine. Irenæus,^k Tertullian,^l and Epiphanius,^m make Nicolaus, one of the seven deacons, to be the author of it. But others excuse him, and say, it was a doctrine taken up by those who pretended to be his followers, grounded upon some mistaken words of his, which had no such meaning. So Clemens Alexandrinusⁿ more than once apologizes for him: and, in like manner, Eusebius,^o Theodoret,^p and St. Austin.^q But it is agreed on all hands, that either he or

^k Iren. lib. i. c. xxvii. Nicolaitæ magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex septem, qui primi ad diaconium ab apostolis ordinati sunt: qui indiscrete vivunt.

^l Tertul. de Præscript. c. xlvii. (Paris. 1664, p. 220, A. 2.) Alter hæreticus Nicolaus emersit: hic de septem diaconis, qui in Actis Apostolorum allecti sunt, fuit.

^m Epiphani. Hæres. xxv. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 76.) Νικόλαος γίγονεν ἐξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσθτὰ διακόνων, . . . ὕστερον δὲ τοῦτον ὁπίθω ὁ διάβολος, καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν τῇ αὐτῇ πλάνῃ τῶν προειρημένων παλαιῶν, καταστρωθῆναι μιζῶνς ἐπὶ τοῦς πρῶτον. κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Clem. Alex. Stromat. ii. pp. 490, 491. (Lips. 1831, vol. ii. p. 193.) Τοιοῦτον δὲ καὶ οἱ φάσκοντες ἑαυτοὺς Νικολάῳ ἴμισθαι, ἀπομνημονεύματι τι τέκδρος φέροντες ἐκ παρατροπῆς, τὸ δὲν παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γυναιὸς κελούει διὰ ἰδέου τὰς τι ἡδονὰς, τὰς τι ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ τῇ ἀσκήσει ταύτῃ καταμαρμαίνουσι τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἰσχύας τι καὶ ἐπιθίσεις. — Id. Stromat. iii. pp. 522, 523. (Lips. 225.) Ἐπιμνησθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ Καρποκράτην ἀθέτου γυναικῶν κοινωνίας, περὶ τι τῆς Νικολάου ῥήσιος διαλιχθέντες, ἐκείνῳ παραλείπονται. ὁραίαν, φασί, γυναῖκα ἔχων οὗτος, μετὰ τὴν ἀκλήψιν τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιδοθείς ζηλοτυπίας, εἰς μίσην ἀγαγὼν τὴν γυναῖκα, γῆμαι τῇ βουλομένην ἐτίσσειν ἀκόλουθον γὰρ εἶναι φασί τὴν πρῶτην ταύτην ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ, ὅτι παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δι' καὶ δὴ κατακολουθήσαντες αὐτῇ γινόμενῃ τῷ τι ἐρημίνῃ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀκατανίστως, ἐκπορεύουσιν ἀναιδῆν, οἱ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ μισούντες. Πυνθάνομαι δ' ἔγωγε τὸν Νικόλαον μηδεμίᾳ ἰδέῃ, παρ' ἣν ἔγωμος, κυχρῆσθαι γυναικί· τῶν γ' ἐκείνου σίανων θηλείας μὲν καταγχεῖσθαι παρθέτους, ἄφθορον δὲ διαμίνειν τὸν υἱόν. ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων, ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἢ εἰς μίσην τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας ἐκκύκλησις γυναικός· καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια τῶν περισπουδαστῶν ἡδονῶν, τὸ παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ ἰδιδασκιν.

^o Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxix. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 81.) Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴτα καὶ ἡ λιγομένη τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις, ἐπὶ συμκρίτατον συνίστη χεῖρον· ἥς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις μνημονεύει. οὗτοι Νικόλαοι ἦναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σίφωνα διακόνων πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰνδιῶν θρακίᾳ προκιχυρισμένων ἔχοντες. ὅγε μὴν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Κλήμης ἐν τρίτῃ Στοιματίᾳ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λίαν ἰστορεῖ· ὁραίαν, φασί, γυναῖκα ἔχων, κ. τ. λ. See preceding note.

^p Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. iii. c. i. (Schulze, Hal. vol. iv. p. 340.) Ἡ Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἀνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπολασίας συνίστη σαφίστιον δὲ τὰ περὶ ταύτης ὁ Κλήμης ἐδιδάκει, κ. τ. λ.

^q Aug. de Hæres. c. v. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 5.) Nicolaitæ a Nicolao nominati sunt, uno, ut perhibetur, ex illis septem, quos Apostoli diaconos ordinauerunt. Iste quum de zelo pulcherrimæ conjugis culparetur, velut purgandi

his disciples brought in such a doctrine, which is condemned as the doctrine and deeds of the Nicolaitans in the Revelations. Afterwards it was propagated by Prodicus, the author of the impure sect of the Adamites, and by the Carpocratians and Gnostics, of whose impurities I need not stand to make a particular narration.

SECT. III. — *Hence arose the Calumny of the Gentiles against the Christians in general, that they practised Impurity in their Religious Assemblies.*

I only observe, that from these vile practices of the sects under the name of Christians, arose that common charge of the heathens against the Christians in general, That they practised impurities in their religious assemblies. For some of these sects not only made a common practice of fornication and uncleanness, but adopted them into the mysteries of their religion. Clemens Alexandrinus^r particularly charges it upon the Carpocratians; and Theodoret^s upon the Adamites, the followers of Prodicus, who was a disciple of Carpo- crates. Epiphanius^t and St. Austin add to these the Gnostics: concerning whom St. Austin remarks,^u "That as they went

se causa permisisse fertur, ut ea, qui vellet, uteretur. Quod ejus factum in sectam turpissimam verum est, qua placet usus indifferens feminarum.

^r Clem. Strom. p. 511. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Καρποκράτους καὶ Ἐπιφάνους ἀναγόμενοι, κοινὰς εἶναι γυναῖκας ἀξιοῦσιν· ἐξ ὧν ἡ μυστήριον κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἱερὴν βλασφημία. — Philastr. Hæres. x. (Bibl. Patr. tom. v. pp. 707, 708, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Floriani sive Carpocratiani, dicuntur negantes judicium atque resurrectionem, Christum natum de virgine non credentes, omnemque resurrectionem in filiorum procreatione nefandi coitus æstimantes consistere, ut in ecclesia sua post occasionem solis lucernis extinctis misceri cum mulierculis non dubitaverint, legis præceptum implere putantes, 'Crescimini et multiplicamini.' Judaismo potius et Paganitati parere nefandæ, quam Christianæ veritati acquiescere properantes, pecudumque potius vitam et amentiam detinentes, quos et scriptura vitæ pecudum comparavit.

^s Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. i. c. vi. (Schulze, Hal. vol. iv. p. 295.) Προδικὸς δὲ τοῦτον διαδιδάσκων τὴν τῶν καλουμένων Ἀδαμιτῶν συνστάσας αἵρεσιν· οὗτος προφανῶς λαγνυῖν τοῖς Καρποκράτους προστίθει δόγμασιν κοινὰς γὰρ εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐνομοθίσαι· οὗ δὲ χάριν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς δόγμασι μόνον τὸ λυχναιὸν φῶς ἐκπαδὸν ποιούμενοι, ἥτις ἂν ἱκανὸς ἐπίτυχς συνιμίγνυτο· ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τιελήσας τὴν τοιαύτην ἀνελασίαν ὑπεκλήφισαν μυστικήν.

^t Epiphani. Hæres. xxvi. sect. iii. p. 84, D. Αὐτὴν τὴν εὐνάην αὐτῶν ἐν αἰσχροτέῳ πολυμυξίας φέρουσιν. — Id. sect. iv. tot.

^u Aug. de Hæres. c. vi. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 5.) Nonnulli eos etiam

by different names in different parts of the world, some called them *Borboritæ*, ‘wallowers in the mire,’ because of their extreme impurity, which they were said to exercise in their mysteries.” And of Carpocrates, the father of the Carpocratians, he remarks,^x how he taught all manner of filthiness and invention of evil, saying, “That this was the only way to escape and pass safe by the principalities and powers of the air, who were pleased therewith, that so men might come to the highest heaven.” Now these were doctrines of devils indeed, scarce heard of among the Gentiles, that a man should commit lewdness with his father’s wife, and that men should do evil that good might come; and that the best way to escape the devils’ power was to become slaves to them, and do the things that pleased them. Wherefore the heathens, knowing that such things were taught and practised among heretics, who went under the name of Christian, made no distinction, but threw the charge upon all Christians in general: and so, “By reason of their pernicious ways” (or, as some copies read it, 2 Pet. ii. 2, “their lascivious ways”) “the way of truth was evil spoken of.”

SECT. IV. — *These Doctrines being fetched from the very Dregs of Gentilism, and Scandalous in the Eyes of Sober Heathens.*

And this was done so much the more plausibly and with a better grace, because there were but few among the heathen themselves that allowed such practices. The doctrines were fetched by heretics from the very dregs of Gentilism, and they were scandalous in the eyes of all wise and sober heathens. Some of the more barbarous nations, indeed, allowed of community of wives, and practised promiscuous adultery. Solinus Polyhistor affirms it of the Ethiopians, called Garamantes;^y and Julius Cæsar gives the same

Borboritas vocant, quasi cœnosos, propter nimiam turpitudinem, quam in suis mysteriis exercere dicuntur.

^x Aug. de Hæres. c. vii. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 5.) Carpocrates docebat omnem turpem operationem, omnemque adinventionem peccati: nec aliter evadi atque transiri principatus ac potestates, quibus hæc placent, ut possit ad cælum superius perveniri.

^y Solin. c. xliii. Garamantici Æthiopes matrimonia privatim nesciunt, sed omnibus vulgo in Venerem licet. Inde est, quod filios matres tantum recognoscunt.

account of the Britons :^a but in all the civilized part of the world, throughout the whole Roman empire, we meet with but one instance of it in the Heliopolitans of Phœnicia, among whom, by the law of their country, Socrates says,^a all women were common ; so that no child knew his own father, because no distinction was made between parents and children. They also gave their virgins to be defiled by all strangers that came among them. And this iniquity, established by a law, continued among them till Constantine abrogated it by a contrary law, and builded them churches, and settled a bishop and clergy among them : by which means they were converted to Christianity, and brought to the orderly course of the rest of mankind in this particular, which was always reckoned scandalous among the very Gentiles. For Solinus, describing the lasciviousness of the Garamantes, which made that no child could know his own father, nor have any reverence for him, says,^b “ Upon this account the Garamantes were reckoned a degenerate people among all nations ; and that not without reason, because they had destroyed the discipline of chastity, and, by that wicked custom, lost all knowledge of succession among them.” It is true, indeed, Plato is generally accused by the ancient writers of the Church for saying, that “ a community of wives ought to be established in his commonwealth.” The charge is brought against him by Theophilus,^c bishop of

^a Cæsar. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 14, (Oberlin. p. 155.) *Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, et parentes cum liberis.*

^a Socrat. lib. i. c. xviii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 41, A. 3.) Κοινὰς γὰρ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐγχώριος νόμος ἐκίλει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφίκολα μὲν ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ σικτόμενα· γυναικῶν γὰρ καὶ τέκνων οὐδὲμία διάκρισις ἦν· τὰς δὲ παρθέτους τοῖς παρθεῦσι ζῖνοις παρῆχον πορνείσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἐρχαίου κρεατοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς λῦσαι ἰσποῦσαι [ὁ βασιλεὺς]· νόμος γὰρ σιμνῇ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἀνελὼν τὸ μῦθος, τὰ γίνη ἱκαντὰ ἰππινιώσκειν παρῖσκέουσιν· ἱκκλησίας τι κτίσας, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθῆναι παρῖσκέουσαι, καὶ πλῆρον ἱερῶν οὕτω τὰ Ἑλιουπολιτῶν κακὰ μεταρτίωτα ἀπεργάσαντο.

^b Solin. c. xxx. *Ea propter Garamantici Æthiopes inter omnes populos degeneres habentur : nec immerito, quia adfecta castitatis disciplina, successionis notitiam ritu improbo perdidierunt.*

^c Theophil. ad Autolyc. lib. iii. p. 207, (p. 120, ad calcem Justin. Martyr. edit. Paris. 1636.) Πρῶτός γε Πλάτων, ὁ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σιμνότερον φιλοσοφικῶσαι, διαβήθη ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἱππινεαφομίην, τρέψῃ τι

Antioch, first of all: then by St. Jerom,^d Chrysostom,^e and Theodoret.^f But if what Clemens Alexandrinus pleads in his behalf be true, there must be some mistake in the accusation. For he says,^g “Plato did not teach the community of wives after they married, but only that the world was like a theatre, which is common to all spectators: so women, before they were married, were any man’s right that could obtain them; but after they were married, they were each man’s property, and no longer common.” But be this matter as it will, it is certain the main current of the heathen laws was against such practices; and therefore it was the more abominable for heretics to introduce them into the purest of all religions, which was so much a friend to lawful marriage, and so great an enemy to all uncleanness.

SECT. V.—*Marriage condemned as unlawful by Tatian and the Encratites.*

But these were not the only heretics that infested the Christian Church upon this point. There were others who

νομοθετῶ εἶναι κοινὰς ἀπάντων γυναῖκας, χρώμενος παραδείγματι τῷ Διὶ, καὶ Κρητῶν νομοθετῶν, ὅπως διὰ προφάσεως παιδοποιεῖα πολλὰ γίνηται ἐκ τῶν τεινόντων, καὶ ὡς ᾄδῃσι τοὺς λυπομένους διὰ τεινόντων ἐμυλῶν, χρεῖν παραμυθίσθαι. (Venet. 1747, p. 410, A. 3.)

^d Hieron. Epist. ad Ocean. lib. ii. adversus Jovin. (c. vi. p. 365, a. edit. Paris. 1643.) (Venet. vol. ii. p. 335.) Scotorum natio uxores proprias non habet: et quasi Platonis Politiam legerit, et Catonis sectetur exemplum, nulla apud eos conjux propria est: sed ut cuique libitum fuerit, pecudum more lascivunt.

^e Chrysostom. Hom. v. in Titum, p. 1724, line 8, (p. 657, edit. Francof.) Καὶ ὁ Θευμαστὴς αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος νομοθετῶν, δούλῳ ἐξῆναι μὴτι παιδιδραστῶν, μὴτι ξεραλειφῶν ὡς γὰρ ἱσαρίτου τοῦ πρῶτος ὄντος, καὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντος τιμὴν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰσ' οἰκήματος ἐιστήκυσαν φανερῶς τοῦτο ποιῶντες, κ.τ.λ.—Id. Hom. iv. in Act. (p. 45, edit. cit.) Κοιταί, φησὶν, αἱ γυναῖκες ἴστωσαν, καὶ γιγνόμεναι παρῆναι ἰσ' ὅψωι τῶν ἱσαρῶν παλαίωσαν, καὶ κοινοὶ πατέρες ἴστωσαν, καὶ οἱ σικτόμενοι παῖδες.

^f Theodoret. de Curand. Græcor. Adfect. Serm. ix. tom. iv. p. 611, (Schulze, Hal. vol. iv. p. 930.) Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Λυκοῦργος, τῶν νομοθετῶν ὁ ἄριστος, ὡς δεκτὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοῖς, διηγόρευεν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς οἱ τὴν Λακιδαιμονίαν πολιτείαν ἐυγενεραφότες φασὶν, ἐξῆναι καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξιν, ἥδη διεκαμένους τὸν τοῦ γάμου ζυγὸν, ταῖς μὲν, ἐξ ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς δὲ, ἐκ γυναικῶν ἰστέροις ἀνδράσι ζυγεζυγμένων, παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι, ἀδελφῶν μιγνυμένοις· καὶ Πλάτων καὶ σὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπλασθῆναι πόλιν κατὰ τούτους προστάξεις πολιτεύεσθαι.

^g Clem. Alex. Stromat. iii. c. ii. p. 514, edit. Oxon. Δεκτὶ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος παρακρηνοῖα, ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ φαρμικῶν, κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας πάντων·

railed at marriage as simply unlawful under the Gospel; and would have all men abstain from it as a matter of necessity, without which they could not be saved. This doctrine was first taught by Saturninus and Marcion, as Irenæus informs us,^b but afterwards better known among the Encratites, a sect begun by Tatian, the scholar of Justin Martyr; who, after his master's death, divided from the Church upon this and some other points, asserting that marriage was no better than fornication; and therefore all men ought to abstain from it: "Thereby," says our author, "annulling the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who created man, male and female, for the propagation of mankind." Epiphanius speaking of these Encratites, says,ⁱ "They taught openly that marriage was the work of the devil." Theodoret says the same,^k "That they observed celibacy, terming marriage fornication; and the lawful joining of man and woman together, the work of the devil." Which is also confirmed by St. Austin, who adds,^l "That upon this account they would admit no married person into their society, whether male or female."

κοινὰς μὲν τὰς πρὸ τοῦ γάμου, τῶν αἰτιῶσθαι μιλλήντων, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Διάκονον κοινὸν τῶν θιωμένων, φάσκοντες· τοῦ προκαταλαβόντος δι' ἑκάστην ἑκάστου ἵναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι κοινὴν τὴν γεγαμημένην. (Lips. 1831, vol. ii. p. 218, 17.)

^b Iren. lib. i. c. xxx. Ἀπὸ Σατυρινίου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλούμενοι ἰγκρατιῖς ἀγαμίαν ἰκέλευσαν, ἀπειθύντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἥρμα πατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄρρεν καὶ θήλυ εἰς γίνεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος. — Ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxix. ab initio, ubi hæc Irenæi verba recitat, et tum addit: Καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἐξηγείη παρ' αὐτοῖς, Τατιανοῦ τινὲς πρῶτως ταύτην εἰσινέγκαντες τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὅς Ἰουστίνου ἀπροσῆτης γεγονώς, ἰφύσεν μὲν συγῆν ἰκύνω, οὐδὲν ἐξίφηναι τοιοῦτον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἰκύνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἴηματι διδασκάλου ἰακῆτις καὶ τυφωθίς ὡς διαφίρειν τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρκακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνιστήσας, αἰῶνάς τινας ἀεράτους ἡμῶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐκαλινίου μυθολογήσας· τὸν γάμον τι, φθόρον καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίονι καὶ Σατυρινίῳ ἀναγορεύσας. (Vales. 1695, A. 3.)

ⁱ Epiphanius. Hæres. xlvii. sect. i. [Ἐγκρατισταὶ τὸν γάμον ἀποβάλλουσι, τοῦ Σατανᾶ φάσκοντες τοῦτον ἵναι.] Τὸν δὲ γάμον σαφῶς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐρίζονται. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 400, A. 12.)

^k Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. i. c. xx. (Schulze, Hal. vol. iv. p. 312.) Τὴν ἀγαμίαν δὲ μετῴσας, πορνείαν τὸν γάμον προσαγορεύοντες, καὶ τὴν ἔννομον κοινωνίαν διαβολικὴν ὀνομάζοντες.

^l Aug. de Hæres. c. xxv. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 7.) Encratitæ nuptias damnant, atque omnino pares eas fornicationibus aliisque corruptionibus faciunt: nec recipiunt in suorum numerum conjugia utentem, sive marem, sive feminam.

SECT. VI.—*Also by the Apostolici, or Apotactici.*

Not unlike these was that other sect, who called themselves Apostolici, from a vain pretence of being the only men who lead their lives according to the example of the apostles; and Apotactici, from a show of ‘renouncing’ the world more than other men. St. Austin says,^m “They arrogantly assumed these names, because they would not receive into their communion any who were married, or kept the possession of any thing in property to themselves; and that they allowed no hope of salvation to such as used either of those things which they renounced.”

SECT. VII.—*By the Manichees, Severians, and Archontici.*

St. Austin brings the same charge against the Manichees: He says,ⁿ “They condemned marriage, and prohibited it as far as they could, forbidding men to beget children, for which marriage was ordained.” The Severians and Archontics said, “That woman was the work of the devil, and therefore they that married, fulfilled the work of the devil;” as Epiphanius reports of them.^o And Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of the same heretics, or some others like them, says,^p “They taught that marriage was downright fornication: and that it was delivered by the devil.”

^m Aug. de Hæres. c. xl. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 9.) Apostolici, qui se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus, et res proprias possidentes; quales habet catholica [ecclesia], et monachos, et clericos plurimos. Sed ideo isti hæretici sunt, quoniam se ab ecclesia separantes, nullam spem putant eos habere, qui utuntur his rebus, quibus ipsi carent. Eneeratis isti similes sunt: nam et Apotactitæ appellantur.

ⁿ Ibid. c. xlv. (ibid. vol. viii. p. 12, at bottom.) Nuptas sine dubitatione condemnant, et quantum in ipsis est, prohibent, quando generare prohibent, propter quod conjugia copulanda sunt.

^o Epiphan. Hæres. xlv. sect. ii. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 388, at bottom.) Φάσκουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι ἔργον τοῦ Σατανᾶ. . . . διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς γάμους πλησιάζοντας τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸ ἔργον πληροῦν λίγουσιν.

^p Clem. Stromat. iii. c. ix. p. 540. [Not. hæc ibi non exstant, nisi fortassis auctor noster respexerit ad verba, quæ ineunte pagina leguntur: Φασι γὰρ, ὅτι αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἢ λθον καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. θηλείας μὲν, τῆς πικρυμίας. ἔργα δὲ, γίνεσθαι καὶ φθορᾶν.—Grischow.] (Lips. 1831, vol. ii. p. 247, 27.)

SECT. VIII. — *By the Hieracians and Eustathians.*

After these, arose up one Hierax, whose disciples are called Hieracians, who taught with a little more modesty, but no less erroneously, that marriage was a thing belonging only to the Old Testament; and, since the coming of Christ, it was no longer to have place; neither could any one in the married state obtain the kingdom of heaven. So Epiphanius represents their doctrine.^a And, upon this account, St. Austin says,^r “They admitted none but monks and nuns, and such as were unmarried, into their communion.” The same tenets were stiffly maintained by one Eustathius, whom Socrates^s and Sozomen^t call bishop of Sebastia; and Valesius defends them in so saying,^u though Baronius labours to prove him to be another man.^x However, it is agreed on all

^a Epiphan. Hæres. lxvii. sect. i. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 710, B. 6.) Συγκληρωσθαι φησι ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ, τῇ γάμῳ συνάπτεσθαι ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἰνδημίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηκέτι τὸν γάμον παραδίδισθαι, μήτι δύνασθαι αὐτὸν κληρονομεῖν βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν.

^r Aug. de Hæc. c. xlvii. (Bened. 1700, vol. viii. p. 13.) Monachos tantum et monachas et conjugia non habentes in communionem recipiunt.

^s Socrat. lib. ii. c. xliii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700, p. 128, C. 6.) Γαμῶν ἰσχύλοι . . . καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς γυναικόμετας τοῦ συνοικισίου ἰχώριζεν (D. 3.) ἐν οἴκοις τε γυναικόμετων εὐχὰς ἰσχύλοι γινίσθαι· καὶ πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἣν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὢν ἡγάγετο, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, ὡς μῦθος ἐκκλίνουσιν ἐκίλει.

^t Sozom. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (ibid. 1695, p. 472, D. 3.) Εὐστάθιος, ὡς οὐ διὸν διδάσκων εἶ καὶ πράττων καὶ φρονῶν, ἀφῆρθε τῆς πιστοσύνης παρὰ τῶν ἐν Γάγγραις συνελθόντων.

^u Vales. in Socrat. lib. ii. c. xliii. Basilius in epistola lxxiv., quam scripsit ad Occidentales contra Eustathium Sebastenum, Gangrensis Concilii nullam mentionem facit. Ex quo manifeste colligitur, tunc, quum Basilius eam epistolam conscriberet, scripsit autem sub Valente, nondum celebratum fuisse Gangrense Concilium, in quo damnatus est Eustathius. Dicit fortasse aliquis id, quod a Baronio dictum est, Eustathium illum, qui in Gangrensi Synodo condemnatus est, diversum esse ab Eustathio Sebasteno. Verum hoc gratis dicitur, nec ullius auctoris testimonio nititur.

^x Baron. an. 361, n. xlv. (Antwerp. 1603, vol. iii. p. 781.) At priusquam de his agamus, de Eustathio pravorum hujusmodi dogmatum architecto disserendum est. Hunc fuisse Eustathium illum episcopum Sebastie in minori Armenia, Socratis atque Sozomeni et aliorum recentiorum, qui hos sunt sequuti, historicorum adsertione traditur. Quod quidem mihi nulla prorsus ratione probatur: quum e contrario plura sint, quæ dictis auctoribus magnopere adversentur. Et in primis, quod S. Basilius duabus epistolis, cum diligenti scopis cunctas ejusdem Eustathii Sebasteni turpitudines in unum congerat, easdemque singulas spec-

hands, that there was one of this name, who was so great an admirer of the monastic life, that, for the sake of it, he condemned all marriage in general, and taught, "That no one that lived in a married state, could have any hope in God." Upon which, many women forsook their husbands, and husbands their wives: many servants deserted their masters, to join with him in this new way of living; and many withdrew from the public assemblies of the Church, and held private conventicles, upon pretence that they could not communicate with the ministers of the Church, because they were married persons: as the fathers of the Council of Gangra largely set forth his errors in their declaration against them.⁷

SECT. IX. — *Who were condemned in the Council of Gangra, and those called the Apostolical Canons.*

And to give some check to his errors, they used their authority in making several canons against them, having first deposed the author. In the first canon, they say,^a "If any accuses marriage, or blames or abhors a woman, who is otherwise faithful and pious, for sleeping with her husband, as if upon that account she could not enter into the kingdom of God; let him be anathema." The fourth canon is to the same purpose,^a "If any one condemn or separate from a married presbyter, under pretence that it is unlawful to partake of the oblation when such a one ministers; let him

tandas palam exponat; nullam prorsus de hujuscemodi hæresibus, vel ejus damnatione, facta in Gangrensi Concilio, mentionem habuit: quæ quidem ad totam ejus vitam sugillandam ante omnia ponenda esse videbantur, &c.

⁷ Conc. Gangrens. in Præfat. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 413, D.) Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ καταμίφισθαι αὐτοὺς [τοὺς περὶ Εὐσταθίου], τὸν γάμον καὶ ὑποτίδισθαι, ὅτι οἰδοὺς τῶν ἐν γάμῳ ὄντων ἱλπίδα παρὰ Θεῷ ἔχειν, πολλὰι γυναῖκες ὑπανδρὶ ἀπατηθῆναι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνιχώρησαν, καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν. (E. 5.) καὶ δούλοι διαποτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ζήνους ἀμφιάσματος καταφρόνησιν κατὰ τῶν διαποτῶν ποιούμενοι. (415, A. 7.) καὶ πρεσβυτέρων γιγαμηκῶτων ὑπερφρονῶντες, καὶ τῶν λειτουργῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινομένων μὴ ἀκτόμιννοι.

^a Conc. Gangrens. c. i. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 416.) Εἴ τις τὸν γάμον μίμφοιτο, καὶ τὴν καθιδύουσαν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, οὕσαν πιστὴν καὶ ὑλαστῇ, βδελύσσειτο, ἢ μίμφοιτο ὡς ἂν μὴ δυναμένην εἰς βασιλίαν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^a Ibid. c. iv. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γιγαμηκόςτος, ὡς μὴ χρῆται, λειτουργήσας αὐτοῦ, προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

be anathema." The ninth, in like manner,^b "If any one retire from the world, and live a virgin, or contain, as abominating marriage, and not for the excellency and holiness of a virgin-life; let him be anathema." The fourteenth,^c "If any woman forsake her husband, minding to turn recluse out of an abhorrence of marriage, let her be anathema." They add in the close of all,^d "We write not these things to cut off any from the Church of God, who are minded to give themselves to an ascetic life, according to the Scriptures, but only those who make such a life an occasion of pride, to lift themselves up above those who live in a more plain and simple manner, introducing novelties against the Scriptures and the rules of the Church. We admire virginity, when accompanied with humility; and applaud continency, when attended with gravity and piety; and allow of a retirement from worldly affairs, when it is done with humility; but we also honour cohabitation in chaste marriage; and in a word, desire that all things may be done in the Church, according to the traditions delivered to us in Scripture, and rules of the apostles." By the traditions of the apostles, these fathers might mean, either the rules about marriage delivered by the apostles in Scripture, or the rules given in those which are called the Apostolical Canons, which were, at that time, of common use in the Church. One of which runs in these terms:^e "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any

^b Conc. Gangrens. c. ix. (Iabbé, vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἴ τις παρθενίους, ἢ ἰγκρατιεύουσι, ὡς εἰ βδελύσσων, τῶν γάμων ἀναχωρήσας, καὶ μὴ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἄγιον τῆς παρθενίας, ἀνάθημα ἴστω.

^c Ibid. c. xiv. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἴ τις γυνὴ καταλαμβάνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἰδίῳ, βδελυττομένη τὸν γάμον, ἀνάθημα ἴστω.

^d Ibid. c. xxi. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 424.) Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν, οὐκ ἐκκρίπτοντες τοὺς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἀσκῶντας βουλομένους· ἀλλὰ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀσκήσεως εἰς ὑπερφανίαν, κατὰ τῶν ἀφιλέσσιον βιωτῶν ἱπαιρομένους τι καὶ παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας, καὶ πωτισμοὺς εἰσαγόντας· ἡμῖς τοιγαροῦν καὶ παρθενίαν μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης θαυμάζομεν, καὶ ἰγκρέτιαν μετὰ σιμνότητος καὶ θιοσιδίας γινομένην ἀποδιχόμεθα· καὶ ἀναχώρησιν τῶν ἰγκοσμίων μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἀποδιχόμεθα· καὶ γάμου συνοικησιν σιμνὴν τιμῶμεν (P. 421.) καὶ πάντα συνιόντας ἐκτείν, τὰ παραδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι ἰσχύμεθα.

^e Can. Apostol. li. 1, (ibid. vol. i. p. 37.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὕψως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, γάμων καὶ κρείων καὶ οἶνου, οὐ δι' ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν ἀπίχεται, ἱσιανθανόμενος, ὅτι πάντα καλὰ λίαν, καὶ

other of the sacred roll, abstain from marriage, or flesh, or wine, not for exercise of an ascetic life, but out of abhorrence, thereby blaspheming and calumniating the workmanship of God, and forgetting that God created all things very good; and made man male and female; let him amend, or else be deposed and cast out of the Church. And so let a layman be treated likewise."

By all this it is evident, that the Church had a mighty struggle with those ancient heretics, who inveighed bitterly against marriage under the Gospel state, and wrought upon many weak minds to commit great disorders, under pretence of a more refined way of living and fanciful perfection, which the Gospel had nowhere enjoined as of necessity to mankind; but only they who were able to receive it, might receive it at their own liberty and discretion, provided they made their own liberty no snare for other men's consciences, nor imposed a matter of free choice, as a necessary obligation upon the rest of mankind.

SECT. X.—*The Error of the Montanists about Second Marriages; and of the Novatians also.*

The Church had also another contest with the Montanists about second marriages. Theodoret says,^f "Montanus made laws to dissolve marriage." And the same was objected to him by Apollonius, an ancient writer in Eusebius,^g who opposed the new spirit of Montanus, when he first began to appear in the world. "This is the man that teaches the dissolution of marriages," says he, in his charge against him, which some later writers, by mistake, understand of his prohibiting marriage in general, as the heretics of whom we have just been speaking. Whereas Montanus did not deny the lawfulness of marriage, but only second marriages; as is evident from Tertullian, who was the chief advocate of that heretic against the Church. His books, *De Monogamia*

ἔτι ἄρσιν καὶ θῆλυ ἰποιήσιν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν ἢ διορθώσθω, ἢ καταργείσθω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκαλλίσθω. αὐαὐτὸς δὲ λαϊκός.

^f Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. iii. c. ii. Οὗτος τὸν γάμον διαλύει ἰνομίτηται.

^g Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσει γάμων. (Vales. p. 149, D. ὁ.)

and *Exhortatio Castitatis*, were written purposely on this subject: in both which he declaims very heartily indeed against second marriages, as no better than adultery; but he never gives the least intimation, that he or any other Montanist had the same opinion of the first. Nay, he begins his book of Monogamy with these remarkable words:^b “ Heretics take away marriage, and the *psychici*, or ‘carnal men’” [by whom he means the Catholics], “repeat it: the one marry not so much as once; the other marry more than once. But neither is such continency to be praised, because it is heretical; nor such liberty to be defended, because it is carnal. The one destroys the God of marriage, the other confounds him; the one blasphemes him, the other is luxurious against him. But among us, who are deservedly called spiritual, from the acknowledgment of spiritual gifts, continency is religious, and our liberty observed with modesty and moderation, because they both stand with the Creator. We acknowledge one matrimony, as we do one God:” so that it is plain, the Montanists ought not to be charged with denying the lawfulness of marriage in general, which they defended against other heretics, but only the liberty of second and third marriages, which they rejected, upon the pretence of receiving some new revelations from the Holy Ghost. And, therefore, when the ancients say, they taught men to dissolve marriage, or forbid men to marry, they are always to be understood as speaking of second marriages, and not of the first, as Epiphaniusⁱ well explains himself, when he writes against them.

^b Tertul. de Monogam. c. i. (Paris. 1664, p. 525, A.) *Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Psychici ingerunt. Illi nec semel, isti non semel nubunt. . . . Verum neque continentia ejusmodi laudanda, quia hæretica est; neque licentia defendenda, quia psychica est. Illa blasphematur, ista luxuriatur. Illa destruit nuptiarum Deum, ista confundit. Penes nos autem, quos Spirituales merito dici facit agnitio spiritalium charismatum, continentia tam religiosa est, quam licentia verecunda, quandoquidem ambæ cum Creatore sunt. Continentia legem nuptiarum honorat, licentia temperat. Illa non cogitur, ista regitur. Illa arbitrium habet, hæc modum. Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum.*

ⁱ Epiphan. *Hæres.* xlviii. sect. ix. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 410, D. 4.) *Εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ ἀσθίνειαν ἐπιδησίῃ, μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ἰδίας γαμίστης, συναφθῆναι διυτίρῃ γάμῳ, οὐκ ἀπαγορεύει τοῦτο ὁ παὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, τουτίστι τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἱερέα· οὗτοι δὲ κωλύουσι κατὰ τὸ ἐρημίον, κωλύόντων γαμῶν ἰσχύουσι γὰρ τὸν διυτίρῃ γάμῳ συναφθῆναι, καὶ ἀναγκάζουσι μὴ διυτίρῃ γάμῳ συνάπτειν.*

The Novatians were in the same sentiments with the Montanists, rejecting all from communion who were twice married : which we learn not only from Epiphanius,^k and other private writers against them, but also from the rule made in the great Council of Nice concerning them,^l “ That when any of the Novatians returned to the Catholic Church, they should be obliged to make profession, in writing, that they would submit to the decrees of the Catholic Church, particularly in this, that they would *διγάμοις κοινωνεῖν*, ‘ communicate with digamists,’ ” or those that were married a second time. Which shews us both what was the opinion of the Novatians upon this point, and what was the general sense of the Catholic Church in opposition to it. And if any private writers have spoken any thing harshly or indecently of second marriages, their opinion is not either to be defended or urged as the sentiment of the Church ; as I have had occasion to shew in a former^m Book, concerning the discipline of the Church, where this matter is more fully discussed.

^k Epiphani. Hæres. lix. sect. iv. (Colon. 1682, vol. i. p. 496, A. 4.) *Τὰ εἰς ἱερουσινὴν παραδόντα διὰ τὸ ἐξοχώτατον τῆς ἱερουργίας, εἰς πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἴσως φέρεσθαι ἀκηκοῖτες, ὅτι διὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνιπίληπτον εἶναι, μᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα, ἰγχεσθῆ. κ. τ. λ.*

^l Conc. Nic. c. viii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 32.) *Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἱεροῦς καθαροὺς ποιεῖ, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἰδοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὅσοι χειροθετοῦμένους αὐτοὺς μένουν οὕτως ἐν τῇ κλήρῳ· ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφως προσέηκε, ὅτι συνθήσονται καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι τοῦτ' ἴστι, καὶ ἀγαμοῖς κοινωνεῖν, κ. τ. λ.*

^m Book xvi. chap. xi. sect. vii. vol. vi. p. 248.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE JUST IMPEDIMENTS OF MARRIAGE IN PARTICULAR CASES, SHEWING WHAT PERSONS MIGHT, OR MIGHT NOT, BE LAWFULLY JOINED TOGETHER ; AND OF THE TIMES AND SEASONS WHEN THE CELEBRATION OF MARRIAGE WAS FORBIDDEN.

SECT. I.—*Christians not to marry with Infidels, or Jews, or Heretics, or any of a different Religion.*

HAVING thus given an account of the several opinions and practices of heretics, derogatory either to marriage in general, or to the repetition of it after the decease of a former consort ; I now come to shew what restraints the Church herself laid upon some particular sorts of persons, by her rules prohibiting them to marry, either for some time, or, at least, not in such circumstances as were thought just impediments of marriage in certain particular cases. Of this nature was the rule, forbidding Christians to marry with infidels or heathens, because of the danger and scandal that would attend the being joined so unequally with unbelievers. The apostle leaves the woman, whose husband is dead, at liberty to marry to whom she will, only with this proviso, “That it be in the Lord” (1 Cor. vii. 39): which the ancients generally so understood, as to take it for a command, that Christians should marry only Christians, and not infidels, or persons of a different religion. Cyprian,* in his book of Testimonies out of Scripture, brings this text, and two others, out of St. Paul’s Epistles, to prove that Christians ought not to join in matrimony with the Gentiles. His other proofs are (1 Cor. vi. 15), “Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them members of a harlot? God forbid.” And (2 Cor. vi. 14), “Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers.” And in his book *De Lapsis*^b he

* Cyprian. Testimon. ad Quirin. lib. iii. c. lxii. Matrimonium cum Gentilibus non jungendum.

^b Ibid. de Lapsis, p. 123, line 7 from bottom, (p. 88, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Jungere cum infidelibus vinculum matrimonii, prostituere Gentilibus membra Christi.

complains, that, among other causes why God sent that terrible persecution upon Christians, one reason was, that many of them had joined themselves in matrimony with infidels, and prostituted the members of Christ to the infidels. In like manner Tertullian, before him, gives the same sense of the words of the apostle: ^c “For certainly,” says he, “in prescribing that the woman should only marry in the Lord, lest any believer should contract matrimony with a heathen, he defends the law of the Creator, which every where forbids marrying with those of another nation,” or heathens of another religion. So, again, ^d “She that was to marry, was only to marry in the Lord; that is, not to a heathen, but to a brother: because the old law also forbade the marrying with strangers.” ^e He pursues this argument at large in his second Book to his own Wife, where, urging first the same text of the apostle, he concludes, ^f “That it is fornication and adultery for Christians to join in marriage with heathens, and that they who do so, ought to be cast out of the communion of the Church.” And in another place he says, ^g “Christians did not marry with heathens, for fear they should draw them into idolatry, which was the first rite that was used in celebrating their marriages.” St. Jerom ^h urges the same authorities of the apostle against such mar-

^c Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. v. c. vii. (Paris. 1664, p. 469, D. 6.) Certe præscribens, Tantum in Domino esse nubendum; ne qui fidelis ethnicum matrimonium contrahat, legem tuetur Creatoris, allophylorum nuptias ubique prohibentis.

^d Ibid. de Monogam. c. vii. (ibid. p. 529, A. 10.) Et illa nuptura in Domino habet nubere, id est, non ethnico, sed fratri: quia et vetus lex adimit conjugium allophylorum.

^e Ibid. c. xi. (ibid. p. 532, C. 10.) Propterea adjecerit, tantum in Domino; ne scilicet post fidem ethnico se nubere posse præsumeret.

^f Ibid. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iii. (ibid. p. 168, B. 5.) Hæc quum ita sint, fideles Gentilium matrimonia subeuntes, stupri reos esse constat, et arcendos ab omni communicatione fraternitatis, ex litteris Apostoli dicentis, cum ejusmodi nec cibum quidem sumendum.

^g Ibid. de Coron. Milit. c. xiii. (ibid. p. 109, A. 11.) Ideo non nubamus ethnicis, ne nos ad idololatriam usque deducant, a qua apud illos nuptiæ incipiunt.

^h Hieron. Epist. xi. ad Ageruchiam de Monogamia, (p. 92, g. edit. Paris. 1643.) (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 903, A. 10.) Quod addidit apostolus, ‘tantum in Domino,’ amputat ethnicorum conjugia, de quibus in alio loco dixerat: ‘Nolite jugum ducere cum infidelibus. Quæ enim participatio justitiæ cum iniquitate? Aut quæ societas lucis cum tenebris? Quæ conventio Christi cum Belial? Aut quæ pars fidei cum infidei? Qui consensus templo Dei cum idolis?’

riages: "When the apostle," says he, "adds, 'only in the Lord,' he thereby cuts off all making marriages with the heathen. Concerning which sort of marriages he says, in another place, 'Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel?'" St. Jerom, indeed, in another place, laments the transgression of these rules, and sharply reproves the transgressors.¹ "Now many women," says he, "despising the command of the apostle, are married to heathens, not considering that they become part of that body whose ribs they are. The apostle pardons those who were married to heathens before they believed in Christ, but not those who, being Christians, afterward were married to Gentiles: to whom he thus speaks in another place, 'Be not unequally yoked with unbe-

¹ Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. i. c. v. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 251, E. 4.) Nunc pleraque mulieres, contemnentes Apostoli jussionem, junguntur gentilibus, et templa Christi idolis prostituunt: nec intelligunt se corporis ejus partem esse, cujus et costæ sunt. Ignoscit Apostolus infidelium conjunctioni, quæ habentes, maritos in Christum postea crediderunt: non his, quæ, quum Christianæ essent, nupsent gentilibus, ad quas alibi loquitur: 'Nolite jugum ducere cum infidelibus. Quæ enim participatio justitiæ cum iniquitate? Aut quæ societas luci ad tenebras? Quæ autem conventio Christi ad Belial? Aut quæ pars fideli cum infideli? Qui autem consensus templo Dei cum idolis? Vos enim estis templum Dei vivi.' Licet enim in me sævituras sciam plurimas matronarum; licet eadem impudentia qua Dominum contempserunt, in me pulicem et Christianorum minimum debacchaturas; tamen dicam quod sentio: loquar quod me Apostolus docuit, non illas justitiæ esse, sed iniquitatis; non lucis, sed tenebrarum; non Christi, sed Belial; non templa Dei viventis, sed fana et idola mortuorum. Vis apertius discere, quod Christianæ omnino non liceat ethnico nubere? Audi eundem Apostolum, 'Mulier,' inquit, 'alligata est legi, quanto tempore vir ejus vivit: quod si dormierit vir ejus, liberata est: cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino,' id est, Christiano. Qui secundas tertiasque nuptias concedit in Domino, primas cum ethnico prohibet. Unde et Abraham adjurat servum in femore suo, hoc est, in Christo, qui de ejus erat semine nasciturus, ut filio suo Isaac alienigenam non adducat uxorem. Et Ezras offensam Dei hujuscemodi uxorum repudiatione compescit. Et Malachias propheta, 'Prævaricatus est,' inquit, 'Judas, et abominationem fecit in Israel et in Jerusalem. Polluit enim sanctum Domini, et dilexit, et habuit filiam Dei alieni. Disperdat Dominus virum qui fecerit hoc, magistrum, et discipulum, de tabernaculis Jacob, et offerentem munera Domino virtutum.' Hæc ideo dixi, ut qui nuptias virginitati comparant, sciant saltem, nuptias digamia et trigamia subjiciendas.

lievers,' &c. I am sensible," says St. Jerom, " I shall anger and enrage many matrons, who, as they have despised their Lord (in being married to heathens), so they will rant at me, who am but a flea, and the meanest of all Christians: yet I will speak what I think, and say what the apostle has taught me; that they are not on the side of righteousness, but unrighteousness; not of light, but of darkness; not of Christ, but of Belial; not temples of the living God, but temples and idols of dead men. Would you have me speak more plainly, that a Christian woman ought not to be married to a heathen? Hear the same apostle: 'The woman is bound,' says he, 'as long as her husband liveth: but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord;' that is, to a Christian. He that allows second and third marriages in the Lord, forbids even a first marriage with a heathen. I say this, that they who compare marriage to virginity, may yet, at least, understand that digamy and trigamy (second and third marriages) are far above such marriages with heathens." St. Ambrose is no less earnest in dissuading all Christians from engaging in such unequal marriages, not only with heathens, but heretics; pathetically exhorting parents, who had the chief hand and authority in disposing of their children, to beware of such dangerous matches. "Beware," says he,^j "O Christian, that thou give not thy daughter to a Gentile or a Jew: beware, I say, that thou take not a wife to thee who is a Gentile, or a Jew, or an alien; that is, a heretic, or any one that is a stranger to the faith." And, again,^k writing to one

^j Ambros. de Abrahamo, c. ix. (tom. i. p. 239, f. edit. Paris. 1642.) Cave, Christiane, gentili aut Judæo filiam tuam tradere. Cave, inquam, gentilem aut Judæam atque alienigenam, hoc est, hæreticam, et omnem alienam a fide tua uxorem accersias tibi. (Paris. 1836, vol. i. p. 211.)

^k Ibid. Epist. lxx. ad Vigil. (Paris. 1836, vol. iv. p. 261.) Legimus peremptos gravi populos excidio, propter violata jura hospitii. Propter libidinem quoque commissæ bella atrocia. (7.) Sed prope nihil gravius quam copulari alienigenæ, ubi et libidinis et discordiæ incentiva, et sacrilegii flagitia conflantur. Nam quum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali, et benedictione sanctificari; oporteat quomodo potest conjugium dici, ubi non est fidei concordia? Quum oratio communis esse debeat, quomodo inter dispares devotione potest esse conjugii communis caritas? Sæpe plerique, capti amore feminarum, fidem suam prodiderunt; ut patrum populus in Beelphegor.

Vigilius some instructions about the execution of the ministerial office, he bids him teach the people carefully this one thing, — not to join in matrimony with strangers, but with Christian families. “For though we read of many people destroyed, with a heavy destruction, for violating the laws of hospitality, and of dreadful wars commenced upon uncleanness, yet there is scarce any thing more grievous than marrying with strange women; which is both an incentive to lust and discord, and the forge of sacrilege. For when marriage ought to be sanctified with the sacerdotal veil and benediction, how can that be called a marriage where there is no agreement in faith? When their prayers ought to be in common, how can there be any mutual conjugal love, where there is such disparity in their devotion? Many men by this means have frequently betrayed their faith, as the Israelites did in the wilderness, when by the seducement of the Midianitish women they joined themselves to Baalpeor.” The author also of the Short Notes upon the Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose, gives the same interpretation of St. Paul’s words: ¹ “‘Let the woman marry only in the Lord:’ let her marry without suspicion of uncleanness, and let her marry to a man of her own religion. This is to marry in the Lord.” In like manner Sedulius^m and Theodoretⁿ upon the same place: “Let her marry to one of the same faith, to a godly man, in sobriety, and according to the law.” Upon this account, St. Austin, being solicited by one Rusticus, a heathen, to give his consent that his son might marry a certain woman that was a Christian, tells him,^o “That though it was absolutely in his power to give any virgin in marriage, yet he could not give a Christian to any

¹ Pseudo-Ambros. in 1 Cor. vii. 39. ‘Nubat, cui volet, tantum in Domino:’ tantum in Domino, hoc est, sine suspitione turpitudinis nubat, et religionis suæ viro nubat. Hoc est, in Domino nubere.

^m Sedul. in 1 Cor. vii. 39. Cui voluerit, nubat, tantummodo Christiano, non Gentili.

ⁿ Theodoret. in 1 Cor. vii. 39. Μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ, τουτίστιν ἐμπόισται, ὡς ἐν τῇ σαφείῳ, ἡνίκας.

^o Aug. Epist. cccxxiv. ad Rusticum, (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 668, F. 3.) Certissime noveris, etiamsi nostræ absolutæ sit potestatis, quamlibet puellam in conjugium tradere, tradi a nobis Christianam nisi Christiano non posse.

but a Christian." This St. Austin spake according to the known rules and practice of the Church: for though he himself, in his own private opinion, did not think such marriages so clearly and expressly forbidden in the New Testament as others did, yet he thought there were probable reasons to make it a very doubtful case: and that was enough to deter any one from venturing on it, and also sufficient to oblige the ministers of the Church not to give any encouragement to it, either by consenting to such marriages, or authorizing them in their ministration. Yet if the question were, Whether such persons, so offending against the rules of the Church, were to be denied either baptism or communion; he reckons this to be a matter of some doubt, not so clearly to be resolved as the question about manifest fornicators and adulterers. "The manifest crimes of uncleanness," says he,^p "do absolutely debar men from baptism, unless they be corrected by a change of will and repentance: and in doubtful cases, as marrying with heathens, we are by all means to endeavour that such marriages be not contracted: for what need have any persons to run their heads into so great danger in doubtful matters? But if such marriages be made, I am not sure that the parties concerned ought to be denied baptism in this case as in the former." Indeed the punishment of such contracts was not always and every where the same in the Church, though it was agreed on all hands to prohibit and discourage them as dangerous and dubious, or manifestly sinful. Some canons barely forbid the thing, without assigning any ecclesiastical punishment to the commission of it. So in the Council of Laodicea, one canon says,^q "That they who are of the Church, ought not to give their children in marriage promiscuously to heretics."

^p Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. xix. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 136, F. 5.) Quæ manifesta sunt impudicitiae crimina, omni modo a baptismo prohibenda sunt, nisi mutatione voluntatis et pœnitentia corrigantur: quæ autem dubia, omni modo conandum est, ne fiant tales conjunctiones. Quid enim opus est in tantum discrimen ambiguitatis, caput immittere? Si autem factæ fuerint, nescio utrum ii qui fecerint, similiter ad baptismum non debere videantur admitti.

^q Conc. Laodic. c. x. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δὲν τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδιαφόρως πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν συνάπτειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν παῖδια αἰρετικοῖς.

And another,^r “That they ought not to marry with all heretics indifferently, nor give their sons or daughters to them, unless they will promise to become Christians.” The prohibition in the third Council of Carthage extends only to the sons and daughters of bishops and the clergy,^s that they should not marry with Gentiles, heretics, or schismatics, but particularly mentions no others. The Council of Agde runs in the same words with the Council of Laodicea,^t “That none shall marry with heretics, unless they will promise to become Catholic Christians.” And so the Council of Chalcedon^u forbids the readers and singers among the inferior clergy to marry either Jew, Gentile, or heretic, unless they would promise to embrace the orthodox faith: and this is enjoined the clergy under pain of canonical censure. But the first Council of Arles goes a little further with respect to the whole body of Christians, and orders,^x “That if any virgins who are believers, be married to Gentiles, they shall for some time be separated from communion.” The Council of Eliberis not only forbids such marriages^y in one canon, for fear of spiritual adultery (that is, apostasy from the faith); though there was a pretence, that young women were so numerous, that they could not find Christian husbands enough for them; but also, in another canon,^z orders

^r Conc. Laodic. c. xxxi. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1501.) “Ὅτι οὐ διὰ πρὸς πάντας αἰρετικούς ἐπιγαμίας ποιῶν, ἢ δίδοναι υἱούς, ἢ θυγατέρας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν, ἵνα ἐπαγγέλλονται Χριστιανοὶ γίνεσθαι.

^s Conc. Carth. III. c. xii. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1169.) Placuit, ut filii et filiae episcoporum, vel quorumlibet clericorum, gentilibus, vel hæreticis, vel schismaticis matrimonio non jungantur.

^t Conc. Agath. c. lxxvii. (ibid. vol. iv. p. 1394.) Non oportet cum hæreticis miscere connubia, et vel filios vel filias dare, sed potius accipere, si tamen profitentur Christianos futuros esse se et Catholicos.

^u Conc. Chalced. c. xiv. (ibid. vol. iv. p. 762, E. 3.) Μῆτε μὴν συνάπτειν πρὸς γάμον αἰρετικῶν, ἢ Ἰουδαίων, ἢ Ἑλλήνων· εἰ μὴ ἔρα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο μετατίθεσθαι εἰς τὴν ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν τὸ συναπτόμενον πρόσωπον τῷ ὁρθόδοξῳ· εἰ δὲ τις τοῦτον τὸν ὅρον παραβαίῃ τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου, ἐπιτιμίῳ [κανονικῶ] κανονικῶς ὑποκείσθω.

^x Conc. Arlat. I. c. xi. (ibid. vol. i. p. 1428.) De puellis fidelibus, quæ gentilibus junguntur, placuit, ut aliquanto tempore a communione separentur.

^y Conc. Illiber. c. xv. (ibid. vol. i. p. 972.) Propter copiam puellarum, gentilibus minime in matrimonium dandæ sunt virgines Christianæ, ne ætas in flore tumens in adulterio animæ resolvatur.

^z Ibid. c. xvi. (ibid. vol. i. p. 972.) Hæretici, si se transferre noluerint ad ecclesiam Catholicam, nec ipsis Catholicas dandas esse puellas: sed neque

such parents as gave their daughters in marriage to Jews or heretics, to be five years cast out of the communion of the Church. And a third canon orders,^a “That if any parents married their daughters to idol priests, they should not be received into communion, even at their last hour.” The second Council of Orleans^b forbids all Christians to marry Jews, because all such marriages were deemed unlawful: and if any, upon admonition, refused to dissolve such marriages, they were to be denied all benefit of communion. Thus stood the discipline of the Church at that time in reference to all such marriages. Nor was the civil law wanting to confirm the ecclesiastical with its sanction: for by an edict, published by Valentinian and Theodosius, which is twice repeated in the Theodosian Code,^c and stands still as law in the Justinian Code, If any Jew presumes to marry a Christian woman, or a Christian takes to wife a Jewish woman, their crime is put into the same class with adultery; that is, made a capital crime; and not only relations, but any one has liberty to accuse and prosecute them upon such transgression. Constantius, before this, had made it a capital crime for a Jew^d to marry a Christian woman, but laid no penalty upon the Christian marrying a Jew. But

Judæis, neque ethnicis dare placuit: eo quod nulla possit esse societas fidelium infideli. Si contra interdictum fecerint parentes, abstineri per quinquennium placet.

^a Conc. Illiber. c. xvii. Si qui forte sacerdotibus idolorum filias suas junxerint, placuit, nec in fine eis dandam esse communionem.

^b Conc. Aurel. II. c. xix. Placuit, ut nullus Christianus Judæam, neque Judæus Christianam in matrimonio ducat uxorem; quia inter hujusmodi personas illicitas nuptias esse censemus. Qui si commoniti a consortio hoc se separare distulerint, a communionis gratia sunt sine dubio submovendi. (Labbé, iv. 1782.)

^c Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 278.) Ne quis Christianam mulierem in matrimonium Judæus accipiat, neque Judæam Christianus conjugio sortiatur: nam si quis aliquid hujusmodi admisit, adulterii vicem commissi hujus crimen obtinebit; libertate in accusandum publicis quoque vocibus relaxata. — Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. vii. ad legem Juliam de Adulteris, leg. v. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 62.) — Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ix. de Judæis, leg. vi. |

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. viii. de Judæis, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. vi. p. 233.) Quod ad mulieres pertinet, quas Judæi in turpitudinis suæ duxere consortium, in gynecio nostro ante versatas, placet easdem restitui in gynecio: idque in reliquum observari, ne Christianas mulieres suis jungant flagitiis; vel, si hoc fecerint, capitali periculo subjungentur.

this being thought a defect by Theodosius, he supplied it by that new law, which more expressly made it capital for them both. And so all possible restraint was laid upon such marriages, that the civil power could think of.

SECT. II. — *All Christians obliged to acquaint the Church with their Designs of Marriage before they completed it.*

And to prevent the inconveniencies attending such unequal marriages, all Christians were obliged to acquaint the bishop of the Church beforehand with their design of marrying, that if any such obstacle appeared, they might be dissuaded and diverted from it. Thus Ignatius in his epistle to Polycarp: “ It becomes those that marry, and those that are given in marriage, to take upon them this yoke, with the consent or direction of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the will of God, and not their own lusts.” And this is evident from several passages in Tertulian, who often speaks of taking advice and counsel beforehand about this matter from the Church. For speaking of some women who were married to heathens, he says,^f “ He could not but wonder either at their own petulancy, or the prevarication and unfaithfulness of their counsellors:” intimating, that in this case they had taken counsel of others, and not of the Church, who would not have given them counsel and consent to have married heathens. In another place, says he,^g “ How shall I sufficiently set forth the happiness of that marriage, which the Church brings about by her procurement, and the oblation confirms, and the angels report it when done, and the Father ratifies it?” Here, not to dispute at present the meaning of any words, ‘the Church’s

^e Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. sect. v. Πρίστω τοῖς γαμοῦν καὶ τοῖς γαμουμέναις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἵκνωσιν ποιῆσθαι ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ τὸν Θεόν καὶ μὴ κατὰ ἰσθμύμην.

^f Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. ii. (Paris, 1664, p. 167, B. 1.) Quum quædam istis diebus nuptias suas de ecclesia tolleret, ac gentili conjungeretur, idque ab aliis retro factum recorderar, miratus aut ipsarum petulantiam, aut consiliariorum prævaricationem, &c.

^g Ibid. c. ix. (ibid. p. 171, C. 6.) Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obseignat benedictio; angeli renunciant, pater rato habet?

bringing about the marriage' must, at least, signify its being done by her advice and counsel, if not her ministry and benediction; which some are unwilling to allow; but of this more by and by. To proceed: Tertullian, when he was turned Montanist, dissuaded all widows from marrying a second time, and among other arguments he urges them with this:^b "With what face canst thou request such a second marriage of those who are not allowed themselves to have what thou askest of them; viz. of the bishop, who is but once married; and of the presbyters and deacons, who are in the same state; and of the widows, whose society thou hast refused?" Here he plainly says, that the whole Church was acquainted with any person's intention to marry, who, as it were, asked leave of every order of the Church, even the widows as well as the clergy, that if any one had any just objection against them, as, that they were about to marry a heathen, or Jew, or heretic, or one too nearly related, or without consent of parents, or any thing of the like nature, a timely intimation might be given of it, and such marriage be prevented, or, at least, not be authorized and ratified by the consent of the Church. This is plainly the meaning of petitioning the Church in the case of marriage: not that the Church assumed any arbitrary power of granting or refusing marriage to any persons, but only of disallowing those against whom there lay some just objection; as this, in the first place, of any one's being about to join in matrimony with a heathen; which, though it might be effected in those times by other means, yet it was never to be done by the agnizing, or consent, or ministration of the Church; as appears from the whole account that has here been given of the Church's practice in relation to such marriages with heathens.

^b Tertul. de Monogam. c. ii. (Paris. 1664, p. 531, C. 5.) Qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis a quibus postulas, non licet habere; ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti; a viduis, quarum sectam in te recusasti? Et illi plane sic dabunt viros et uxores, quomodo buccellas. Hoc enim est apud illos, Omni petenti te dabis. Et conjungent vos in ecclesia Virgine, uniu Christi unica sponsa.

SECT. III.—*Not to marry with Persons of near Alliance, either by Consanguinity or Affinity, to avoid Suspicion of Incest.*

Another rule of the Church, prohibiting certain persons from joining together, was, when they were too nearly related to each other, either by consanguinity or affinity, which would have made the marriage incestuous, by coming within the degrees prohibited by God in Scripture. How far the Christian morals exceeded the heathen in this particular (notwithstanding the false charge of the heathens against them for committing incest in their religious assemblies), I have fully shewed in another place;¹ where I have also noted the penalties, both ecclesiastical and civil, that, according to the discipline of those times, were put upon all incestuous persons. Here I shall only add a little more particular account of such degrees as made marriage to be deemed incestuous, and a perfect nullity, whenever it was so contracted. The Council of Agde gives this account of them: “Concerning incestuous conjunctions,” say they,² “we allow them no pardon, unless the offending parties cure the adultery by separation from each other. We reckon incestuous persons unworthy of any name of marriage, and dreadful to be mentioned. For they are such as these: if any one pollutes his brother’s relict, who was almost his own sister, by carnal knowledge: if any one takes to wife his own sister: if any one marries his step-

¹ Book xvi. chap. xi. sect. iii. vol. vi. p. 232.

² Conc. Agath. c. lxi. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1393.) De incestis conjunctionibus nihil prorsus veniæ reservamus, nisi quum adulterium separatione sanaverint. Incestos vero nullo conjugii nomine deputandos, quos etiam designare funestum est, hos enim esse censemus. Si quis relictam fratris, quæ pene prius soror exstiterat, carnali conjunctione polluerit: si quis frater germanam uxoris-em [duxerit] acceperit: si quis novercam duxerit: si quis consobrinæ [suæ] se sociaverit: si quis relictæ vel filiæ avunculi misceatur: aut patrui filiæ, vel privignæ suæ: aut qui ex propria consanguinitate aliquam, aut quam consanguineus habuit, concubitu polluerit, aut duxerit uxorem. Quos omnes et olim, atque sub hac constitutione incestos esse non dubitamus, et inter catechumenos usque ad legitimam satisfactionem manere, et orare præcipimus. Quod ita præsentī tempore prohibemus, ut ea quæ sunt hactenus instituta, non dissolvamus. Sane quibus conjunctio illicita interdicitur, habebunt ineundi melioris conjugii libertatem.

mother, or father's wife: if any one joins himself to his cousin-german: if a man marries any one nearly allied to him by consanguinity, or one whom his near kinsman had married before: if any one marries the relict or daughter of his uncle by the mother's side, or the daughter of his uncle by his father's side, or his daughter-in-law; that is, his wife's daughter by a former husband. All which, both heretofore and now, under this constitution, we doubt not to be incestuous: and we enjoin them to abide and pray with the catechumens, till they make lawful satisfaction. But we prohibit these things in such manner for the present time, as not to dissolve or cancel any thing that has been done before: and they who are forbidden such unlawful conjunctions, shall have liberty to marry more agreeably to the law." This canon is repeated almost word for word in the Council of Epone, only the last clause is read negatively,^k "They shall not have liberty to marry again:" which is plainly a corruption crept into the text by the negligence of some unskilful transcriber. For, in the second Council of Tours,^l this very canon of Epone is cited and read in the same manner as it is in the Council of Agde: and the Roman correctors upon Gratian observe,^m that it is so read in the register of Gregory, and the Capitulars of Charles the Great. I only observe further, that whereas the marriage of cousin-germans is reckoned incestuous in these canons, it was not so in the ancient laws of the Church, till Theodosius first made it so by the advice of St. Ambrose: which inhibition did not last long; for Arcadius revoked it, and Justinian revived the old law, by inserting it into his Code. Of all which I have given a more ample account in a former

^k Conc. Epaun. c. xxx. (Labbé, vol. iv. p. 1580.) *Non habebunt ineundi melioris conjugii libertatem.* [Not. In editione Labbei, hæc negativa particula non abest. — Grischow.]

^l Conc. Turon. II. c. xxii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 863.)

^m Grat. Caus. xxxv. Quæst. ii. c. viii. de Incestis. 'habebunt.' Sic in Agathensi et apud Ivonem. In Epaunensi legitur, 'non habebunt.' Sed in Turo-nensi, in quo citatur Epaunense, 'habebunt.' Sic etiam infra, quæst. viii. cap. hæc salubriter, ex Gregorio. In capitulari autem indicato plenius hæc sententia exponitur: 'Sed quibus illicita conjunctio interdicitur, nisi hi sunt, quos sanctorum patrum decreta conjugio copulari prohibent, habebunt ineundi melioris conjugii libertatem.'

Book.^a What is necessary to be added in this place, is only this further remark, that whatever the Church at any time reckoned to be incest, that was always esteemed a just impediment of marriage, and accordingly urged as a lawful cause, why persons so nearly allied should not come together in marriage: or, if they did, it was a just reason to inflict the censures of the Church upon them, till they dissolved such pretended marriage, by separating from each other.

SECT. IV. — *Children under Age not to marry without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians, or next Relations.*

Another reason of inhibition in this affair was, when children under age went about to marry without the consent of their parents, or guardians, or next relations, who, in case the parents were dead, had the paternal power and care of them. The civil law was extremely severe in this case, not only against the raptors themselves, who stole young virgins against their parents' consent; and all that aided and assisted them therein, who were either to be banished, or burned alive; but also against the virgins themselves, who conspired in such matches against the parents' will: as I have had occasion to shew heretofore from several laws of Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian, and Gratian, mentioned in both the Codes.^o Now this being the case of the imperial laws, the Church was exceeding cautious not to transgress or incur any blame upon this score. Tertullian seems to testify for his own time, when he says,^p “ That children could not rightly and lawfully marry without the consent of their earthly parents, as well as the approbation of their Father in heaven. And that the Church allowed no clandestine marriages: for all such, that were not^q publicly beforehand professed or notified before the Church, were in

^a Book xvi. chap. xi. sect. iv. vol. vi.

^o Ibid. chap. ix. sect. ii.

^p Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. ix. Nec in terris filii sine consensu patrum rite et jure nubent.

^q Ibid. de Pudicit. c. iv. (Paris. 1664, p. 557, B. 6.) Penes nos occultæ quoque conjunctiones, id est, non prius apud ecclesiam professæ, juxta mœchiam et fornicationem judicari periclitantur. Nec inde consertæ obtentu matrimonii crimen eludant.

danger of being judged fornication and adultery: and they could not be excused from guilt, under pretence of being real matrimony." St. Austin, in like manner, asserts the power of parents in this case: for speaking of a young virgin, who was a minor, under the protection of his Church, to keep her safe from all attempts of making her a prey to any raptor, he says,^r "Her age would not yet permit him to give, or so much as promise her, to any one, though by her own consent: because she had an aunt, without conferring with whom he neither could nor ought to do any thing in the matter. Besides, though her mother did not then appear, yet perhaps, hereafter, she might appear; and then nature gave her will the preference, before all others, in disposing of her daughter, unless she were arrived to that age which gives her a free liberty and right to dispose of herself." St. Basil often speaks of such minors stolen and married clandestinely without the parents' consent: "But," he says,^s "such pretended marriages were not matrimony, but fornication; and of no validity, but null, unless the parents thought fit to ratify them afterwards by their consent: meanwhile the transgressors were to do the penance of harlots and fornicators, in the Church." And there was the more reason both for this caution antecedent, and subsequent severity, because not only the civil law, under Christian emperors, but the old Roman law, under heathens, was very precise and strict in this matter, of the necessity of consent of parents to a lawful marriage; without which it was reckoned illegitimate, and the children spurious. Justinian has inserted some of the laws of the heathen emperors,^t Severus and Antoninus Caracalla, relating to this matter, into his Code. And it otherwise appears from Apuleius, who, alluding to several particulars which render a marriage

^r Aug. Ep. ccxxxiii. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 668.) In ea ætate est, ut si voluntatem nubendi haberet, nulli adhuc dari vel promitti deberet. . . . Habet materam: fortassis, quæ nunc non apparet, apparebit et mater, cujus voluntatem in tradenda filia omnibus, ut arbitror, natura præponit: nisi eadem puellæ in ea jam ætate fuerit, vel jure licentior sibi eligat ipsa, quod velit.

^s Basil. c. xxii. See Book xvi. chap. ix. sect ii. vol. vi. p. 206.—Can. xxxviii.—Can. xlii.

^t Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. i. ii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 148.)

null, as being against law, thus brings in Venus insulting Psyche for pretending to be married to her son Cupid :^u “ A marriage with so great disparity, huddled up privately in a village without witnesses, the father not consenting, cannot be thought a lawful marriage : and therefore thy son will be spurious,” or a bastard. What, therefore, was thought so necessary to legitimate a marriage among the heathens, was certainly much more so among the Christians. And there is no example that I know of, to be found of the Church’s allowing or approving any marriage to be lawful, where the consent of the parents, disposing of their children when under age, was not had first or last to the ratification of it.

SECT. V.—*Slaves not to marry without the Consent of their Masters.*

The same power and right which parents had over their children, masters had over their slaves : and for this reason no slave could marry without the consent of his master ; or, if any did, it was in the master’s power whether he would ratify or rescind the marriage. “ If slaves,” says St. Basil,^v “ marry without the consent of their masters, or children without the consent of their parents, it is not matrimony, but fornication, till they ratify it by their consent.” And again,^w “ If a slave marry without the consent of her master, she differs nothing from a harlot : for contracts made without the consent of those under whose power they are, have no validity, but are null.”

SECT. VI.—*Persons of superior Rank not to marry Slaves.*

Another thing required to a lawful marriage was, that there should be some parity of condition between the con-

^u Apul. de Asino Aureo, lib. vi. p. 104. Impares nuptiæ, et præterea in villa, sine testibus, et patre non consentiente, factæ, legitimæ non possunt videri : ac per hoc spurius ille nascetur.

^v Basil. c. xlii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1744.) Οἱ ἄντι τῶν κρατούντων γάμοι, πορνικαὶ εἰσιν· οὗτοι οὖν πατέρες ζῶντες, οὗτοι δισπότου, οἱ συνιόντες ἀνιούθυοι εἰσιν, ὥς ἂν ἐκινύσωσιν οἱ κύριοι τὴν συνοικησιν· τότε γὰρ λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ γάμου βίβαιον.

^w Ibid. c. xl. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1741.) Ἡ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ δισπότου ἀνδρὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐκδοῦσα, ἐπόρνισεν· . . . αἱ γὰρ συνθήκαι τῶν ὑπὸ ζουσιῶν, οὐδὲν ἔχουσι βίβαιον.

tracting parties. Persons of a superior rank might not debase themselves to marry slaves. The civil law requires that they should be *pares genere et moribus*,* ‘of equal rank and condition.’ By which the law did not mean that they should be equal in fortune, but that there should be no such disparity in their condition as between a freeman and a slave; nor any such disparity in their morals as between an actress and a senator, or any one of a liberal and ingenuous education: as the matter is accurately explained in one of the laws of Valentinian and Marcian upon this head.† “We do not intend her to be judged of a low and abject condition, who, though she be poor, yet is born of liberal and ingenuous parents: and therefore we declare it lawful for senators, or any others of the highest dignity, to marry women that are born of ingenuous parents, although they be poor; and that there shall be no distinction in this case between ingenuous women and those that are rich, by a great and opulent fortune. But we account these women only vile and abject persons, viz. a slave, or the daughter of a slave; a freed-woman, or the daughter of a freed-woman; an actress, or the daughter of an actress; an innkeeper, or the daughter of an innkeeper, or of a pander, or of a gladiator” (that is, one that was used to fight with men or wild beasts upon the stage); “or any who was wont to sell small wares publicly in the market. With such women as these it is just to

* Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 276.) Placet admodum . . . habendo examini auctoritatem quoque judiciaræ cognitionis adjungi, ut si pares sunt genere ac moribus petitores, is potior æstimetur, quem sibi consulens mulier adprobarit.

† Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. v. de Incestis et Inutilibus Nuptiis, leg. vii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 151.) Humilem vel abjectam feminam minime eam judicamus intelligi, quæ licet pauper, ab ingenuis tamen parentibus nata sit. Unde licere statuimus senatoribus, et quibuscumque amplissimis dignitatibus præditis, ex ingenuis parentibus natas, quamvis pauperes, in matrimonium sibi accipere, nullamque inter ingenuas et opulentiores ex divitiis et opulentiore fortuna esse distantiam. Humiles vero abjectasque personas eas tantummodo mulieres esse censemus; ancillam, ancillæ filiam; libertam, libertæ filiam; [scenicam, scenicæ filiam; tabernariam, tabernarii, vel] lenonis aut arenarii filiam; aut eam quæ mercimoniis publice præfuit. Ideoque hujusmodi inhibuisse nuptias senatoribus harum feminarum, quas modo enarravimus, æquum est.

forbid senators to join in marriage." Constantine^a had made a law before to forbid all senators, and governors of provinces, and city magistrates, and high-priests of provinces, to marry slaves, or freed-women, or actresses, &c., under pain of infamy and outlawry, and of having their children illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to any part of their father's substance or possessions. And the better to secure women of noble extract from the base attempts of vile and abject men, and those of infamous character, the law provided, with great caution, that no one of an inferior condition should solicit a woman of any noble family, or try to gain her, by corrupting those that were about her, by any clandestine arts; but that her relations^a should be consulted, and all things be transacted publicly, in the presence of the nobles, who were not to be supposed inclinable to give way to any such fraud, in bringing about any such unequal contract. Nay, the *curiales*, or 'common-councilmen' of any city, were expressly forbidden, by a law of Constantine, to marry a woman that was a slave, under pain of the woman's being condemned^b to the mines, and the man himself to perpetual banishment, with confiscation of all his movable goods and city-slaves to the public, and all his lands and country-slaves to the city of which he was a member. And there is no doubt, but that what was so severely punished in the civil state, was as duly regarded in the ecclesiastical, that they might not be accessory or aiding to any such illegal practices, which would have reflected great dis-

^a Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xxvii. de Naturalibus Liberis, leg. i. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 165.) Senatores seu præfectos, vel quos in civitatibus duumvirilitas, vel sacerdotii, id est, Phœniciarchiæ vel Syriarchiæ ornamenta condecorant; placet maculam subire infamiæ, et alienos a Romanis legibus fieri; si ex ancilla, vel ancillæ filia; vel liberta, vel libertæ filia; vel scenica, vel scenicæ filia; vel humili vel abjecta [persona], vel lenonis, aut arenarii filia, vel quæ mercimoniis publice præfuit, susceptos filios in numero legitimorum habere voluerint, &c.

^a Ibid. Nuptias nobiles nemo redimat, nemo sollicitet, sed publice consulatur adfinitas, adhibeatur frequentia procerum.

^b Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurionibus, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iv. p. 350.) Si decurio fuerit alienæ servæ conjunctus, et mulierem in metallum trudi sententia iudicis jubemus, et ipsum decurionem in insulam deportari, &c.—Apul. lib. vi. Impares nuptiæ non sunt legitimæ.

honour and scandal on the Church ; though I remember no ecclesiastical canons expressly made against them.

SECT. VII.—*Judges of Provinces not to marry any Provincial Woman during the Year of their Administration.*

There were also some reasons of state, why a judge of a province should not marry any woman of that province during the year of his administration ; not because it was below his dignity, but because he might reasonably be supposed, by virtue of his power and superior influence over all about him, to overawe and terrify a woman into a compliance of marriage against her real inclinations, and not leave her parents or guardians at free liberty to dispose of her, at their own discretion. To prevent which inconvenience and oppression Theodosius made a law,^c that if any judge of a province, who might be a terror to parents, or tutors and guardians, or to women that might contract marriage, should betroth a woman during the time of his administration ; if afterward either the parent or the woman herself should change their mind, they should be free from the snare and punishment of the law, which appoints in that case a quadruple restitution to be made for breach of contract.—And this order extends not only to the judge himself,

^c Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vi. leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 273.) Si quis in potestate publica positus, atque honore provinciarum administrandarum, qui parentibus, aut tutoribus, aut curatoribus, aut ipsis quæ matrimonium contracturæ sunt, potest esse terribilis, sponsalia dederit ; jubemus, ut deinceps sive parentes, sive eædem mutaverint voluntatem, non modo juris laqueis liberentur, pænæque expertes sint, quæ quadruplum statuit, sed extrinsecus data pignora lucrativa habeant, si ea non putent esse reddenda. Quod ita late patere volumus, ut non solum circa administrantes, sed et circa administrantium filios, nepotes, propinquos, participes domesticosque censeamus, quibus tamen administrator operam dederit. Impleri autem id postea matrimonium non vetamus, quod tempore potestatis ob eas personas, de quibus loquuti sumus, arris fuerit obligatum, si sponsorum consensus accedat.—Ibid. tit. xi. leg. i. (Lugd. vol. i. p. 292.) Si quis ordinaria vel qualibet præditus potestate, circa nuptias invitis ipsis vel parentibus contrahendas (sive pupillæ, sive apud patres virgines, sive viduæ erunt, sive et sui juris viduæ, denique cujuscumque sortis) occasione potestatis utatur, et minacem favorem suum invitis iis, quorum utilitas agitur, exhibere aut exhibuisse detegitur, hunc et multæ librarum auri decem obnoxium statuimus, et quum honore abierit, peractam dignitatem usurpare prohibemus.

but to his children, grand-children, kinsmen, counsellors, and all his domestics, who might be supposed to terrify women into marriage-contracts by virtue of the judge's power. Yet if any woman that was so betrothed, was minded to fulfil the contract, and make good her espousals after his administration was ended, she might lawfully do it.—By which it is plain, that this was only a restraint laid upon certain persons for a season, viz. upon provincial judges, not to marry any woman of their own province during the year of their administration. They were not debarred from marrying any others, but only those of their own province, for the prudent reasons which the law assigns.

SECT. VIII.—*Widows not to marry again till Twelve Months after their Husband's Death.*

The case was much the same with widows: they were not restrained from marrying a second time, but yet they were tied up and limited by law not to do this, till a year after the death of their former husband. This was the law of the old Romans, even from the time of their first founder, Romulus. But the Roman year being then but ten months, the time of a widow's mourning was no longer at first: nor was it enlarged for many ages after, though the year itself was quickly enlarged by Numa to twelve months; yet still the widow's year was only according to the old computation. So that whenever we read of a widow's mourning a year after her husband's death, it is to be understood of the Romulean year of ten months only. And so the matter stood till the time of Theodosius, who added two months to the former term by an express law, which runs in these words:^d “If any woman, after the loss of her husband, make haste to be married to another within the space of a year (for we have added a little time to the ten months, though we think

^d Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. viii. de Secundis Nuptiis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 281.) Si qua ex feminis, perduto marito, intra anni spatium alteri festinarit innubere (parum enim temporis post decem menses servandum adjicimus, tametsi id ipsum exiguum putemus) probrosis inusta notis honestioris nobilisque personæ et decore et jure privetur; atque omnia, quæ de prioris mariti bonis, vel jure sponsaliorum, vel judicio defuncti conjugis consequuta fuerat, amittat.

it but a small term), let her be branded with the marks of infamy, and deprived of the honour and privilege of a gentle and noble person; and let her forfeit whatever goods she is possessed of, either by the right of espousals, or by the last will and testament of her deceased husband."

SECT. IX.—*Women not to marry in the Absence of their Husbands, till they were certified of their Death.*

If any woman's husband went abroad, and continued absent from her, there was no time limited for her marrying again, but she must wait till she was certified of his death: otherwise she was reputed guilty of adultery. So St. Basil: "She whose husband is absent from home, if she cohabit with another man before she is satisfied of his death, commits adultery." This was the case of a soldier's wife (marrying after the long absence of her husband, yet before she was certified of his death), as he determines^f in another canon: but he reckons her more pardonable than another woman, because it was more probable that he might be dead. In these cases, if the first husband appeared again, he might claim his wife, and the second marriage was null and of no effect: as is determined in the Council of Trullo,^g where these canons of St. Basil are repeated. But the civil law allowed a soldier's wife to marry^h after four years' expectation.

* Basil. c. xxxi. (Labbé, ii. p. 1740.) 'Η ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος, πρὸ τοῦ πισθῆναι περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἰτίρῃ συνοικήσασα, μοιχᾷται.

^f Ibid. c. xxxvi. (ibid. p. 1741.) Στρατιώτιδες, αἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀφανῶν ὄντων γαμηθεῖσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπόκεινται λόγῳ, ὥστε ἂν καὶ αἱ διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πλὴν ἔχει τινὰ συγγνώμην τὸ πρῶγμα ἰσταῦθα, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον πρὸς θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν.

^g Conc. Trul. c. xciii. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 1182.) 'Η ἀναχωρήσας, κ. τ. λ. . . εἰ δὲ γιὲς στρατιώτης ἐπανέλθοι χρόνῳ ποτὶ, οὗ ἢ γυνὴ διὰ τὴν ἱκανοῦ ἐκείνου ἀπόλειψιν ἰτίρῃ συνήθη ἀνδρὶ, οὗτος εἰ προαιρεῖται, τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς ἀναλαμβάνει γυναικᾶ, συγγνώμης αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ δεδομένης, καὶ τῇ ταύτῃ εἰσακταμένη κατὰ δεύτερον γάμον ἀνδρὶ.

^h Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xvii. l. vii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 162.) Uxor, quæ in militiam profecto marito, post interventum annorum quatuor, nullum sospitatis ejus potuit habere indicium, atque ideo de nuptiis aliis cogitavit, nec tamen ante nupsit, quam libello Ducem super [hoc suo] voto convenit; non videtur nuptias iniisse furtivas, nec dotis amissionem sustinere, nec capitali pænæ esse obnoxia, quæ post tam magni temporis jurgitatem non temere, nec clauculo, sed publice contestatione deposita nupsisse firmatur.

SECT. X. — *Guardians not to marry Orphans in their Minority, till their Guardianship was ended.*

By the old Roman law a guardian might not marry a woman to whom he was guardian: neither might he give her in marriage to his own son. There are several laws of Severus, Philip, and Valerian,¹ in the Justinian Code, to this purpose. The only exception then was, when the guardian did it by the prince's license and particular rescript. But Constantine determined this matter with another distinction: which was,^k "That the guardian should not marry the orphan, whilst she was a minor and under his care; but when she was of age, he might marry her, first proving that he had not defiled her in her minority. But if he had offered any injury to her before, he was not only debarred from marrying her, but was also to be banished, and all his goods to be confiscated to the public."

¹ Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. vi. (p. 151.) de Interdicto Matrimonio inter Pupillam et Tutorem seu Curatorem Filiosque eorum, leg. i. Senatus consulti auctoritatem, quo inter pupillam et tutoris filium connubium saluberrime sublatum est, circumveniri rusticitatis et imperitiæ velamentis non oportet. — Leg. iv. Libertinum, qui filio suo naturali, quem in servitute suscepit, postea manumisso pupillam suam, eandemque patroni sui filiam in matrimonio collocavit; ad sententiam amplissimi ordinis, qui hujusmodi nuptiis interdicendum putavit, pertinere dubitari non oportet. — Leg. vi. Si patris tui pupillam nondum reddita tutelæ ratione, vel post redditam nondum exacto quinto et vicesimo anno, nec non utili anno, uxorem duxisti: nec matrimonium cum ea habuisse, nec filium ex hujusmodi conjunctione procreasse videri potes. — Leg. vii. Si tutor vel curator pupillam, vel adultam quandam suam sibi, vel filio suo, nullo divino impetrato beneficio, in matrimonio collocaverit; manet infamia contra eum, veluti confessum de tutela: quia hujusmodi conjunctione fraudem administrationis tegere laboravit: et dos data per conditionem repeti potest.

^k Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. viii. leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 69.) Ubi puella ad annos adultæ ætatis accesserit, et adspirare ad nuptias cæperit, tutores necesse habeant comprobare, quod puellæ sit intemerata virginitas, cujus conjunctio postulat. Quod ne latius porrigatur, hic solus debet tutorem nexus adstringere, ut se ipsum probet ab injuria læsi pudoris immunem: quod ubi constiterit, omni metu liber optata conjunctione frui debet: officio servaturo, ut si violatæ castitatis apud ipsum facinus hæreat, deportatione plectatur, atque universæ ejus facultates fisci viribus vindicentur: quamvis eam pœnam debuerit sustinere, quam raptori leges imponunt.

SECT. XI.—*When first the Prohibition of Spiritual Relations marrying one with another, came in.*

By some rules, though not of the first and prime antiquity, certain degrees of spiritual relations were prohibited from making marriages one with another. The thing was first thought of by Justinian, who made a law,¹ forbidding any man to marry a woman for whom he had been godfather in baptism; because nothing induces a more paternal affection, or juster prohibition of marriage, than this tie, by which their souls are, in a divine manner, united together. The Council of Trullo improves this matter a little further,^m and forbids the godfather not only to marry the infant, but the mother of the infant for whom he was surety; ordering such as have done so, first to be separated, and then to do the penance of fornicators. The canon law afterward extended this relation to the baptizer and the baptized, and to the catechist and catechumen,ⁿ and I know not what other degrees of spiritual kindred: and the popes, with the same reason, might have used their authority to have prohibited all Christians from marrying one with another: because by baptism, and many other ties, they are more undoubtedly spiritual brethren. But Estius^o owns this is too absurd to

¹ Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. xxvi. p. 150. Ea persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis sive alumna sit sive non, a sacro sancto suscepit baptismate: quum nihil aliud sic inducere potest paternam adfectionem et justam nuptiarum prohibitionem, quam hujusmodi nexus, per quem Deo mediante animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.

^m Conc. Trul. c. liii. (Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1167.) 'Ἐπειδὴ μίζων ἡ κατὰ πνῦμα οἰκίτης τῆς τῶν σωμάτων συναφίας Ἱγνώμην δι' ἃν τισι τόποις τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ σωτηριῶδους βαπτίσματος παῖδας ἀναδιχομένους, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἐκείνων μητέρας χειροῦσαις γαμικὸν συναλλάσσοντας συνοικίσαν' ὀρίζομεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν τοιούτων πράττειν· εἰ δὲ τινες μετὰ τὸν παρόντα κανόνα φωραθῶν τούτου ποιούσιν, προσηγορίας μὲν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀφιστάσθωσαν τοῦ παρόντος τούτου συνοικίσαν' ἔκτισα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν πορευόντων ἐπιτιμίαις ὑποβλήσθωσαν.

ⁿ Sixt. Decretal. lib. iv. tit. iii. de Cognatione Spirituali, c. iii. Per catechismum, qui præcedit baptismum, sacramentorum fundamentum et januam reliquorum, cognatio spiritualis contrahitur: per quam contrahendum matrimonium impeditur.

^o Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. Distinct. xlii. n. i. Multo minus ea spiritualis fraternitas, quæ est inter omnes Christianos, debuit impedimentum matrimonii constitui; tum quia ratio supradicta non habet in ea locum, tum quia per ejusdem legem Christiani non possent matrimonia contrahere, nisi cum infidelibus, quod foret absurdissimum.

be maintained, because it would oblige all Christians either to abstain from marriage, or else to marry infidels: and yet he gravely defends all the other extravagant prohibitions upon the infallible authority of the Church.

SECT. XII.— *Whether a Man might marry after a lawful Divorce?*

But to return to the ancient Church. Many of the primitive writers were of opinion, that the bond of matrimony was not dissolvable by any thing but death: and therefore they not only condemned polygamy, or marrying a second wife while the first was living; and marrying after an unlawful divorce, which was much the same thing with polygamy in real estimation; but they reckoned it unlawful also to marry after a lawful divorce, because, though there might be reason for a separation, yet they thought there was no dissolution of the marriage so long as both parties were living. I shall say nothing further here of the unlawfulness of polygamy, or of marrying again after an unlawful divorce; because I have had occasion heretofore^p to speak fully of the laws and discipline of the Church against both these: but the prohibition of marrying again, after a lawful divorce, is what deserves a little further consideration.

And here I observe, that the ancients were divided in their sentiments upon the point. Origen was against marrying after such a divorce; yet, he says,^q “There were some bishops in his time, who permitted a woman to marry, whilst her former husband was living. Which was, indeed, against Scripture, which says, ‘The woman is bound so long as her husband liveth:’ and, ‘She shall be called an adulteress, if, whilst her husband liveth, she be married to another man.’ Yet they did not permit this altogether

^p Book xvi. chap. xi. sect. v. and vi. vol. vi. p. 239.

^q Origen. Hom. vii. in Matth. tom. ii. p. 67. Scio quosdam, qui præsunt ecclesiis, extra scripturam permisisse aliquam nubere, viro priori vivente: et contra Scripturam fecerunt quidem, dicentem, ‘Mulier ligata est, quanto tempore vivit vir ejus.’ Item, ‘Vivente viro adultera vocabitur, si facta fuerit alteri viro.’ Non tamen omnino sine causa hoc permiserunt: forsitan enim propter hujusmodi infirmitatem incontinentium hominum, pejorum comparatione, quæ mala sunt permiserunt, adversus ea, quæ ab initio erant scripta.

without reason : for perhaps, for the infirmity of such as could not contain, they tolerated that which was evil, to avoid that which is worse, though contrary to that which was written from the beginning." Here it is reasonable to suppose, that those bishops who allowed men and women to marry after divorce, did not think it simply evil, though it was so in Origen's opinion. And the same is to be said of Constantine, who made a law,^r that a man for three crimes, adultery, sorcery, and pandery, might lawfully put away his wife and marry another. For, as Gothofred^s rightly observes, in saying, that unless she was guilty of one of those three crimes, he might not marry another, it is plainly implied, that if he proved her guilty of any of the three, he had liberty to put her away, and marry another. The author under the name of St. Ambrose was of the same opinion : for expounding those words of the apostle, "A brother or a sister in such a case is not under bondage," he says,^t "If Esdras cast out the infidels, and allowed the faithful to marry other wives ; how much rather, if an infidel departs of his own accord, shall the believing woman have liberty, if she pleases, to be married to a man of her own religion ?" And he gives this reason for it : "Because an indignity offered to the Creator dissolves the obligation of matrimony with respect to him who is deserted, so that he is excused though he be joined to another : forasmuch as an infidel is injurious both to God and to matrimony itself by desertion."

^r Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. xvi. de Repudiis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 310.) In masculis etiam, si repudium mittant, hæc tria crimina inquiri conveniet, si mœcham, vel medicamentariam, vel conciliatricem repudiare voluerit : nam 'si ab his criminibus liberam ejecerit, omnem dotem restituere debet, et aliam non ducere.

^s Gothofréd. in loc. p. 313. Ex hac interim lege ibi ; et aliam non ducere, a contrario discimus, juste repudiata uxore a marito, veluti ob adulterium, alteram ei uxorem ducere licuisse.

^t Ambros. in 1 Cor. vii. 15. Non est servituti subjectus frater aut soror, in hujusmodi. Si Esdras dimitti fecit uxores aut viros infideles, ut propitius fieret Deus, nec iratus esset, si alias ex genere suo acciperent ; (non enim ita præceptum his est, ut remissis istis alias minime ducerent,) quanto magis si infidelis disceserit, liberum habebit arbitrium, si voluerit, nubere legis suæ viro ? Contumelia enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii circa eum qui relinquitur, ne accusetur alii copulatus ; infidelis autem discedens, et in Deum, et in matrimonium peccare dignoscitur.

Epiphanius speaks not only his own sense, but the sense of the Church in his time. And he says plainly,^u "That though the clergy were prohibited from marrying a second wife after the death of the first, yet the people were not only allowed to marry again in such a case; but also in case of divorce, if a separation was made upon the account of fornication or adultery, or any such criminal evil, and a man thereupon was joined to a second wife, or a woman to a second husband, the word of God did not condemn them, nor exclude them from the Church, nor eternal life, but tolerate them because of their infirmity: not that a man should have two wives at the same time, but that being divorced or separated from the first, he might lawfully be joined to a second." Petavius freely owns,^v that this is a full proof, in fact, of the Church's sentiments at that time: only, he says, the matter was not then fully determined nor settled by any general council; which is not very material to the present inquiry, which is not about the determinations of the Councils of Florence or Trent, but about the sense and practice of the ancient Church. Now what Epiphanius observes, concerning the toleration of such marriages in the Church without any check of ecclesiastical censure, is further confirmed, even from the Council of Arles and St. Austin, though they were of a different opinion from Epiphanius as to the sense of Scripture. They thought men were forbidden to marry again, after divorce, whilst the first wife was living: but they did not think this so clearly revealed as to make it a high crime, and just matter of excommunication, like other plain cases of adultery. The Council orders, that such men shall be dealt with and advised, as

^u Epiphanius. Hæres. lix. n. iv. (Paris. 1662, vol. i. p. 497, A. 4.) 'Ο μὴ δυνηθεὶς τῇ μιᾷ ἀρραβωνίᾳ τελευτήσασθαι, ἵνα κινῇ τινος προφάσις, πορνείας, ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κακῆς αἰτίας χωρισμοῦ γινομένου, συναφθὲντα διυτίρα γυναῖκι, ἢ γυνὴ διυτίρα ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ αἰτιάται ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀποκηρύττει, ἀλλὰ διαβαστάζει διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς, οὐχ ἵνα δύο γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῇ, ἔτι περιούσης τῆς μιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποσχισθεὶς, διυτίρα, εἰ τύχοιεν, νόμῳ συναφθῆναι.

^v Petav. in loc. p. 255. Ita quidem Epiphanius. Sed ut illis temporibus nondum ea res ab ecclesia definita prorsus fuerit, hodie tamen, præsertimque post editum a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo canonem, aliter sentire nefas, quam superstite priore conjugio, etiam post legitimum divortium, alteris copulari nuptiis nunquam licere.

much as might be, not to marry a second wife while the former, that was divorced for adultery, was living :^{*} but they say not a word of any ecclesiastical censure to be passed upon them if they did otherwise. And St. Austin confesses,[†] there was a very great difference to be made between such as put away their wives for adultery, and married again, and such as did so upon other reasons : for this question, Whether he who, without doubt, has liberty to put away his wife for adultery, be to be reckoned an adulterer if he marries again, is a matter so obscurely resolved in Scripture, that a man may be supposed to err venially about it. And therefore he concludes, “ That all the ministry has to do in this case is, only to persuade men not to engage in such marriages : but if they will marry, notwithstanding the contrary advice that is given them, he will not venture to say that such men ought therefore to be kept out of the Church.” St. Austin was fully persuaded in his own mind that such marriages, after divorce, were unlawful : for he often repeats it in his works,[‡] and uses what arguments he

* Conc. Arelat. I. c. x. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1428.) De his, qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere, placuit, ut, in quantum possit, consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant. Note that Petavius reads this canon differently from all the printed editions. For whereas they read the beginning of it thus, ‘ De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere ;’ he contends that it ought certainly to be read, ‘ Non prohibentur nubere.’ And then, as he says, it is another evident proof, that innocent persons, after a lawful divorce, were not prohibited to marry in those days. Petav. Animadvers. in Epiphan. Hær. lix. p. 255. See also St. Basil, c. ix. to the same purpose. (See notes in preceding page.)

† Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. xix. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 136, E. 13.) Quisquis uxorem adulterio deprehensam dimiserit et aliam duxerit, non videtur æquandus eis, qui excepta causa adulterii dimittunt et ducunt : et in ipsis Divinis sententiis ita obscurum est, utrum et iste cui quidem sine dubio adulteram licet dimittere, adulter tamen habeatur, si alteram duxerit, ut, quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallatur. Quamobrem quæ manifesta sunt impudiciæ crimina, omni modo a baptismo prohibenda sunt, nisi mutatione voluntatis et pœnitentia corrigantur : quæ autem dubia, omni modo conandum est, ne fiant tales conjunctiones. Quid enim opus est in tantum discrimen ambiguitatis caput mittere ? Si autem factæ fuerint, nescio, utrum ii qui fecerint, similiter ad baptismum non debere videantur admitti.

‡ Ibid. de Adulterinis Conjugiis, lib. i. c. i. et xxvi. tot. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 296.) — De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia, lib. i. c. x. tot. (ibid. vol. x. p. 191.) —

could to dissuade men from them ; not scrupling to declare his opinion of them, as suspicious and doubtful marriages, that might stand charged with adultery. But, then, he nowhere intimates, that the Church either did or ought to treat persons so marrying as she did other adulterers (whose adultery was more indisputable), either by dissolving the marriage, or bringing the persons under excommunication and public penance in the church : but rather declares the error of such persons to be venial, because it was not so expressly condemned in Scripture. And thus much Estius owns ; only he says,^a “ It was not then condemned by any general council.” There is one instance, indeed, given by St. Jerom,^b of a woman doing public penance in the church for marrying a second husband, after she had divorced herself from the first upon the account of his adultery, and his other intolerable practices. But this was a voluntary act of her own, and not done till after death of her second husband : the Church did not impose this penance on her whilst her husband was living, nor yet when he was dead ; but she chose it of her own accord, and submitted to it without any compulsion. Had there been any general law then in the Church, either to dissolve such marriages, or bring the parties to public penance, no doubt the bishop of Rome would have called upon them both, whilst the husband was living, to have complied with the rule and the discipline of the Church : but this not being done, seems to be an argument, that then it was not the custom of the

De Bono Conjugali, c. vii. tot. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 236.) — De Sermone Domini in Monte, lib. i. c. xiv. tot. (ibid. vol. iii. part. ii. p. 130.)

^a Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. xxxv. n. ii. Sanctus Hieronymus in epitaphio Fabiolæ ad Oceanum refert, quemadmodum Fabiola, quæ dimisso viro non solum adultero, sed omnibus flagitiis contaminato, alteri nupserat, post mortem secundi mariti publicam pœnitentiam, ab episcopo Romano impositam, similiter subierit ; ejusque factum non aliter excusat, quam quod evangelii rigorem ignoraverit. Hinc discimus, illo tempore publicum crimen habitum fuisse in ecclesia, si quis, vivente conjuge, etiam ob fornicationem dimissa, aliud conjugium iniret, &c.

^b Hieron. Epitaph. Fabiolæ, Epist. xxx. ad Oceanum, (Venet. vol. i. p. 459, D. 8.) Quis hoc crederet, ut post mortem secundi viri in semetipsam reversa sacrum indueret, ut errorem publice fateretur ; et tota urbe spectante Romana, ante diem Paschæ in Basilica quondam Laterani, staret in ordine pœnitentium, &c.

Roman Church to inflict any public censures upon such as married again after a lawful divorce, but only to use what arguments she could to dissuade men and women from such marriages, till the former husband or wife were dead; or else, if they did engage in them, to exhort them to repent of such engagements, as crimes prohibited by the apostle. Which St. Jerom himself^c does with no small vehemence, according to his manner, telling a woman who had so married a second husband, that “she was an adulteress for so doing, and that she ought not to receive the communion till she repented of her crime.” By which, I suppose, he means her obligations to private repentance, and not any solemn penance imposed by the public discipline of the Church. Yet in the Spanish Church, before this time, there seems to have been something of public discipline exercised against such persons, especially women, joining in second marriages whilst the first husband was living. For in the Council of Eliberis^d there is a canon which orders, “That if a woman, who is a believer, put away an adulterous husband who is also a believer, and go about to marry another, she shall first be dissuaded from it: but if, notwithstanding that she does marry, she shall not receive the communion till her first husband be dead, unless the necessity of sickness require it to be given her.” But as this was but a canon of a private council, so here are several exceptions and abatements in it. First, it only respects women, and not men. Then, again, it only relates to women that were believers, and not catechumens, who by the next canon are allowed, notwithstanding, to be admitted to baptism; as St. Austin also determined. Thirdly, the husband also that was deserted, must be a believer: for the case is otherwise, if he was a heathen. Lastly, she is allowed the communion at

^c Hieron. Epist. cxlvii. ad Amandum, (Venet. vol. i. p. 298, D. 3.) *Ista soror, quæ, ut dicit, vim passa est, ut alteri jungeretur, si vult corpus Christi accipere et non adultera reputari, agat pœnitentiam; ita duntaxat, ut secundo viro, qui non appellatur vir, sed adulter, a tempore pœnitentiæ non copuletur, &c.*

^d Conc. Illiber. c. ix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 971.) *Femina fidelis, quæ adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem, et alterum ducit, prohibeatur ne ducat: si duxerit, non prius accipiat communionem, nisi, quem reliquerit, prius de sæculo exierit; nisi forte necessitas infirmitatis dare compulerit.*

the point of death, though she never relinquished the second husband: so that, as yet, the prohibition was not universal, upon many accounts. Afterwards we find in one of the laws of Honorius,^e “That if a woman could prove her reason weighty and sufficient for a divorce, she might not only retain her dowry, and the donations of her espousals, but also within five years have liberty to marry again. And a man, if he could prove his reasons for divorce weighty against his wife, might not only retain her dowry and gifts of espousal, but have liberty to marry another wife whenever he pleased. Or, if they were only light faults, and not high crimes, that he had to allege against his wife, he was to leave her her dowry, but might reclaim any espousal gifts, and have liberty to marry another wife after two years. But if a man put away his wife for no reasons at all, but only his own moroseness, he was condemned to live in perpetual celibacy for his insolent divorce, and the woman had liberty within a year to be married to another man.” And there are several laws of Theodosius Junior, and Valentinian III., and Anastasius, in the Justinian Code,^f which grant the same liberty of marrying after lawful divorces. But these laws are not altogether approved by the writers of the Church in those times: for, as we have heard St. Austin and St. Jerom express their dislike before, so we may find the same in Chrysostom,^g and Ambrose,^h and Pope Inno-

^e Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. xvi. de Repudiis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 313.) Si graves causas atque involutam criminibus magnis conscientiam probaverit, quæ recedit, dotis suæ compos, sponsalem quoque obtineat largitatem, atque a repudii die post quinquennium nubendi recipiat potestatem. Si divortium prior maritus objecerit, ac mulieri grave crimen intulerit, persequatur legibus accusatam, impetrataque vindicta et dote potiat, et suam recipiat largitatem, et ducendi mox alteram liberum sortiatur arbitrium. Si vero morum est culpa, non criminum, donationem recipiat, et dotem relinquat, aliam post biennium ducturus uxorem. Quod si matrimonium solo maluerit separare dissensu, nullisque vitiis peccatisque gravetur exclusa, et donationem vir perdat et dotem, ac perpetuo cœlibatu insolentis divortii pœnam de solitudinis mœrore sustineat, mulieri post anni metas nuptiarum potestate concessa.

^f Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xvii. de Repudiis, leg. viii. et ix. tot. (Amstel. 1663, p. 162.)

^g Chrysostom. Hom. xvii. in Matth. Field's edition, Cambridge, 1839, vol. i. p. 238. [Not. de divortiiis quidem, sed non de legibus imperialibus circa divortia, hic loquitur Chrysostomus.—Grischow.]

^h Ambros. de Abraham. lib. i. c. iv. Vos moneo, viri, maxime qui ad gratiam

cent,ⁱ and other writers of that age, who reckon the laws of the state too loose and favourable to such as married after divorce. Which serves only to confirm the observation which I made at first, that the ancients were divided upon this point, and treated it only as a problematical question; though the Council of Trent has since turned it into an article of faith,^k and damned all those that come not into her sentiments about it. And in her sentence (to note this by the by), she has also condemned some of her own popes, and councils of later ages, which Gratian has recorded. Pope Zachary^l allows a woman, whose husband had committed incest with her sister, to put him away, and marry to whom she would in the Lord. And Gregory III. allows a man to put away his wife for infirmity,^m and marry another. The Council of Tribur says,ⁿ “ If a son commits incest with his mother-in-law, the father may put her away, and marry

Domini tenditis, non misceri adulterino corpori: ‘ qui enim se jungit meretrici, unum corpus est: ’ nec date hanc occasionem divortii mulieribus. Nemo sibi blandiatur de legibus hominum.

ⁱ Innocent. Epist. iii. ad Exuper. c. vi. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1256.) De his etiam requisivit Dilectio tua, qui interveniente repudio alii se matrimonio copularunt: quos in utraque parte adulteros esse manifestum est. Qui vera vel uxore vivente, quamvis dissociatum videatur esse conjugium, ad aliam copulam festinarunt, neque possunt adulteri non videri, in tantum ut hæ etiam personæ, quibus tales conjuncti sunt, etiam ipsæ adulterium commisisse videantur; secundum illud, quod legimus in evangelio, ‘ Qui dimiserit uxorem suam,’ &c.

^k Conc. Trident. Sess. xxiv. c. vii. (ibid. vol. xiv. p. 875.) Si quis dixerit ecclesiam errare, quum docuit et docet, juxta evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam, propter adulterium alterius conjugum matrimonii vinculum non posse dissolvi, et utrumque, vel etiam innocentem, qui causam adulterio non dedit, non posse, altero conjugē vivente, aliud matrimonium contrahere, mæcharique eum qui, dimissa adultera, aliam duxerit, et eam quæ dimisso adultero, alii nupserit: anathema sit.

^l Apud Gratian. caus. xxxii. quæst. vii. c. xxiii. Concubuisti cum sorore uxoris tuæ? Si fecisti, neutram habeas: et si illa, quæ uxor tua fuerit, conscia sceleris non fuit, si se continere non vult, nubat in Domino, cui velit. Tu autem et adultera sinē spe conjugii permaneat: et quamdiu vixeritis, juxta præceptum sacerdotis pœnitentiam agite.

^m Ibid. caus. xxxii. quæst. vii. c. xviii. Quod proposuisti, si mulier infirmitate correpta non valuerit debitum viro reddere, quid faciat jugalis; bonum esset, si sic permaneret, ut abstinentiæ vacaret: sed quia hoc magnum est, ille qui se non poterit continere, nubat magis, &c.

ⁿ Ibid. c. xxiv. Si quis cum noverca sua dormierit, neuter ad conjugium potest pervenire: sed vir ejus potest, si vult, aliam accipere, si se continere non potest.

another, if he pleases." And the Council of Vermeriæ (which in some copies of Gratian is falsely called the Council of Eliberis) says,^o "If a woman take counsel, with others, to compass the death of her husband, he may dismiss her for the attempt, and marry another, if he pleases." So that the new legislators at Trent were as much at variance with their own canon law, as they were with the ancient fathers upon this subject.

SECT. XIII.—*Whether an Adulterer might marry an Adulteress, whom he had defiled, after the Death of her Husband?*

Nor are the Roman casuists better agreed with the ancients upon another question relating to the impediments of marriage, viz. Whether an adulterer may marry another man's wife after the death of her husband, having been guilty of adultery with her whilst her former husband was living? The modern canonists commonly resolve this in the negative. The Council of Tribur, in Germany, which was held in the year 895, under Pope Formosus, proposes a famous case of a man who defiled another man's wife, and swore he would marry her after her husband's death. The Council peremptorily determines this to be unlawful:^p "We anathematize such a marriage, and forbid it to all Christians. It is not lawful, therefore, nor agreeable to the Christian religion, that any one should use her in matrimony, whom he had before defiled by adultery." Peter Lombard^q and

^o Conc. Vermer. ap. Gratian. caus. xxxi. quæst. i. c. vi. Si qua mulier in mortem mariti sui cum aliis consiliata sit, si probare potest ille vir eam ream esse consilii, potest ipsam uxorem dimittere, et si voluerit, aliam ducere. See Labbé, vol. vi. p. 1657.

^p Conc. Tribur. c. xl. (ibid. vol. ix. p. 461.) Tale connubium anathematizamus et Christianis omnibus obseramus. Non licet ergo, nec Christianæ religioni oportet, ut ullus ea utatur in matrimonio, cum qua prius pollutus erat adulterio.

^q Lombard. Sent. lib. iv. dist. xxxv. Solet quæri, an valeat duci in conjugium, quæ prior est polluta per adulterium. De hoc Leo papa ait, 'Nullus ducat in matrimonium, quam prius polluit adulterio.' Item: 'Relatum est auribus sanctorum sacerdotum, quemdam alterius uxorem stupro violasse et insuper mœchæ juramentum dedisse, quod post legitimi mariti mortem, si superviveret, duceret eam in uxorem, quod et factum est. Tale ergo connubium prohibemus et anathe-

Gratian^r cite other authorities of Pope Leo, and the Council of Althæum, to this purpose; and the modern canonists commonly stand to their determination,^s only making some nice distinctions, to reconcile these canons to better authorities of the ancients: for the ancients, in this matter, were of another opinion. St. Austin^t resolves the question in the affirmative, universally and without distinction, "That when a woman's husband was dead, to whom she was truly married, she might become the true and lawful wife of

matizamus.' His aliisque auctoribus vetantur in conjugium copulari, qui se prius adulterio maculaverunt.

^r Gratian. Caus. xxxi. quæst. i. ubi Leo; Nullus ducat in matrimonium, quam prius polluit adulterio. Et Conc. ep. Althæum: Illud communi decreto secundum canonum instituta definimus et præjudicamus, ut si quis cum uxore alterius eo vivente fornicatus fuerit, moriente marito, synodali judicio aditus ei claudatur illicitus, ne ulterius ei conjugatur matrimonio, quam prius polluit adulterio. Nolumus enim, nec Christianæ religioni convenit, ut ullus ducat in conjugium, quam prius polluit per adulterium.

^s Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. xxxv. n. xiii. Quare altera ejusdem Augustini expositio, quam et alii veteres fere sequuntur, ceteris præponenda videtur, ut exceptio illa ('nisi ob fornicationem') ad id, quod præcedit, tantum referatur, totaque oratio elliptica sit, hoc pacto supplenda atque intelligenda, 'Quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam' (quod non licet nisi ob fornicationem) 'et aliam duxerit, mæchatur.' Simile est, si dicam, Quicumque mulierem cognoverit, nisi in conjugio, et libidini suæ obsecutus fuerit, peccat. Constat autem ellipticum loquendi genus Hebræis admodum fuisse familiare, et hujus rei exempla plurima reperiri in sacris litteris, quale illud est, 1 Timoth. iv. 'Prohibitum nubere, abstinere a cibis,' &c.; subauditur enim vocabulum contrariæ significationis, nempe 'jumentium.'—Et p. 430. Apud Gratianum, xxxii. quæst. vii. exstat canon cujusdam concilii in hæc verba, 'Quædam cum fratre viri sui dormivit; decretum est, ut adulteri numquam conjugio copulentur; illi vero, cujus uxor stuprata est, licita conjugia non negentur.' Sed respondetur, ut canon detur auctoritas, (qui tamen cujus concilii fuerit ignoratur, quandoquidem nec hodie in ullo exstat concilio,) sensum ejus hunc esse, adulteros incestuosos, (talis enim est casus in canone propositus) numquam posse conjugio copulari, ne quidem post mortem conjugum: at eorum conjuges non prohiberi, quo minus adulteris mortuis ad alia conjugia transeant. Qui sensus canonis colligitur, tum ex antithesi partium, tum ex simili canone Gregorii, (qui habetur eadem quæst. cap. *Hi vero*, &c.) quem similiter de adultera incestuosa exponunt. In eo enim expresse post mortem conjugis adulteri conceditur, quod in vita negatur; et similiter respondendum est ad duos alios canones, alterum Zachariæ papæ, et alterum Concilii Triburiensis, quos ibidem Gratianus recitat. Hoc enim dumtaxat concedunt innocenti, quod prohibetur nocenti, nempe aliud conjugium post mortem prioris.

^t Aug. de Nupt. et Concupisc. lib. i. c. x. (Bened. 1700, vol. x. p. 191, D. 2.) Mortuo viro cum quo verum connubium fuit, fieri verum connubium potest, cum quo prius adulterium fuit.

another, with whom before she had committed adultery." And again,^u "It is manifest, that they who at first join wickedly together in concubinage, may afterward, by changing their wills, make a just and honest marriage together." And, therefore, the Council of Eliberis determined,^x "That though a woman, who left her husband and lived adulterously with another, should not communicate so long as her husband was living; yet she might after his death, because then she became the lawful wife of him with whom before she had only lived in adultery." Albaspin, in his notes upon this canon, makes this candid remark:^y "In those times you may observe, that matrimony might stand firm and valid between adulterers, who had to do with one another whilst the true and lawful husband was living: which now is so prohibited, that a woman, even after the death of her husband, cannot make a true and lawful marriage with her adulterer, but only by the dispensation of the pope." Which is a plain and ingenuous confession of the difference between the ancient and modern way of resolving this question; and, perhaps, tacitly intimates the true reason of inventing so many new impediments in the business of matrimony, that the pope might have it in his power to grant frequent dispensations. All that the ancient canons required in this particular case was only, that the criminals should perform a just and satisfactory penance for their former adultery; but they never forbade them to marry, nor dissolved the marriage, if it was contracted regularly after the death of the former husband, without any other impediment to hinder or disannul it. As appears from

^u Aug. de Bono Conjugali, c. xiv. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 241, A. 8.) *Posse sane fieri nuptias ex male conjunctis, honesto postea placito consequente, manifestum est.*

^x Conc. Illiber. c. ix. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 971.) *Femina fidelis, quæ adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem, et alterum ducit, prohibeatur ne ducat; si duxerit, non prius accipiat communionem, nisi quem reliquerit, prius de sæculo exierit.*

^y Albaspin. in loc. (p. 991.) *Illis temporibus, ut vides, matrimonium poterat stare et validum esse inter adulteros, qui vivente vero et legitimo marito rem simul habuerant: quod hodie ita prohibitum est, ut ne quidem post mortem mariti mulier possit cum adultero nuptias firmas et legitimas facere; nisi summo dispensante pontifice.*

another canon of the Council of Eliberis, which orders,* "That if a widow commit adultery with a man, and afterward take him for her husband, she shall do five years' penance, and then be reconciled to the communion [or by the communion]: but if she leaves him, and marries any other, she shall not have the communion, even at her last hour." Where it is observable, that the council is so far from prohibiting or disannulling the marriage of an adulteress with her adulterer, that they oblige her to keep him for her husband, and take no other, under pain of being refused the communion even at the hour of death. Which is abundantly sufficient to shew us the sense of the ancients upon this point, that they never reckoned it needed a dispensation to bring adulterers into a lawful marriage, though this has been the current practice of the Roman court now for many ages.

SECT. XIV.—*The Celebration of Marriage forbidden in Lent.*

I have but one thing more to observe concerning the ancient prohibitions of marriage; and that relates to the time or season in which it might, or might not, be regularly celebrated. The most ancient prohibition that we meet with of this kind, is that of the Council of Laodicea; which forbids all marriages, as well as birthdays, to be celebrated in Lent.^a And this is the only prohibition, in point of time, that we meet with in any of the genuine records of those early ages. Peter Lombard^b and Gratian^c cite a canon out

* Conc. Illiber. c. lxxii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 978.) Si qua vidua fuerit mœchata, et eundem postea habuerit maritum, post quinquennii tempus, acta legitima pœnitentia, placuit eam communioni reconciliari; si alium duxerit, relicto illo, nec in fine dandam esse communionem.

^a Conc. Laodic. c. lii. (ibid. vol. i. p. 1506.) "Ὅτι οὐ δὴ ἐν τρισεκατηνῇ ἡμέρῃ ἡ γυνὴ λαμβάνει ἄνδρα."

^b Lombard. Sentent. lib. iv. Distinct. xxxii. Nec solum in opere carnali observanda sunt tempora, sed etiam in celebrandis nuptiis, secundum illud, 'Non oportet a Septuagesima,' &c. See following note.

^c Gratian. Caus. xxxiii. quæst. iv. c. x. Non oportet, a Septuagesima usque in Octavas Paschæ, et tribus hebdomadibus ante festivitatem Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, et ab Adventu Domini usque post Epiphaniam, nuptias celebrare. Quod si factum fuerit, separentur.

of the Council of Lerida (an. 524), which forbids marriages not only in Lent, but three weeks before the festival of St. John Baptist, and from the beginning of Advent to Epiphany; ordering likewise all marriages that are made in these intervals to be annulled. But there is no such canon now extant in the tomes of the councils; which makes it suspicious, that it is some canon of a much later date than the council that is pretended. Martin Bracarensis lived some time after the Council of Lerida; and in his collection of canons, which he published (an. 572) in the Council of Lugo, he takes notice of the prohibition made at Laodicea, but not of the pretended one at Lerida,^d nor of any other. Which is a further argument, that as yet there was no prohibition of marrying but only in Lent known in Spain, when the bishop of Braga made his collection of canons for the use of the Spanish Church. Pope Nicholas I. lived about the year 860: and he also takes notice of the prohibition of marriage in Lent,^e but mentions no other season. Yet Mr. Selden says,^f “The Council of Aquisgranum, or Aix-la-Chapelle, held, an. 836, under the Emperor Lewis I., forbids marriages to be celebrated on the Lord’s-day, by a new injunction;” which I do not find in the place by him quoted. However the Council of Salegunstade (an. 1322), under Benedict VIII. and the Emperor Henry II., made an order,^g “That no Christians should marry from Advent to the Octaves of Epiphany; nor between Septuagesima Sunday

^d Martin. Bracar. Collect. c. xlviii. Ex Conc. Laodic. c. i. Non oportet in Quadragesima martyrum natalitia celebrari, sed eorum in Sabbato et Dominica tantum memoriam fieri.—Ibid. c. iii. Non oportet in Quadragesima aut nuptias vel quælibet natalitia celebrare.

^e Nicol. Respons. ad Consulta Bulgar. sect. xlviii. (Labbé, vol. viii. p. 534.) Unde nec uxorem ducere, nec convivia facere in Quadragesimali tempore convenire posse nullatenus arbitramur.

^f Selden. Uxor. Hebraic. lib. ii. c. xxx. p. 313, (p. 224, edit. Francof. 1673.) Dominicis item diebus prohibentur nuptiæ in Synodo Aquisgranensi (c. xvii. part. ii.) sub Ludovico primo imperatore, an. 834, habita.

^g Conc. Salegunstad. c. iii. (Labbé, vol. ix. p. 845.) De legitimis conjugiiis ita visum est, quod nullus Christianus uxorem ducere debeat ab Adventu Domini usque in Octavas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque in Octavas Paschæ, nec in supra notatis xiv. diebus ante festivitatem Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, neque in prædictis jejuniorum diebus, sive in omnium solennium dierum præcedentibus noctibus.

and the Octaves of Easter; nor in fourteen days before the festival of St. John Baptist; nor upon fast-days; nor the vigils of the solemn festivals." And from that time, as Mr. Selden shews at large, these were prohibited times of marriage in most churches. The learned reader, who would see further into this matter, together with the practice of the French and English Churches in the following ages, may consult the elaborate discourse of that curious writer: for I must return to the ancient Church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF MAKING ESPOUSALS PRECEDING MARRIAGE IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I. — *How the Sponsalia, or 'Espousals,' differed from Marriage.*

WHEN persons, against whom there lay no lawful impediment, were disposed to join in matrimony with each other, they were obliged to go through certain preliminaries, appointed by custom or law, before they could ordinarily complete the marriage, or regularly come together. These went by the general name of *sponsalia*, 'espousals' or 'betrothing.' This differed from marriage, as an obligation or contract antecedent to a future marriage may be supposed to differ from marriage actually solemnized and completed. And there were several distinct ceremonies proper and peculiar to each. For which reason (though they be by some writers confounded) I choose to speak separately of them here; as the ancient law, which either appointed or confirmed them, always does, giving them distinct titles in both the Codes. For there we find one title, *De Sponsalibus et Donationibus ante Nuptias*,^a 'Of Espousals and Gifts before Marriage;' and another, *De Nuptiis*,^b 'Of Marriage itself.' To give

^a Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. — Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. i. et iii.

^b Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. — Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv.

a summary account of the ceremonies observed in each of these, we may observe, first, of the espousals, that they consisted chiefly in a mutual contract or agreement between the parties concerning their future marriage, to be performed within a certain limited time: which contract was confirmed by certain gifts or donations, called *arræ et arrabones*, the earnest of marriage; as also by a ring, a kiss, a dowry, a writing or instrument of dowry, with a sufficient number of witnesses to attest it. After which there was no receding from the contract, or refusal to be made of marriage, without great penalties and forfeitures in law, and incurring many times the highest censures of the Church. These were the preparatory ceremonies, or harbingers and forerunners of the future marriage, which were generally observed by obligation of the Roman laws, though not all of equal necessity to all manner of persons: for the law made some distinctions, and allowed of dispensations in some of these points to certain orders of men in some particular cases. As to the marriage itself, custom generally prevailed to have it solemnized by the ministers of the Church; though, as the state of the Roman empire then stood, this was not absolutely necessary by any law; nor were those marriages annulled that were performed otherwise. But when it was done by the ministers, it was performed with a solemn benediction, together with the ceremonies of a veil, and a coronet, and some other rites; of which more in their proper place.

SECT. II.—*Free Consent of Parties necessary in Espousals.*

I begin with the ceremonies observed in espousals: where, first of all, there was necessary a free consent of the parties contracting. This was the old Roman law, called *Lex Papia et Julia*, confirmed by Diocletian, and inserted by Justinian into his Code.^c The discipline of the laws does not permit, that a son should be compelled to marry a wife

^c Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. xii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 149.) Nec filium quidem familias invitum ad uxorem ducendam cogi, legum disciplina permittit. Igitur, sicut, desideras, observatis juris præceptis, sociare conjugio tuo quam volueris, non impedieris: ita tamen, ut contrahendis nuptiis patris tui consensus accedat.

against his will; and, therefore, though parents had a right to dispose of their children in marriage, and children could not legally marry without their consent, as is expressed in the same law, as has been fully shewed before;^d—yet children had an equal right to dispose of themselves, and ought not to be compelled by their parents to make any contract absolutely against their own inclinations. If a virgin was betrothed by the consent of a father,^e or a mother, or a guardian, before she was ten years old, in that case she might still refuse to complete the marriage without any quadruple forfeiture (which the law required for breach of contract in other cases), either to be exacted of her or her parents, because she was not yet of age to give any consent to an espousal: as Gothofred shews out of Dio, and the ancient laws. If she was above ten, and not yet full twelve years old, when she was betrothed by her parents, and afterward refused to complete the marriage, her parents might be amerced, but not the virgin; because she was not yet of age and ripeness of judgment to give her free consent to such a contract. If she was above twelve years old when she made the contract, she was liable to be amerced quadruple by law for not completing the marriage according to the espousal contract. But then she had a just action of recovery of whatever she forfeited, against a mother, or a tutor, or a guardian, if she could prove that she was compelled by force to give her assent to the acceptance of the *arræ*, or ‘donations’ made to her upon the espousal. And for the same reason, as I have shewed before,^f any woman

^d Chap. ii. sect. iv. pp. 285, 286.

^e Lex Theodosii in Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsalibus, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 269.) Patri, matri, tutori, vel cuicumque, ante decimum puellæ annum datis sponsalibus, quadrupli pœnam remittimus, etsi nuptiæ non sequantur. Quod si decimo anno vel ultra, pater quisve alius, ad quem puellæ ratio pertinet, ante duodecim annos, id est, usque in undecimi metas, suscepta crediderit pignora esse retinenda, deinceps, adventante tempore nuptiarum, a fide absistens, quadrupli fiat obnoxius. . . . Duodecimo autem anno impleto, quisquis de nuptiis paciscitur, si quidem pater, semetipsum obliget; si mater, curatorve, aut alii parentes, puella fiat obnoxia. Cui quidem contra matrem, tutorem, curatorem, eumve parentem, actio ex bono et ex æquo integra reservatur eorum pignorum, quæ ex propriis juxta pœnam juris reddiderit facultatibus, si ad consensum accipiendarum arrarum, ab his se ostenderit fuisse compulsam.

^f Chap. ii. sect. vii. p. 290.

who entered into an espousal contract with a governor of a province, during the year of his administration, was at perfect liberty, when the year was ended, whether she would fulfil the contracts, and marry him or not: because it was presumed, that he, being in supereminent authority and power, might overawe a woman, and terrify her into an espousal against her will and real inclination. Such provident care did the ancient law take to secure the liberty of such as entered into espousal contracts, that nothing of this kind should stand firm, but what was voluntarily agreed upon by the free consent of each contracting party, without any force or violence of any kind intervening to compel them.

SECT. III.—*The Contract of Espousals usually testified by Gifts, called ‘Arræ,’ or ‘Donationes Sponsalitiæ,’ which were sometimes mutually given and received both by the Man and Woman.*

When the contract was thus made, it was usual for the man to bestow certain gifts on the woman, as tokens and pledges of the espousal: and sometimes, but not so commonly, the woman made presents to the man upon the same account. These are sometimes called *sponsalia*, ‘espousals,’ and sometimes *sponsalitiæ donationes*, ‘espousal gifts,’ and *arræ et pignora*, ‘earnests and pledges of future marriage:’ because the giving and receiving them was a confirmation of the contract, and an obligation on the parties to take each other for man and wife, unless some legal reason gave them liberty to do otherwise. These were commonly given by the men, as I said, and sometimes by the women, though but rarely, as is noted in one of the laws of Constantine, which orders,[§] “That if the woman give any thing to the man upon the title of espousal (which is a thing that seldom happens), in case either the man or the woman chanced to die before the marriage was completed, the whole dominion

[§] Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. v. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 267.) Si sponsa sponsaliorum titulo (quod raro accidit,) fuerit aliquid sponso largita, et ante nuptias hunc vel illam mori contigerit, omni donatione infirmata, ad donatricem sponsam, sive ejus successores, donatarum rerum dominium transferatur.

and property of whatever she gave, should return to her, if she survived, or else to her heirs and successors." And the case was much the same with the donations made by the man to the woman, upon the death of either party before marriage: only with this difference, that if the man confirmed his donation by the intervention of the solemn kiss (of which ceremony more by and by), then in case of death the donation was to be divided between the survivor and the heirs of the deceased party: but if the ceremony of the kiss was not superadded, the whole donation was to be restored, in case either party died, either to the donor himself surviving, or to his heirs and successors. Though, by a former law of Constantine,^h the donations both of the man and woman were exactly upon the same foot, and both to be restored, in case of death, without any distinction.

SECT. IV. — *These Donations to be entered into Public Acts, and set upon Record.*

To make these donations more firm and sure, it was required that they should be entered into public acts, and set upon record, as well to ascertain them against the accidents of death, as against the falseness and perfidiousness of either party. This is expressly provided in one of the laws of Constantine,ⁱ "That no donation between man and woman, in the business of espousals, should be of any force, unless it was testified by a public act." But this afterward received some limitations: for Constantine himself, by another law, made an exception in the case of minors,^j

^h Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 263.) Quoniam fieri potest, ut moriatur alter adhuc incolumi voluntate, prius quam nuptiæ contrahantur, congruum duximus, eo, in quem fuerat facta donatio, ante matrimonii diem functo, quæ sponsaliorum titulo vel data, vel ullo genere donata sunt, ad eum, qui donaverat, revocari: eo etiam, qui donaverat, ante nuptias mortuo, mox infirmari donationem, et ad ejus hæredes sine aliqua difficultate detrahi res donatas.

ⁱ Ibid. leg. i. (ibid. vol. i. p. 261.) Inter sponsos quoque ac sponsas, omnesque personas eam solam donationem, ex promulgatæ legis tempore, valere sancimus, quam testificatio actorum sequuta est.

^j Ibid. leg. iii. (p. 264.) Si futuris conjugibus (tempore nuptiarum intra ætatem constitutis), res fuerint donatæ et traditæ; non ideo posse eas revocari, quia actis consignare donationem quondam maritus noluit.

“That if any espousal gifts were given to women that contracted and married under age, they should not be revoked upon pretence that they were not entered into public acts.” And this was confirmed by another law of Theodosius Junior referring to it; who also added another exception,^k “That if the donation did not exceed the sum of two hundred shillings, there should be no necessity to have it recorded to make it firm.” Justinian^l extended this exception further to the sum of three hundred shillings, and at last to five hundred,^m to be ascertained to the woman, if given to her upon espousal, without any further ‘insinuation,’ as the law terms it, or entering into public acts and monuments, to make it secure in law from all reclaiming.

SECT. V.—*The Contract further testified by giving and receiving of a Ring.*

Together with these espousal gifts, or as a part of them, it was usual for the man to give the woman a ring, as a further token and testimony of the contract. This was an innocent ceremony used by the Romans before the times of Christianity,ⁿ and in some measure admitted by the Jews: whence it was adopted among the Christian rites of espousal without any opposition or contradiction: I say, the rites of espousal: for that it was used in the solemnity of marriage itself originally, does not so evidently appear: though some who confound the rites of espousal with those of marriage, bring the evidences of the former as proofs of the later

^k Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. viii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 272.) Illa manente lege, quæ minoribus ætate feminis, etiam actorum testificatione omissa, si patris auxilio destitutæ sint, juste consuluit, &c. . . . In illa donatione, quæ in omnibus intra ducentorum solidorum est quantitatem, nec actorum confectio quærenda.

^l Cod. Justin. lib. viii. tit. liv. de Donationibus, leg. xxxiv. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 283.) Sancimus omnem donationem, sive communem, sive ante nuptias factam, usque ad trecentos solidos cumulata, non indigere monumentis, &c.

^m Ibid. leg. xxxvi. (p. 284.) Ceteris etiam donationibus, quæ gestis intervenientibus minime sunt insinuatæ, sine aliqua distinctione usque ad quingentos solidos valituris: hoc etenim tantummodo ad augendas hujusmodi donationes addendum esse ex præsentī lege decernimus, anteriore tempore nostra lege præcedente moderando, quæ usque ad trecentos solidos factæ donationes, et sine insinuatione firmitatem obtinere jussæ sunt.

ⁿ Seld. Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. c. xiv. and xv.

custom. That the ring was used in espousals, and not in the solemnity of marriage itself, in the time of Pope Nicolas (an. 860), seems pretty evident, from the distinct account which he gives of the ceremonies used in the Roman Church, first in espousals, and then in the solemnity of marriage, which he plainly speaks of as distinct things. "With us," says he,^o "after the espousals, which are a promise of future marriage, the marriage covenants are celebrated, with the consent of those who have contracted, and of those in whose power they are." Then he describes distinctly the ceremonies peculiar to each. "In the espousals the man first presents the woman, whom he betroths, with the *arræ*, or 'espousal gifts;' and among these, he puts a ring upon her finger; then he delivers the dowry agreed upon by both parties, in writing, before witnesses invited on both sides to attest the agreement. Thus far the espousals. After this, either presently, or in some convenient time following, that nothing might be done before the time appointed by law, they are both brought to the nuptial solemnity. Where, first of all, they are placed in the church, to offer their oblations by the hands of the priest: and then they receive the benediction and the celestial veil: and, after this, going out of the church, they wear crowns or garlands upon their heads, which are kept in the church for that purpose." Here we have the ceremonies of espousals, and the ceremonies of marriage, distinctly described: and among the ceremonies of espousals we find the ring, but not mentioned again in the ceremonies of marriage: which makes it probable, that it was then only a ceremony of the former, and

^o Nicol. Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum (Labbé, vol. viii. p. 517), et Ap. Gratian. Caus. xxx. quæst. v. c. iii. Apud nostrates post sponsalia, quæ futurarum nuptiarum sunt promissa federa, quæque consensu eorum, qui hæc contrahunt, et eorum in quorum potestate sunt, celebrantur, et postquam arris sponsam sibi sponsus per digitum fidei a se annulo insignitum desponderit; dotemque utrique placitam sponsus ei cum scripto pactum hoc continente, coram invitatis ab utraque parte tradiderit; aut mox, aut apto tempore (ne videlicet ante tempus lege definitum tale quid facere præsumatur) ambo ad nuptialia federa perducuntur. Et primum quidem in ecclesia Domini cum oblationibus, quas offerre debent Deo per sacerdotis manum, statuuntur: sicque demum benedictionem et velamen cæleste suscipiunt. . . . Post hæc autem de ecclesia egressi coronas in capitibus gestant, quæ semper in ecclesia ipsa sunt solitæ reservari.

not of the later. And thus it was used among the ancient Christians in their espousals, as an *arra*, or ‘earnest,’ of their future marriage, but not in the solemnity of marriage itself, as far as we can learn from any accounts that are given of it. St. Ambrose speaks of it, but only amongst the rites of espousal, and not of marriage: for, describing the behaviour of St. Agnes, the virgin, when the governor of Rome, courting her, offered her the espousal gifts, he brings her in thus replying,^p “Depart from me, thou solicitor to sin: for I am already prevented by another lover, who has bestowed upon me much better ornaments, and betrothed me with the ring of his faith, being far more noble both in birth and dignity:” meaning Christ, to whom she was espoused spiritually by the profession of virginity. And, before him, Tertullian^q speaks of the *annulus pronubus*, or ‘ring of espousals before marriage;’ inveighing against the heathens for having degenerated from the institutions of their ancestors, which taught women modesty and sobriety, when they knew no other use of gold but upon one of their fingers, which their spouse adorned with the ring of espousals.—He does not expressly say that the ring was used by Christians, but he speaks of it as a laudable ceremony, that might be used by any, and was actually used by the heathens in their espousals. And in another place he says,^r “It was innocently used in their espousals: and therefore a Christian might lawfully be present either at the espousals,

^p Ambros. Ep. xxxiv. (tom. v. opp. p. 274, edit. Paris. 1642.) *Discede a me, fomes peccati, nutrimentum facinoris, pabulum mortis: discede a me, quia jam ab alio amatore prævanta sum, qui mihi satis meliora te obtulit ornamenta, et annulo fidei suæ subarravit me, longe te nobilior et genere et dignitate.*

^q Tertul. Apol. c. vi. (Paris. 1664, p. 7, A. 8.) *Circa feminas etiam illa majorem instituta ceciderunt, quæ modestiæ, quæ sobrietati patrocinabantur; cum aurum nulla norat, præter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignorasset pronubo annulo.*

^r Ibid. de Idol. c. xvi. (ibid. p. 95, C.) *Circa officia privatarum et communium solennitatem, ut togæ puræ, ut sponsalium, ut nuptiarum, ut nominalium, nullum putem periculum observari de statu idololatriæ, quæ intervenit: causæ enim sunt considerandæ, quibus præstatur officium. Eas mundas esse opinor per semetipsas: quia neque vestitus virilis, neque annulus, aut conjunctio maritalis, de alicujus idoli honore descendit.*

or the marriages of the heathens, as at any other private and common solemnity, — of giving a youth the *toga virilis*, ‘the habit of a man,’ or giving a slave a new name at his manumission: for all these things were pure and clean of their own nature; and neither the ring in espousals, nor the joining of a man and woman in marriage, descended originally from any honour of an idol.” Clemens Alexandrinus is cited by Mr. Selden himself, as an evidence of the antiquity of the use of the ring in espousals among Christians. He says, “The ring is given her, not as an ornament, but as a seal, to signify the woman’s duty in preserving the goods of her husband, because the care of the house belongs to her.”

SECT. VI.— *And by a solemn Kiss, and Joining of Hands.*

Another ceremony used in espousals sometimes, was the solemn kiss, which the man gave to the woman in confirmation of the contract. This was a known rite used among Christians in their sacred and religious offices, to testify their cordial love, and union, and friendship one with another: of which I have spoken in another place.[†] Therefore, Constantine, in one of his laws, made it a ceremony of espousals, being as proper for this act as any other. And he laid some stress upon it.[‡] “For if a man betrothed a woman by the intervention of the kiss, then if either party died before marriage, the heirs of the deceased party were intitled to half the donations, and the survivor to the other half: but if the contract was made without the intervention of the solemn kiss, then upon the death of either party before

^{*} Selden. *Uxor. Hebr.* lib. ii. c. xxv. p. 252, (p. 181, edit. Francof. 1673.) — Clem. *Pædagog.* lib. iii. c. xi. p. 287. Δίδωσιν αὐταῖς δακτύλιον ἐκ χρυσοῦ· οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἰς κῆρυγμα, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ οἴκοι φυλακῆς ἔξω, διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς οἰκουρίας.

[†] Book xv. chap. iii. sect. iii. vol. v. p. 75.

[‡] Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. v. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 267.) Si, ab sponso rebus sponsæ donatis, interveniente osculo, ante nuptias hunc vel illam mori contigerit, dimidiam partem rerum donatarum ad superstitem pertinere præcipimus, dimidiam ad defuncti vel defunctæ heredes. . . . Osculo vero non interveniente, sive sponsus sive sponsa obierit, totam infirmari donationem, et donatori sponso sive heredibus ejus restitui.

marriage, the whole of the espousal gifts was to be restored to the donor or his heirs at law." And this was made a standing law by Justinian,^v who inserted it into his Code. This ceremony was an ancient rite used by the heathens, together with the joining of hands, in their espousals: as we learn from Tertullian, who says,^w "Virgins came veiled to the men, when they made their espousals, by a kiss and joining of their right hands together; which was the first resignation of their virgin bashfulness, when they joined both in body and spirit with a man." Now, these ceremonies, being innocent in themselves, seem to have been adopted by Christians, with other such customs, into their espousals, who never scrupled any innocent rites because they had been used by heathens, except such as naturally tended to defile them with some unavoidable stain of idolatry and superstition.

SECT. VII. — *And by Settling of a Dowry, in Writing.*

Another part of the espousals was the husband's settling a dowry upon the woman, to which she should be intitled after his death. There are several laws in both the Codes relating to this matter,^x and containing abundance of law-cases, which are not proper to be inserted in this discourse. I only observe two things: first, that the stipulation, or promise of a dowry was so usual, that one of the Councils of Arles, mentioned by Gratian, has a canon that orders,^y "That no marriage should be made without a dowry, but that there should be something more or less promised, according to men's ability." Secondly, this stipulation was commonly made in writing, or public instruments under

^v Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iii. de Donation. ante Nupt. leg. xvi. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 147.)

^w Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. c. xi. (Paris. 1664, p. 179, D. 3.) Apud ethnicos velatæ ad virum ducuntur. Ad desponsationem velantur, quia et corpore et spiritu masculo mixtæ sunt per osculum et dexterâs, per quæ primum resignarunt pudorem spiritus, &c.

^x Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. xiii. de Dotibus. — Lib. ii. tit. xxi. de Inofficijsis Dotalibus. — Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xi. — xv. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 155.)

^y Conc. Arelat. c. vi. ap. Gratian. Caus. xxx. quæst. v. c. vi. Nullum sine dote fiat conjugium: juxta possibilitatem fiat dos.

hand and seal : whence the civil law so often speaks of the *instrumenta dotalia*, 'the instruments of dowry,' that were ordinarily required in marriage-contracts. And in allusion to these, Asterius Amasenus,* dissuading men from divorce, asks them, "How they would rescind and cancel their covenants of marriage? What covenants do you think I mean? Those wherein the dowry is written, signed with your own hand, and sealed with your own seal? These are strong and firm enough indeed : but I carry my meaning a little higher, to the words of Adam : 'This is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone : she shall be called woman.'" This is a plain allusion to the then known custom of making instruments of dowry before marriage, and confirming them with their hand and seal, to give them legal strength and obligation.

SECT. VIII. — *And by transacting the whole Affair before a competent Number of Witnesses.*

To make the whole business of espousals not only the more solemn, but also the more firm and sure, it was usual to transact the whole affair publicly before a competent number of chosen witnesses, that is, the presence of the friends of each party, to avoid, chiefly, clandestine contracts. I know not whether the law specified any certain number, otherwise then calling it *frequentia et fides amicorum*, 'the presence and testimony of friends ;'† but custom seems to have determined it to the number of ten : as appears from a noted passage in St. Ambrose,‡ where speaking to a virgin

* Aster. Hom. in Matt. xix. 3, ap. Combefis. Auctar. Nov. p. 82. Πῶς δὲ ἀδελφεοὶ τὰ ὁμολογίας, αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ κατίθου; καὶ ποίας οἷμι μὲ λίγων; ἄρα τῆς προικὸς τῆς συγγραφίσης ἑσταῦθα, ὅτι τῇ σουτοῦ χειρὶ πιστημῆται τῇ βιβλίῳ ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰ τελοῦμενα; ἰσχυρὰ μὲν πάντινα, καὶ ἰκανὴν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔχοντα· πλὴν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἑμαυτὸν ἀναφέρω· τοῦτο εἶπεν ἐν τῶν σαρκεῶν μου, καὶ ὁσαῦτα ἐν τῶν ὁσῶν μου αὕτη κληθήσεται μου γυνή.

† Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 276.) Nuptias nobiles nemo redimat, nemo sollicitet; sed publice consularum adfinitas, adhibeatur frequentia Procerum. — Leg. iii. (p. 279.) Nulla lege impediende, fiat consortium, quod ipsorum consensu atque amicorum fide firmatur.

‡ Ambros. de Virgin. Lapsu, c. v. (Paris. 1836, vol. iii. p. 325.) Si inter decem testes confectis sponsaliis, nuptiis consummatis, quævis femina viro con-

that had fallen from her virgin state, he thus argues with her: "If any woman, who, before ten witnesses, has made espousals, and is joined in marriage with a mortal man, cannot, without great danger, commit adultery; how do you think will it be, when a spiritual marriage, that is made before innumerable witnesses of the Church, and before the angels, the heavenly host, is broken by adultery?" This gives us evidently to understand, that then the common practice was to celebrate both espousals and marriage at least before ten witnesses to attest them.

SECT. IX. — *How far the Obligation of Espousals extended.*

Now when the contract of future marriage was thus settled by espousals, it was not lawful for either party to join in marriage with any other, under very severe penalties (which both the civil and ecclesiastical law inflicted), unless the time of marriage was fraudulently protracted beyond two years, which was the time limited for the duration of espousals. Augustus Cæsar, by those famous laws, called the Julian and Papian laws, had so restrained the time of espousals, as that if a man did not consummate the marriage within two years, he could reap no benefit from his espousals. But whereas soldiers, who were absent upon public affairs, might seem to require a longer time, Constantine, by one of his laws, limited them to two years also. So that if a woman, who was espoused to a soldier, had waited two

juncta mortali, non sine magno periculo perpetrat adulterium; quidquod inter innumerabiles testes ecclesiæ, coram angelis et exercitibus cœli, facta copula spiritualis per adulterium solvitur?

^c Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. iv. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 266.) Patri, aut matri puellæ, aut tutori, vel curatori, aut cuilibet ejus adfini, non liceat, quum prius militi puellam desponderit, eandem alii in matrimonium tradere. Quod si intra biennium, ut perfidiæ reus in insulam relegatur. Quod si pactis nuptiis transcurso biennio, qui puellam desponderit, alteri eandem sociarit, in culpam sponsi potius quam puellæ referatur, nec quioquam noceat ei, qui post biennium puellam marito alteri tradiderit. — Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. i. de Sponsal. leg. ii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 145.) Si is, qui puellam suis nuptiis pactus est, intra biennium exsequi nuptias in eadem provincia degens supersederit, ejusque spatii fine decurso, in alterius postea conjunctionem puella pervenerit, nihil fraudis ei sit, quæ nuptias maturando vota sua diutius eludi non passa est.

years, and the marriage was not completed, she was then at liberty to marry to any other; because then it was not her fault, but the man's, who protracted the marriage beyond the time which the law appointed. But if a father, or a mother, or a tutor, or a guardian, or any other relation, who had betrothed a virgin to a soldier, should afterward, before the two years were expired, give her in marriage to any other, he should be liable to be banished, as guilty of a perfidious breach of contract. By another law he also appointed,^d that if a man who had espoused a woman, should afterwards refuse to marry her, upon any frivolous pretence, that he did not like her morals or her pedigree, or started any other such trifling objection; the woman might retain whatever gifts he had made her upon espousal, and recover of him whatever more he had promised her upon the same score, though it was yet actually remaining in his own possession. And, on the other hand, if the woman who was espoused at full age (that is, when she was twelve years old), refused to make good her contract; or her parents or guardians would not permit her to do it; or if a widow, who was of age to make her own espousal contract, afterward fled from it; then they were not only to forfeit all their espousal gifts, but also to be amerced quadruple for their falseness and breach of contract:—as appears from several laws of Theodosius and Honorius;^e which intimate also, that this was the old Julian and Papian law of the Roman empire from the time of Augustus. And though Leo and Anthemius a little moderated this penalty, yet they did not quite take it away, but only reduced it from quadruple to double,

^d Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. v. de Sponsal. leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 262.) Si quidem sponte vir sortiri noluerit uxorem, id quod ab eo donatum fuerat, nec repetatur traditum, et si quid apud donatorem resedit, ad sponsam submotis ambagibus transferatur. &c.

^e Ibid. leg. vi. (ibid. vol. i. p. 269.) See sect. ii. note (^e), p. 310.—Leg. vii. Si pater pactum de nuptiis filię inierit, et humana sorte consumtus ad vota non potuerit pervenire, id inter sponso firmum ratumque permaneat, quod a patre docebitur definitum: nihilque permittatur habere momenti, quod cum defensore, ad quem minoris commoda pertinebunt, docebitur fuisse transactum: periniquum est enim, ut contra patriam voluntatem redempti forsitan tutoris aut curatoris admittatur arbitrium.—Tit. vi. leg. i. See chap. ii. sect. vii. note (^e), p. 290.—Tit. x. leg. i.

and so Justinian^f left it as the standing law of the empire in his Code. The ecclesiastical law was no less severe against all such perfidiousness in espousal contracts: for the Council of Eliberis orders,^g "That if any parents broke the faith of espousals, they should for their crime be kept back three years from communion. And if either the man or the woman who were espoused, were guilty of the same crime, they should undergo the same punishment." It was further appointed by the Council of Ancyra,^h "That if any one stole a woman that was espoused to another, she should be taken from him, and restored to the former who had before espoused her, although the raptor had committed a rape, and done violence to her." And the Council of Trulloⁱ determines it to be downright adultery for a man to marry a woman that was betrothed to another, during the life of him who had espoused her. Siricius says,^k "It was a sacrilegious act for a man to marry a woman that was before espoused to another; because it was a violating the benediction which the priest had given to the woman espoused, in order to her future marriage." By which we are given further to understand, that a ministerial benediction was sometimes used in espousals as well as marriage, though they were then separate acts from one another. But the obligation of espousals is not to be extended further than the law required, which, in several cases, admitted of just limitations and exceptions; as in case a parent disposed of a child in

^f Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. i. de Sponsal. leg. v. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 145.)

^g Conc. Illiber. c. liv. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 976.) Si qui parentes fidem fragerint sponsaliorum, triennii tempore abstineantur [abstineant se a communione]. Si sponsus vel sponsa in [illo] gravi crimine fuerint deprehensi, . . . superior sententia servetur.

^h Conc. Ancyrr. c. xi. (ibid. vol. i. p. 1460.) Τὰς μνηστευθεῖσας κόρας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ' ἄλλων ἀεπαγίσας, ἴδοξιν ἀποδίδεσθαι τοῖς προμνηστευσταμίνοις, εἰ καὶ βίαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάθουσι.

ⁱ Conc. Trul. c. xcvi. (ibid. vol. iv. p. 1183.) Ὁ ἱερεὺς μνηστευθεῖσαν γυναῖκα, ἴτι τοῦ μνηστευσταμίνου ζῶντος, πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἀγέμενος, ᾧ τῆς μοιχείας ἐπιεικόμενον ἐγκλήματι.

^k Siric. Epist. i. ad Himer. c. iv. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1019.) De conjugali autem violatione requisisti, si desponsatam alii puellam alter in matrimonium possit accipere. Hoc ne fiat, omnibus modis inhibemus: quia illa benedictio, quam nupturæ sacerdos imponit, apud fideles cujusdam sacrilegii instar est, si ulla transgressione violeetur.

espousals before she was ten years old ; or at any other age, against her own free choice and consent ; or in case a judge of a province made espousals with a provincial woman during the year of his administration ; or any other man protracted the time of marriage beyond the two years which was limited by law for the duration of espousals. In all these cases espousals became void ; and it was no crime not to fulfil them, because the laws themselves only made them obligatory with such provisions and restrictions.

SECT. X.—*Whether they were simply and absolutely Necessary to precede a Just and Legal Marriage?*

There remains one question more to be resolved concerning espousals ; that is, Whether in whole, or in part, the ceremony of espousals was simply and absolutely necessary to go before a marriage, to make it just and legal ? These are two very different questions : Whether it be necessary to observe an espousal contract ? and, Whether it be necessary to make such a contract at all before marriage, in order to make the marriage legal ? And as, in the first question, the law made the obligation precisely necessary, except in cases otherwise by law determined ; so, in the second question, it laid no general obligation upon men at all to make formal espousals before marriage, but only upon some certain orders of men, for the dignity and conveniency of their order. This appears plainly from a law of Theodosius Junior, wherein he allows the legality of marriage without any of the ceremonies of espousal preceding :¹ “ If the instruments of donation or the instruments of dowry be wanting, or the nuptial pomp, or other celebrities of marriage ; let no one reckon upon that account that the marriage is not good, which is otherwise rightly made : or that the children born in such a marriage are not to be esteemed

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. iii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 279.) Si donationum ante nuptias vel dotis instrumenta defuerint, pompa etiam aliaque celebritas omittatur ; nullus æstimet ob id deesse, recte alias inito matrimonio, firmitatem, vel ex eo natis liberis jura posse legitimorum auferri, si inter pares honestate personas, nulla lege impediens, fiat consortium, quod ipsorum consensu atque amicorum fide firmatur.

legitimate ; if the marriage be celebrated between persons of equal rank, without any legal impediment, with the consent of both parties, and the testimony and approbation of friends." Here, as Gothofred observes, four things are precisely required to a legal marriage. 1. Equality of condition : a person of liberal fortune was not to marry a slave, or one of vile and infamous character. 2. No legal impediment must prohibit their uniting : a Christian must not marry an infidel or Jew, nor one of his near kindred, nor a provincial judge a woman of his own province in the time of his administration : because these were things prohibited by the law. 3. There must be free consent of both parties, without which no marriage was valid or firm. 4. There must be consent of parents, and a sufficient number of friends, to attest the fact, and prevent clandestine marriage. These things being observed, there was no necessity of a preceding espousal, or any of the ceremonies and formalities of it, to make the marriage good in law ; all necessities being thus provided in the act of marriage itself, as it is now with us at this day, among whom the formality of espousals is in a great measure laid aside. And thus the matter continued from the time of Theodosius to Justinian, who thought it reasonable to make a little exception to the former law : for in one of his Novels (made after his Code, which has the former law of Theodosius in the same terms), he afterward made a distinction betwixt the nobles and those of inferior order :^m "The greater dignities, and senators, and men in high stations, were not to marry without first settling the dowry and antenuptial donation, and all other ceremonies which became great names. But the better sort of military men, and tradesmen, and men of honourable profession, might, if they pleased, marry without instruments of donation and dowry : yet not altogether without

^m Justin. Novel. lxxiv. c. iv. (Amstel. 1663, p. 108, § 4.) 'Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν μιζήτων ἀξιομάτων, καὶ ὅσα μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστὶ συγκλητικῶν καὶ τῶν μεγαλοπρεπιστάτων ἰλλουστρίων, οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα παντὶ ἄνευ ἀνιχνύμεθα· ἀλλ' ἴσα πάντα καὶ προῖξ, καὶ προγαμιαῖα δωρεὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα ταῖς σιμωνίαις πρέπει τῶν ἰοράτων. "Ὅσοι δὲ ἐν στρατείαις τὴν σιμωνίαν καὶ ἱμπορίαν, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἐπιτηδύσειν ἀξιολογούμενοι ἐστί, εἰ βούλοιο νομίμως γυναῖκα συνελθεῖν, καὶ μὴ πωλεῖσθαι γάμον συμβόλαιον· μὴ οὕτως εἰπὴ καὶ ἀπαμφυλάκτως καὶ ἐκπιχυμένως

stipulation of dowry, and evidence of their marriage. For they were to go to a church, and there, before the defensor of the church, make public profession of their marriage: and he, taking three or four of the most reverend of the clergy of the church, shall draw a public attestation, shewing, that in such an indiction, and in such a month, on such a day of the month, in such a year of our reign, when such a one was consul, such a man and such a woman came before him in that church, and were joined together in matrimony. And if both of them, or either of them, are minded to carry away with them a copy of such attestation, the defensor of the church, and the other three, shall make one for them, and subscribe it. And, however that be, the defensor shall lay up the original attestation in the archives of the church, that it may be a muniment to all; and they shall not be reputed to have come together with nuptial affection unless this be done, and the matter be so witnessed

καὶ ἀναποδείκναι τούτο πραττίτω, ἀλλὰ παραγινέσθω πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐκκλησίῳν οἰκων, κεινοσάσθω τὸ τῷ τῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἰδία. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐκκλησίῳν ἐπισκοπῶν κληρικῶν, ἐκμαρτυρίαν συνιστάτω, δηλοῦσαι, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῆς ἡμετέρας, τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς ἔχοντος τέσσας ἡμέρας, τῆς βασιλείας ἡμετέρας, ὑπατίας ταύτης, ἡλθεν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίῳν οἰκῇ ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡ δὲ, καὶ συνημερώθησαν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκμαρτυρίαν εἰ μὴ ἐκλαβὼν βούλονται ἢ ἀμφοτέρωι οἱ συνόντες, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρωι αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτο πραττίτωσαν καὶ ὑπογραφήτωσαν ταύτην ὅ, τι τῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἰδίας, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τρεῖς, ἢ ὅσους ἂν βουλήσθῃ (οὐκ ἰλάττους μίντοι τῶν τριῶν) γράμματα, τοῦτο σημαίνοντα. (§ β'). Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ πρᾶξαι ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοιούτον ἀποδείξω χάριτι δὲ τῆς σεβασμιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἐκκλησίας ἰδίας ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐκκλησίας ἀρχαῖς, . . . τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑποσημειώσας ἔχοντα. ὅστις ἀποκρίσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ μὴ ἄλλως δοκεῖν γαμικῇ διαθεῖναι τούτους αὐτοὺς συνελθόντας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοιούτῳ τι πρᾶξῃ, καὶ ὅλως ἐκ γραμμάτων τὸ πρᾶγμα μαρτυρεῖται. τούτων δὲ οὕτω γινόμενων, καὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γονὰς ἵναι νομίζουσιν. ταῦτα δὲ φανερὸν, ἵνα μὴ προικὸς ἢ προγαμίας δαρεῖς γίνονται συμβόλαιον. τὴν γὰρ ἐκ μόνων μαρτύρων πίστιν ὑποκρίνεται, ἐπὶ τὴν παρούσαν ἐκκλησίαν διατύπωσιν. (§ γ'). Τὸ δὲ ὅσον ἐν καταπεφρονημένῳ διαζῆ βίῳ, μικρὰς μὲν οὐσίας κύριον καθιστῶς, εἰς ἰσχυροὺς δὲ τοῦ δήμου μίρας ἀποκρίνεται, τοῦτο ἔχον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄδιναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γινώσκουσιν, ἢ στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους, οὓς ὁ νόμος καλιγάνους καλεῖ [τοῦτέστιν ἐκκλησιάρχους καὶ ἀφανιστῆρας] περιεργαζόμεθα, οἳ ἢ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀμαθία, καὶ ἡ μόνος τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐργασίας καὶ περὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐκκλησίας, πρᾶγμα ἵνα περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμετέρας. ὅστις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσώπων, ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιωτικῶν ἐνόπλων ἀφανῶν, καὶ γινώσκων, ἄδιναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀγράφως συνίνα, καὶ συνικνύει ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἵστανται οἱ παῖδες γνήσιοι, τῇ τῶν πατέρων μαρτυρήσει, ἢ στρατιωτικαῖς ἢ γινώσκουσιν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν καὶ ἀγνοίας βοηθούμεναι.

with letters testimonial. When this is so done, both the marriage and the offspring shall be reputed legitimate. This is the order to be observed, where there is no instrument of dowry, or of antenuptial donation : for the testimony of bare witnesses without writing is suspicious." This was the order for persons of a middle rank and condition to avoid clandestine marriages. Then the law goes on for persons of the lowest rank and poorer condition ; that is, husbandmen and common soldiers, who were occupied in tilling the land, and war, and were supposed to be ignorant of civil causes or the law ; " their marriage is declared legitimate, though they came together only before witnesses, without any instrument in writing at all. Yea, if such a one took a woman for his wife, upon oath,^a touching the Holy Gospels, whether in the church or out of the church, the marriage was legitimate, if the woman could make legal proof that she was so married to him ; and she might claim a fourth part of his substance, though she had no instrument of dowry to shew for it." I have transcribed this long passage of Justinian, both because it shews, in general, the different ways of marrying that were then allowed by the civil law, and also, in particular, that there was no absolute necessity of the preceding formality of antenuptial instruments of dowry or donation, to make a marriage firm and valid in all cases. And by this we may fairly understand and interpret that difficult canon of the first Council of Toledo, which orders,^o " That a man

^a Justin. Novel. lxxiv. c. v. (Amstel. 1663, p. 108.) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προσελύσιων, τῶν γινομένων ἡμῖν αἱ, συχίστιρον δὲ πάντων, γυναικῶν ἀκούομεν ὀδυρομένων, καὶ προσαγγιλλουσῶν, ὥς τινες προσπαθεία κρατούμενοι πρὸς αὐτάς, εἴτα ταύτας ἀνάγρουσιν οἴκοι, καὶ τῶν θείων ἀπτόμενοι λογίων, ἢ ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ὁμέσαντες ἢ μὴν ἔξιν αὐτάς νομίμους γαμίστας, οὕτως αὐτάς οἰκιοῦνται χρέον πολλόν, καὶ παιδοποιοῦσιν ἴσως· εἴτα ἐκιδὸν ἐμπλισθῶν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας, ἢ τῶν παίδων χρεῖς, ἢ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, ἀπορρίπτουσι τῶν οἴκων ἐκρίναμι καὶ τοῦτο χεῖρηναι θρασυῦσαι, καὶ, εἴπῃ ἢ γυνὴ διῆται δυνήσῃ τρέποισ νομίμοις, ἐπὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα ὁ ἀνὴρ ταύτην ἱλασθῆναι οἴκοι, ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικᾷ γνησίαν ἔχειν, καὶ παῖδων γνησίαν μητέρα, μηκέτι σπαντιλῶς ἄδikian αὐτῇ καθιστάται ταύτην παρὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου τάξιν ἔξωθῶν τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλ' ἔχειν γνησίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας γνησίους αὐτῇ καθιστάται· καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν, εἴπῃ ἀπροικος εἴη, τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας διατάξεως ἀπολαύειν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ εἴταρτον τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαμβάνουσαν, εἴτε ἔξωθῇ, εἴτε καὶ προσπο-
βάλοι τὸν ἄνδρα, κ. τ. λ.

^o Conc. Tolet. I. c. xvii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1226.) Qui non habet uxorem,

who has not a wife, but only a concubine instead of a wife, shall not be rejected from the communion, provided he be content to be joined to one woman only, whether concubine or wife, as he pleases." For before the matter was fully settled by these laws of Theodosius and Justinian, a woman that was married to a man without the antenuptial instruments of dowry and donation, and other formalities of the law, was not called a wife, but only a concubine, in the language of the law : but, in the ecclesiastical sense, she was reputed a true wife, because she bound herself by marriage-contract to be just and true to one man, though they joined together without the preceding formalities of antenuptial espousal, which the law then required : and therefore the fathers at Toledo made no distinction between a wife and a concubine, as to what concerned the discipline of the Church, provided the woman, whom the law called a concubine, was in reality a wife by marriage-contract ; though she wanted the formality of espousal, which was then required in the civil law, but afterwards relaxed in some cases by the edicts of Theodosius and Justinian, as I have here shewed, after the time of the Council of Toledo. And thus much for the laws and rules concerning espousals before marriage : I now come to the rites and ceremonies of marriage itself.

et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur ; tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ (ut ei placuerit), sit conjunctione contentus.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE MANNER OF CELEBRATING MARRIAGE IN THE
ANCIENT CHURCH.SECT. I.—*The Solemnities of Marriage between Christians usually celebrated by the Ministers of the Church from the Beginning.*

HERE the first questions will be, By whom the ceremonies and solemnities of marriage were anciently performed? And; Whether the benediction of a minister was necessary, as in after-ages, to make a marriage firm and good, according to the laws of church and state? To answer these questions aright, we must premise some necessary distinctions: 1. Between marriages made among Christians one with another, and marriages made between Christians and infidels, Jews, heathens, and heretics. 2. Between marriages made according to the tenour and direction of the laws, and marriages made against them. 3. Between disapproving of the undue manner of a marriage, and declaring it absolutely no marriage, or utterly null and void. Now if the question be first concerning Christians marrying one with another, By whom the solemnity of marriage was performed; by a minister of the Church, or by any other;—I answer, that it is most probable, that in fact, for the first three hundred years, the solemnities of marriage were usually performed by the ministers of the Church. But, secondly, if Christians happened to marry with Jews, or heathens, or heretics (as they sometimes did), then, as the Church did altogether discourage such marriages, so it is probable that the ministers of the Church never had any hand or concern in solemnizing them. But, thirdly, whilst the Roman laws allowed such marriages, it was not in the power of the Church to reverse or annul them, but only to punish the delinquents by her censures. Only in such cases as the laws prohibited, as all incestuous marriages, and children's marrying against the

consent of their parents ; which the Roman laws not only prohibited, but many times annulled ;—I say, in such cases the Church could go a little further, being warranted by the laws of the state, as well as the laws of God, to declare such marriages void. 4. Though the Church disapproved of any undue manner of marriage that the state forbade ; as marrying without espousals and instruments of dowry, whilst the civil law was against it ; yet she did not proceed so far as to declare such marriages absolutely no marriages, or utterly null and void. Concerning the three last points there are no disputes worth mentioning among learned men. But, concerning the first point, a great dispute is raised by Mr. Selden :^a for he will by no means allow that it was the general practice among Christians, when they made marriages one with another, to have the marriage solemnized by a minister of the Church. He owns it was sometimes so done by the choice of the contracting parties, or their parents inclining to it ; but he asserts they were under no obligation of law so to do, nor did any general custom prevail to give it so much as the title of a general practice. But Mr. Selden in this is contradicted by eminent men of his own profession.

^a Selden. *Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. c. xxix. p. 305, (p. 217, edit. Francof.)* In sanctionibus imperatoris seu jure Cæsareo, non ab antistitibus sacris introducto, quod scilicet de re nuptiali habetur in Digestis et utroque Codice multiplex, sacri ministerii mentio sane est nulla. In Digestis quidem titulus est 'de Ritu Nuptiarum,' quem e Paganismo illuc traduxit Tribonianus, sacra Paganorum nuptialia horumque appendices, jusque de ea re pontificium primo innuentem. Sed sacra illa, qua sacra, prorsus abolita Christianis. Immo Theodosius et Valentinianus Augusti vetuere in basilicis, id est ædibus sacris, nuptias celebrari. Sed id sumi solet pro eo, quod est convivia, tripudia, id genus nuptialis hilaritatis alia inibi haberi ; non de ipso contractu reliquoque ibi ritu sacro nuptiali, qualem ad aras deorum etiam in Paganismo, velut ex receptissimo more fieri solitum volunt Stephanus Forcatulus, Alexander Sardus alique nonnulli. Et interdum sic factum, pro arbitratu scilicet contrahentium communi, quorum essent in potestate, non diffitemur. Sed de jure ejusmodi sæculis antiquioribus ita recepto nullibi liquet. Et quod habetur in Theodori Prodromi, scriptoris inter Græcos recentioris, Amaranto, de ridiculis Stratoclis senis plane capularis et Myrillæ puellulæ nuptiis ; illum nempe, simulac tabulæ nuptiales confectæ erant lectæque, dixisse, *τί δὲ διαμίλλαν ἔτι καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸν νότον ἔσται;* statimque ad Isidis, velut ex receptissimo more, sponsos amicosque ivisse ; hoc inquam ex ritu inter Christianos recentiores passim admisso, quo templa sponsi adire solent, ibi natum, non ex more aliquo ejusmodi apud Paganos veteres, seu qui ævi erant illius, cui fabulam suam adfingit Theodorus ille, &c.

He himself owns,^b that Dionysius Gothofred and Hotoman are against him in point of law: and Jacobus Gothofred, the famous commentator upon the Theodosian Code, is against him in point of practice. The former Gothofred^c and Hotoman^d are of opinion, that the words *vota nuptiarum*, in one of Justinian's laws, means the celebration of marriage by the clergy. The other Gothofred thinks the passage hardly express enough to be a full proof of the matter: but, then, he is clear against Mr. Selden in point of practice. For he says, "The ancient Church in general, and the African Church in particular, were ever wont to celebrate marriages by the solemn benediction of the clergy:" and he gives very good proofs of his assertion.^e His first evidences are from Tertullian, who in one place has these remarkable words:^f "How can I sufficiently set forth the happiness of that marriage which the Church [makes or] conciliates, and the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals, and the angels

^b Selden. Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. c. xxix. p. 306, (p. 218, edit. Francof.) Justinianus quidem statuit, si nuptiarum tempus in pactum aliquod, seu conditionem venisset, id de ipsa nuptiarum festivitatem solum intelligendum, quod explicat ipse de tempore, ex quo vota nuptiarum re ipsa processerint. Sunt, qui benedictionem heic sacram volunt (Gothofred. Vid. sub. litt. (*), seq. et Hotomann. Illustr. quest. xxiv.) intelligi; alii rectius actum qualemcumque, quo nuptiæ celebratæ.

^c Dionys. Gothofred. Not. in Codic. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. xxiv. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 150.) Puta sacra benedictio.

^d Hotomann. Quest. Illustr. quest. xxv. Not. De hæc phrasi 'vota nuptiarum,' nihil heic invenio; invenio autem nonnulla, quæ huc pertinent: 'Vetustissimum Christianorum institutum hoc esse, ut matrimonia palam ecclesiæ et ministrorum precibus consecrarentur, facile demonstrari potest: primum ex Tertulliano, qui lib. ad uxorem ita scribit, 'Unde sufficiam,' &c. Alterum testimonium est ex l. sancimus, xxiv. C. de Nupt.; ubi imperator Justinianus statuit, ut ea demum rata sint matrimonia, in quibus nuptiarum accessit festivitas,' &c.

^e Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. iii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 280.) Sed quid de *εὐλογία* seu *ἱεραλογία* dicemus, quæ heic non exprimitur? De Paganico ritu, ubi sacrificium et auspices adhibitos notum est, non quæro: verum de sacra benedictione in Christianorum nuptiis. Certe enim hoc Codice nulla mentio occurrit: neque Theodosius Junior id hac lege requirit: neque Valens Imperator, leg. vi. inf. de Tyronibus. Neque etiam ullus est hac de re apud Justinianum locus expressus, etsi leg. xxiv. cod. hoc tit. nuptiarum festivitas et vota requirantur. Et veterem tamen ecclesiam et in his Africanam ea usam colligitur, non ex uno Tertulliani loco. Primus occurrit fine lib. ii. ad uxorem: 'Unde sufficiam,' &c. See following note.

^f Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. ix. (Paris. 1664, p. 171, C. 6.) Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant, Pater rato habet.

report, and the Father ratifies?" "In which words," Gothofred says,^a "the Church is said to conciliate the marriage, because in those times men commonly asked wives of the ecclesiastics, and consulted them about their marriage, and the profession of marriage was made before them; and, finally, the ecclesiastics gave wives by their benediction." He adds, "That Tertullian, in this place, alludes to the five rites of the Gentiles used in their marriages: 1. The *proxenetae*, or 'conciliators' of marriage. 2. The offering of the kiss and espousal donations. 3. The obsignation of the instruments. 4. The testimony and presence of witnesses and friends. 5, and lastly, The consent of parents in the marriage of their children. To which Tertullian opposes as many things intervening in a Christian marriage, viz. 1. The conciliation of the Church or the ecclesiastics. 2. The oblation of prayers (I add, perhaps, also the oblation of the eucharist, which commonly went together). 3. The obligation made by the benediction of the ecclesiastics. 4. The renunciation, faith, and testimony of the angels. And, 5. The ratihabition or confirmation of our Father who is in heaven." A second passage, alleged by Gothofred out of Tertullian, is where he speaks of clandestine marriages, saying,^b "Among us secret marriages, that is, such as are not publicly professed before the Church, are in danger of being condemned as fornication and adultery." And in another place, speaking of second marriages, and dissuading

^a Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. iii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 280.) Quo quidem loco ecclesia matrimonium 'conciliare' dicitur, quia ab ecclesiasticis ferme conjuges postulabantur, superque matrimonio hi consulebantur, apud hos matrimonii professio fiebat: benedictione denique ecclesiastici conjuges dabant: et in summam, illo loco Tertullianus alludit ad quinque ritus gentilitios, qui in nuptiis interveniebant: conciliatores scilicet seu proxenetas nuptiarum; oblationem osculi et arrarum; obsignationem tabularum; amicorum testiumque fidem et præsentiam; parentis denique consensum, si de liberorum nuptiis ageretur. Quibus Tertullianus totidem, quæ in matrimonio Christiano interveniebant, opponit; conciliationem ecclesiæ, seu ecclesiasticorum; oblationem precum, obsignationem, quæ fit benedictione ecclesiasticorum; renuntiationem, fidem, testimonium angelorum; ratihabitionem Patris nostri cælestis.

^b Tertul. de Pudicitia, c. iv. (Paris. 1664, p. 557, B. 7.) Penes nos occultæ quoque conjunctiones, id est, non prius apud ecclesiam professæ, juxta mæchiam et fornicationem judicari periclitantur. Nec inde consertæ obtentu matrimonii crimen eludant.

all persons from them, he says,¹ “How canst thou ask such a marriage of those who cannot themselves have what thou askest of them? For the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, and the widows of the Church, whose society thou rejectest, are all monogamists, or but once married. Yet they will give husbands and wives as they do morsels; that is, to every one that asks, and join you together in the Virgin Church, the only spouse of one Christ.” Mr. Selden^j excepts against this passage, as making the widows have the same concern in the marriage as the ministers: but that is a plain mistake, for the widows might be concerned in giving their consent and approbation, which Tertullian calls “the conciliation of marriage;” but the ministers were concerned further in giving the benediction also. This benediction is spoken of likewise by St. Ambrose, as the custom of the Italic Churches in his time: for, says he,^k “When marriage ought to be sanctified by the sacerdotal veil and benediction, how can that be called a marriage, where there is no agreement in the faith?” Gothofred thinks also that the same custom may be deduced out of those words of Ignatius:^l “It becomes both men and women, when they marry, to make the union μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ‘with the will and direction of the bishop,’ that the marriage may be according to the Lord, and not merely according to the instigation of

¹ Tertul. de Monogamia, c. xi. (Paris. 1664, p. 531, C. 5.) Ut igitur in Domino nubas secundum legem et apostolum (si tamen vel hoc curas), qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis, a quibus postulas, non licet habere; ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti, a viduis, quarum sectam in te recusasti? Et illi plane sic dabunt viros et uxores, quomodo buccellas. Hoc enim est apud illos, Omni petenti dabis. Et conjungent vos in ecclesia virgine, unius Christi unica sponsa.

^j Selden. ad hunc Tertul. locum, lib. ii. c. xxviii. (p. 211, edit. Francof. 1673.) Dabant episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, viduæ maritos; qui ab ipsis petebantur. Sed neque ad ipsum nuptialem contractum necessariamve ejus celebrationem, a ministro sacro peragendam, aut id ipsam simplicem benedictionem solennem hæc attinent. Ita enim pariter et ad viduas spectaret simile officium.

^k Ambros. Ep. lxx. (xxiv. edit. Paris. 1642.) Quum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali et benedictione sanctificari oporteat, quomodo potest conjugium dici, ubi non est concordia?

^l Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. Πρίντι δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι, καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εὖν ἵνα συν ποιῶνται, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Θεόν, καὶ μὴ κατ’ ἰδιωμίαν. (Jacobson, Oxon. 1838, vol. ii. p. 440.)

their own lusts." And further, from what Gregory Nazianzen says of the marriage of Olympias,^m "That a great number of bishops were present at the solemnity, and that he himself was present in heart and will, celebrating the festival, and joining the right hands of the young couple together, and both of them to the hand of God:" where joining of them to the hand of God is plainly but another expression for the benediction. This is further evident from the fourth Council of Carthage, which orders,ⁿ "That both the man and the woman that are to be blessed by the priest should be presented by their parents, or by their *paranymphe*, 'bridemen,' who stood in the stead of their parents." Thus far the evidences produced by Gothofred. To which we add that of St. Austin, who lived at the time of the Council of Carthage, where he tells us,^o "It was in the bishop's power absolutely to give women in marriage, but they could not give them to men that were heathens." The benediction is not here expressly mentioned; but, considering the whole affair was in the bishop's power, the benediction may easily be inferred from it. And Possidius, in his Life, makes express mention of it; for he says,^p "It was St. Austin's opinion, which he learned from the Institutes of St. Ambrose, 'That a priest, indeed, ought not to be a solicitor of marriage in making matches between men and women: but

^m Nazianz. Ep. lvii. Καὶ παρὼν ἰασιπύσιον ὄμιλος ἱερῶν γὰρ βούλεται καὶ πάριμι, καὶ συνιεργάζω, καὶ τῶν νῶν τὰς διζῶς ἀλλήλους σὶ ἰμῶλλον καὶ ἀμφοτέρωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ⁿ Conc. Carth. IV. c. xiii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1201.) Sponsus et sponsa, quum benedicendi sunt a sacerdote, a parentibus suis vel paranymphe offerantur. Qui quum benedictionem acceperint, eadem nocte, pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis, in virginitate permaneant.

^o Aug. Ep. ccxxxiv. (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 668, F. 2.) Certissime noveris, etiamsi nostræ [mez et aliorum episcoporum] absolutæ sit potestatis, quamlibet puellam in conjugium tradere, tradi a nobis Christianam nisi Christiano non posse.

^p Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxvii. (ibid. vol. x. Append. p. 185.) Servandum quoque in vita et moribus hominis Dei referebat, quod in instituto sanctæ memoriæ Ambrosii compererat, ut uxorem cuiquam numquam posceret . . . ne dum inter se conjugati casu jurgarent, et ei maledicerent per quem conjuncti essent: sed plane ad hoc sibi jam illis consentientibus petittum interesse debere [adfirmabat] sacerdotem, ut vel eorum jam pacta et placita firmarentur, vel benedicerentur.

when they themselves had agreed upon the matter, then, at their joint request, he ought to be present, either to confirm their agreement, or give it the benediction." In like manner St. Chrysostom, inveighing against the lascivious and diabolical pomps which some used at their marriages, he says,^q "They ought rather to teach the virgin modesty in the entrance upon marriage, and to call for the priest, and by prayer and benediction tie the knot of unity in marriage; that the husband's love might increase, and the wife's chastity might be improved; that the works of virtue might enter into the house by all that was then done, and the wiles and works of the devil be cast out." This is a plain account of what that father desired, and what was practised by the better sort of Christians in such solemnities. Siricius, bishop of Rome, lived about the same time with St. Chrysostom and St. Austin; and he particularly mentions the benediction of the priest, as used in marriage, giving it as a reason^r why a woman that is espoused to a man, ought not to be married to any other; because, among Christians, it was reckoned a sort of sacrilege to violate the benediction which was given by the priest to a woman upon her espousal. And after him Pope Hormisdas, who lived about the year 520, a little before the time of Justinian, made a decree,^s "That no one should make a clandestine marriage, but, receiving the benediction of the priest, should marry publicly in the Lord." These evidences are abundantly sufficient to shew, what was the general practice of Christians in this matter from the very first ages.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 681, A. 8, (Paris. 1614.) Τί τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γάμου ἐκπομπαίους μυστήρια; διὸν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀπειλαύνει, καὶ τὴν αἰδᾶ ἐκ προεμίαν ἐκπαιδεύει τὴν κόρη, καὶ ἱερείας καλεῖται, καὶ δι' ὑψῶν καὶ ὑλογῶν τὴν ὁρώσαν τοῦ συνοικισίου συσφίγγει, ἵνα καὶ ὁ πόθος τοῦ νυμφίου αὐξήται, καὶ τῆς κόρης ἡ σωφροσύνη ἰσχυρῶνται, καὶ διὰ πάντων τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα ἐισελίσσεται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην, καὶ πᾶσαι τοῦ διαβόλου αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐκποδὸν ἴσονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἥδονῃς τὸν βίον διάζωσιν. Hinc Basilio matrimonium vocatur ὁ διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας ζυγός, Hom. vii. in Hexamer. tom. i. p. 81, a.

^r Siric. Epist. i. ad Himer. c. iv. et apud Gratian. Caus. xxvii. quæst. ii. c. l. See before, chap. iii. sect. ix. note (*), p. 321.

^s Hormisd. Decret. c. vi. Nullus fidelis, cujuscumque conditionis sit, occulte nuptias faciat; sed benedictione accepta a sacerdote, publice nubat in Domino.

SECT. II. — *In what Cases it might happen to be otherwise.*

And as to any exceptions that may be alleged against such a universal practice, they are of little moment. Some marriages, indeed, notwithstanding all the care and advice of the Church, were made between Christians and heathens : and in that case the ministers of the Church could have no hand in the marriage, nor give any benediction to it, because it was directly contrary to the rules of the Church that any Christian should marry a heathen. Again, some canons discouraged, though they did not absolutely forbid, second and third marriages after the death of a first wife or husband, and forbid any presbyter to be present at them. The Council of Neocæsarea has a canon to this purpose :[†] “ No presbyter shall be present at the marriage-feast of those that marry twice : for a digamist requires penance. How then shall a presbyter, by his presence at such feasts, give consent to such marriages ? ” And if he might give no consent to them by his presence, much less might he authorize them by his solemn benediction. Peter Martyr,[‡] and the Gloss upon Gratian,[§] understand this canon as forbidding the clergy to have any concern in the marriage of proper polygamists, or such as married a second wife whilst the first was living : which is no more than all the clergy are prohibited at this day ; for polygamy may not now be authorized by sacerdotal benediction. But if we take the canon in the common sense of marrying a second wife after the

* first was dead, and suppose the clergy forbidden to give the

[†] Conc. Neocæsar. c. vii. Πρεσβύτερον εἰς γάμους διγαμούντων μὴ ἰστιάσθαι ἰπὶ μετάνοιαν αἰτούντος τοῦ διγάμου, τίς ἴσται ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὁ διὰ τῆς ἰστιάσεως συγκατατίθιμνος τοῖς γάμοις ; (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1481.)

[‡] Petr. Mart. loc. com. lib. ii. c. x. p. 277, (p. 557, edit. Basil. 1630.) Canonem Concilii Neocæsariensis, quo prohibentur ministri ecclesiæ vel interesse vel benedicere secundis nuptiis, ego de istis (novis nuptiis in divortiis) accipio, non de illis, quæ repetuntur altero conjugum defuncto.

[§] Gratian. Caus. xxxi. quæst. i. c. viii. De his, qui frequenter uxores ducunt, et de his, qui sæpius nubunt, tempus quidem penitentiae his manifestum constitutum est, sed conversatio et fides eorum tempus abbreviat. Presbyterum vero convivio secundarum nuptiarum interesse non debere ; maxime quum præcipiatur secundis nuptiis penitentiam tribuere : quis erit presbyter, qui propter convivium illis consentiat nuptiis ?

benediction to such marriages: yet this was but a canon of a particular council, which never much prevailed. For we are sure, in fact, that second marriages had, generally, sacerdotal benediction, as well as the first: and, therefore, whatever might happen upon the strength of that canon, could be no great exception to the general practice. But that which gave the greatest liberty to marry without sacerdotal benediction, was the allowance which the laws of the empire granted to other ways of marrying, besides that of solemnizing marriage by the benediction of the clergy. For though this had no great effect for the first three hundred years, whilst the laws continued heathen (for then the generality of Christians were no more disposed to marry without the benediction of the bishop, or some of the clergy, than they were inclined to end their civil controversies any other ways than by the bishop's arbitration and decision): yet afterwards, when the laws became Christian, and no immediate provision was made to oblige men universally to solemnize marriage by the benediction of the clergy; but other ways were still allowed as sufficient to make a marriage good in law without it; men began to fall off from the ancient practice, some for one reason and some for another, till by degrees the primitive way of marrying among Christians came to be much dishonoured and neglected.

SECT. III. — *How the Primitive Practice was revived, when it came to be neglected.*

This made some of the more zealous emperors, who, about the eighth and ninth centuries, were a little inclined to correct and reform some abuses, which the corruption of the times had brought in upon the discipline of the Church, to look upon this neglect of marrying without sacerdotal benediction as an abuse among the rest, and a deviation from the more ancient laudable practice. Hereupon they set themselves to revive the primitive custom, and make some more effectual provision than had hitherto been done, by more express and general laws to establish and confirm it. Charles the Great enacted a law in the West, about the

year 780, wherein he ordered,⁷ "That no marriage should be celebrated any other ways but by blessing, with sacerdotal prayers and oblations : and whatever marriages were performed otherwise, should not be accounted true marriages, but adultery, concubinage, or fornication." And, about the year 900, Leo Sapiens,⁸ in the Eastern empire, revived the same ancient practice, which ever since continued to be the practice of the Church. Mr. Selden^a and Gothofred^b both agree in this, that now the necessity of

⁷ Carol. Capitular. lib. vii. c. cccxliii. Aliter legitimum non sit conjugium . . . nisi sponsa sua suo tempore sacerdotaliter cum precibus et oblationibus a sacerdote benedicatur, &c.

⁸ Leo, Novell. lxxxix. See following note.

^a Selden. Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. c. xxix. p. 309, (p. 221, edit. Francof. 1673.) Leo sanctionem edidit, cujus titulus *περὶ τοῦ τὰ συναικίσματα ἔχει τῆς ἱεῶς ὑπολογίας μὴ ἱρῶν* ubi inquit, *καθάπερ ἐὰν τίς τις ἀποστασίαν ἱερέως ἐπιτελέσῃ τὴν ἀποστασίαν προκαίειν διαφράσσει, οὕτω καὶ τὰ συναικίσματα τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ἱεῶς ὑπολογίας ἱρῶν ἐκτιμῶμεν.* Neque aliter jure matrimonii, sive in societate vitæ, sive in prole quemquam gavisurum. In hanc rem, ejusdem memorat constitutionem Harmenopolus, uti et aliam Alexii Comneni, ducentis aut circiter annis postea Orientis Augusti. Sic item Joannes episcopus Citriensis, alii. Atque Leonina hæc vim juris postea obtinuit, ut paucæ aliquot ejusdem aliæ, nec plures. Atque unde in Oriente jus in matrimoniis celebrandis sacerdotale, quatenus jus intuemur Cæsareum, ortum habuerit, et quamdiu sine sacris rata satis ibi haberentur conjugia, ex jam indicatis satis constat. Quod ad occidentem attinet; ex epistolæ illius Evaristi Papæ verbis, saltim Evaristo tributis, in Capitula Caroli et Ludovici Cæsarum relatis ibique vim legis obtinentibus, videtur sane non solum benedictionis sacræ usus, adeoque ipsa contrahendi formula in cœtu sacro, præeunte sacro ministro, inolevisse, sed et matrimonium ipsum inde tantum pro legitimo habitum esse. Id evenit sub annum Christum 820. Et paullo post exemplum occurrit illustre benedictionis nuptialis, velut in morem receptæ, quum conjungebantur Ethelwolfus Anglorum rex, et Juditha Caroli Calvi filia. Alibi autem iidem imperatores, ut publicæ fierent nuptiæ, statuere, ubi nihil de benedictione sacra. Etiam in legibus Wisigothorum, hisce antiquioribus, expressa in connubiis mentio permissus comitis, dotis constitutionis, tabularumque dotalium, ut quæ testimonii publici vicem obtinerent, ubi nihil omnino de benedictione sacra aut sacro ministro. Quod et de aliis legibus veterum dicendum, quæ in re nuptiali sub illud ævum adeo diversæ, ut Francus, verbi gratia, qui Saxoniam jure Saxonico duxisset, eam non uxorem legitimam censeret, quia non ducta jure seu ritu Francico, renitente interim Concilio Triburiensi. Quod autem de benedictione sacra sic in imperium Occidentale est receptum, in alia regna Christiana, quæ vicina fuere, aliter atque aliter postmodum diffusum est. &c.

^b Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. vii. de Nuptiis, leg. iii. p. 281. Ex

sacerdotal benediction was established by law : but they differ in one point, that Mr. Selden supposes this was the first beginning of the general practice of making marriages by sacerdotal benediction ; whereas Gothofred thinks it was only a reviving of a former ancient general practice, which for some ages had been much neglected. And that the truth lies on Gothofred's side, the reader, from what has been said, will be able very easily to determine.

SECT. IV.—*Other Ceremonies used in Marriage, as Joining of Hands and Veiling.*

Having thus resolved the main question, concerning sacerdotal benediction, I now go on with the lesser ceremonies used in marriage : among which we find the ancient rite of joining the right hands of the espousing parties together. For so we have heard Gregory Nazianzen^c already representing the marriage of Olympias, that it was done by joining the right hands of the young couple together, and both their hands to the hand of God. St. Ambrose also takes notice of the custom of veiling, as a ceremony used in marriage, when he says,^d “ The Christian marriage ought to be sanctified with the sacerdotal veil and benediction.” Tertullian also mentions the custom of veiling,^e as used by the heathens, which he commends, together with the ceremony of the solemn kiss and joining of hands. But these he speaks of rather as ceremonies used in espousals before marriage :

his locis omnibus [See before cited notes (^b), (^a),] patet, professionem nuptiarum, apud episcopos et presbyteros factam, intervenisse adeo in nuptiis ecclesiasticas personas, benedictionesque proinde ritum in nuptiis apud veteres Christianos usurpatum : nondum tamen sub facie ecclesiæ totius, verum domi. Immo et hæc ipsa benedictio postea neglecta, quam ideo revexit, nuptiasque adeo huic benedictioni præcise subjecit in Oriente, Leo Imper. novella lxxxix. Περὶ τοῦ τὰ συνοικίαι εἶναι τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐλογίας μὴ ἑβῶσθαι : (Ejusdemque idem meminit Novella lxxiv.) Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τελεῖσθαι τὰς εὐλογίας, πρὶν εἶναι ὁ νόμιμος τοῦ γάμου συμφέσις καὶ ἐκείνης et Novella Alexii Comneni. See also the Scholiast of Harmenopolus, lib. iv. tit. iv.

^c Nazianz. Ep. lvii. See sect. i. note (^m), p. 332.

^d Ambros. Ep. lxx. (xxiv. k. edit. Paris. 1642.) See sect. i. note (^t), p. 331.

^e Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. c. xi. (Paris. 1664, p. 179, D. 3.) Atquin etiam apud ethnicos velatæ ad virum ducuntur. Si autem ad desponsationem velantur, quia et corpore et spiritu masculino mixtæ sunt per osculum et dexteræ, &c.

though we may suppose them to be used in both, since the Latin name of 'marriage,' *nuptiæ*, is observed by the Roman antiquaries^f to have its name from *obnubere*, which signifies 'to veil, or cover.'

SECT. V.—*Untying the Woman's Hair.*

Optatus seems to allude to another ceremony, which I have not yet found expressly mentioned in any other author: that is, the woman's loosing or untying her hair in the solemnity of marriage. For writing against the Donatists, who had reconsecrated the Catholic virgins, who before had espoused themselves to Christ, he says,^g "Those virgins, to shew that they had renounced all secular marriage, had untied their hair to a spiritual husband, they had already celebrated a celestial marriage. Why, therefore, did ye compel them to untie the hair again?" This seems to allude to some such custom in secular marriage: because he adds,^h "That when women married a second time in the world, this was not used." Which implies, that it was used the first time, though omitted in second marriages, as many other ceremonies of temporal festivity were, viz. gay dressing, and crowning, and what naturally followed them, the great concourse and acclamations of the people. But if any one thinks this was not an allusion to any ceremony used in secular marriages, but rather a ceremony actually used in spiritual marriages of virgins to Christ; because St. Jeromeⁱ speaks of their cutting off their hair in some

^f Rosin. *Antiquit. Roman.* lib. v. c. xxxvii. p. 959. *Velo obnubi solebat, quum ad virum duceretur. . . . Unde nuptiarum nomen ductum est. Nubere enim et obnubere, priscis velare et operire significabat, ut Festus Pompeius non uno loco, Nonius Marcellus et alii complures notant.*

^g Optat. lib. vi. p. 97, (p. 116, edit. Paris. 1679.) *Ut sæcularibus nuptiis se renuntiassæ monstrarent, et junctas spiritali sponso, solverant crinem, jam cælestes celebraverant nuptias. Quid est quod eas iterum crines solvere coëgistis? (Antuerp. 1702, p. 95.)*

^h Ibid. (p. 117, cit. edit.)

ⁱ Hieron. *Epist. xlviii. ad Sabinian.* c. iii. (p. 235, d. edit. Paris. 1643.) (Venet. 1766. Bened. vol. i. p. 1089, C. 6.) *Moris est in Ægypti et Syriæ monasteriis, ut tam virgo, quam vidua, quæ se Deo voverint, et sæculo renunciantes, omnes delicias sæculi conculcarint, crinem monasteriorum matritus offerant desecandum, non in-tecto postea contra apostoli voluntatem incessuræ capite; sed ligato pariter ac velato.*

places, when they renounced the world, and devoted themselves to Christ; I will not stand to contend about a matter both small and obscure, but go on to that which is more certain in secular marriages, which is our present subject.

SECT. VI.—*Crowning the New-married Couple with Crowns or Garlands.*

When the sacred office of benediction was over, and the married persons were ready to depart, it was usual to crown the bridegroom and bride with crowns or garlands, the symbols of victory: for now it was supposed they had hitherto striven virtuously against all manner of uncleanness, and therefore were crowned as conquerors in their marriage. St. Chrysostom mentions the ceremony, and gives this account of it: ^k “Crowns are therefore put upon their heads, as symbols of victory, because, being invincible, they entered the bride-chamber without ever having been subdued by any unlawful pleasure.” So that this ceremony was used as a mark of honour and note of distinction to reward their virtue, and put a difference between them and such as had before addicted themselves to fornication and uncleanness. “For to what purpose,” says Chrysostom again, “should he wear a crown upon his head, who had given himself up to harlots, and been subdued by pleasure?” Which seems to imply, that fornicators were denied this honour when they came to marry: that being a part of their punishment, among other acts of discipline in the Church. And upon the same account this ceremony was seldom or never used in second and third marriages; because, though they were not absolutely condemned as unlawful, yet they were not reckoned so honourable as the first. As to the ceremony in general, Mr. Selden says,^l “It is mentioned by Gregory

^k Chrysostom. Hom. ix. in 1 Tim. (Paris. 1636, p. 1567,) (p. 461, edit. Francof.) Διὰ τοῦτο στίφκειν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πιστεύονται, σύμβολον τῆς νίκης, ὅτι ἀήττητοι γινόμενοι, οὕτω προσέρχονται τῇ ἐκκλῃ, ὅτι μὴ κατηγωνίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς. εἰ δὲ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς πόνεμας ἑαυτὸν ἐκδῶ, τίνος ἔτι λαιπὸν στίφεται ἰχὺ ἰπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡττημένος;

^l Selden. Uxor. Hebr. lib. ii. c. xxiv. p. 245, (p. 174, edit. Francof. 1673.) De corona Orientalium nuptiali ex Gregorio Nysseno, Basilio Seleuciensi, Palladii

Nyssen, and Basil of Seleucia, and Palladius." And it is more than once noted by Sidonius Apollinaris; who, speaking of the marriage of Ricimer, and describing the pomp of it, says,^m "Now the virgin was delivered into his hands, now the bridegroom was honoured with his crown." And, again, in his panegyric to Anthemius the emperor, speaking of the same marriage of Ricimer, who married the emperor's daughter, he says to Ricimer, in the poetical strain,ⁿ "This marriage was procured by your valour, and the laurel crown gave you the crown of myrtle:" alluding to the different customs of crowning warriors with laurel, and bridegrooms with myrtle. This was, indeed, an old ceremony used in heathen marriages; as we learn from Tertullian, who reckons it an idolatrous rite, as used by them: and therefore says,^o "Christians did not marry with heathens, lest they should draw them to idolatry, from which their marriages took their beginning." But the ceremony was innocent in its own nature: and therefore the Christians never made any scruple to adopt it into the rites of marriage which they made among themselves, because it was a significant ceremony, declaring the innocency of the parties joined together: for which it is still retained among the Greeks, as we learn from Nicetas, bishop of Heraclea,^p a modern Greek writer, and Metrophanes Critopulus,^q and Dr. Smith,^r in his Ac-

Historia Lausiaca, alia notarunt pridem viri docti, Paulus Sherlogus in Cantic. Vestigat. xxvii. sect. xvi. &c.

^m Sidon. (Paris. 1609,) lib. i. Ep. v. p. 29. Jam quidem virgo tradita est, jam corona sponsus honoratur.

ⁿ Ibid. Carm. ii. ad Anthem. versa. 503, p. 55.

Hos thalamos, Ricimer, virtus tibi pronuba poscit,

Atque Dionæam dat Martia laurea myrtum.

^o Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. xiii. (Paris. 1664, p. 109, A. 10.) Coronant et nuptiæ sponsores: ideo non nubamus ethnicis, ne nos ad idololatram usque deducant, a qua apud illos nuptiæ incipiunt.

^p Nicet. Respons. ap. Leunclavium Jur. Græc. Rom. tom. i. p. 310. Ἡ μὲν ἀκρίβεια τοῖς διγάμοις οὐκ οἶδα στιφανοῦν· ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παρατηρεῖται· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς διγάμοις τοὺς νυμφικοὺς στιφάνους ἐπιτίθουσι, κ. τ. λ.

^q Critopul. Confess. Fid. c. xii. Εἴτ' ἀλλήλων τὰς διξίας συνάψας, ἐπιτίθουσι ταῖς ἐκίνοις κεφαλαῖς στιφάνους ἐξ αἰθαλοῦς φυτοῦ.

^r Smith's Account, &c. pp. 189, 190. Be the persons of what quality or condition soever, crowns or garlands, made, for the most part, of olive-branches,

count of the Greek Church. It is also spoken of with approbation by Peter Martyr,³ and other Protestant writers, who commend it as a laudable ceremony, for the reason given by St. Chrysostom : and it is still retained among the Helvetians, as Mr. Werndly informs us, in his Notes upon the Tigurine Liturgy.⁴ But I return to the ancient Church.

SECT. VII. — *Carrying the Bride Home to the Bridegroom's House; how far necessary in some Cases of Law.*

There was one custom more, which is not to be reckoned so much among the religious ceremonies, as to be put into the account of the pomp that attended marriage; and I should not have mentioned it in this place, but that it was required as necessary in some cases of law : that is, the custom of the woman's being carried by the husband home to his own house : whence the phrase *ducere uxorem* is so commonly used on the man's part for 'marrying a wife;' as *nubere* is proper on the woman's part for 'being married,' on account of the veiling used in marriage, as has been noted before. But I mention it not barely upon this account, but because, in some cases, it was a condition precisely required in law, before a man could lay claim to some privileges belonging to marriage : as appears from one of the laws

stitched over with white silk, and interwoven with purple, are a necessary and essential part of the nuptial solemnity (hence *στιφάνωμα* is oftentimes used for 'marriage,' and *στιφανεύσθαι* and *γαμίζεσθαι* signify the same thing), they being the symbols, not to say the complement, of this mystical rite. The priest, covering the head of the bridegroom with one of these garlands, says, *Στίφεται δούλος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δίδνα τὴν δούλην τοῦ Θεοῦ σήμερι, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. Then he crowns the head of the bride with the other garland, repeating the same words, with their due alterations; and then, putting their hands across, he blesses them in this form thrice: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δέξη καὶ τιμῇ στιφάνωσον αὐτούς*.

³ Petr. Martyr. Loc. Commun. lib. ii. c. x. sect. xxii. (tom. i. opp. p. 521, e. edit. Basil. 1580.) Obiter annotabo, quid eo loco de nuptialibus coronis tradat : (Chrysostomus, Hom. ix. in 1 Tim.) Nam etiam tum coronis utebantur in nuptiis, 'Quid,' inquit, 'vult corona? ut ostendant se conjuges, usque ad id tempus victores fuisse cupiditatum : quod si fuisti adulter aut scortator, quomodo coronam gestas?' See note (*), p. 339.

⁴ Werndly's Notes on the Tigurine Liturgy, p. 152.

of the Emperor Valens," concerning the *tirones*, or 'soldiers newly listed into military service.' To encourage the speedier recruiting of the army, Valens made a law, that every new soldier, from the time of his listing, or taking the military oath, should be free from the capitation-tax: and not only so, but if he served faithfully five years, his wife also should be free from the same tax, provided that after he had married her, he brought her to his own house, and did not leave her in her former habitation; for if he did so, she could not be proved to be his wife, and therefore should be kept with the burden of the tax upon her.—Justinian made a law of the same nature for other cases: * "That if any one made a bargain to give or to do any thing upon marriage, whether he called it the time of marriage, or named it marriage itself; the condition should not be interpreted to be fulfilled, till the festivity of marriage" (which comprehended this ceremony of carrying the wife to the house of the husband) "was completed." So that it was necessary in these cases, for certain ends and purposes, though otherwise the marriage was sufficiently perfected without it. Yet it being an ancient custom, the pomp of the marriage was deemed imperfect, till this ceremony was used: as we may gather from that of Sidonius, where he says, † "The pomp of the marriage was not yet fully completed, because the new bride was not yet removed to the house of her husband."

* Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. xiii. de Tironibus, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. ii. p. 376.) Si oblati junior fuerit, qui censibus tenetur insertus, ex eo tempore, quo militiæ sacramenta suscepit, proprii census caput excuset, ac si quinquennii tempus fida obsequii devotione compleverit, uxoriæ quoque capitationem merito laborum præstet immunem: ea scilicet servanda ratione, ut quam sibi uxorem copulaverat adfectu, et in priore lare derelictam memorarit, in probata census sarcina sustineat.

* Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. xxiv. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 150.) Si quis nuptiarum fecerit mentionem in qualicunque pacto, quod ad dandum vel ad faciendum . . . concipitur, et sive nuptiarum tempus dixerit, sive nuptias nominaverit: non aliter intelligi conditionem esse adimplendam, . . . nisi ipsa nuptiarum festivitas accedat.

† Sidon. lib. i. ep. v. (Paris. 1609, p. 29.) Nondum cuncta thalamorum pompa defremuit, quia nec dum ad mariti domum nova nupta migravit.

SECT. VIII. — *How far the Marriage-Pomp was allowed or disallowed, by the Ancient Fathers.*

This was an innocent part of marriage-pomp, which was often attended with the concourse and acclamations of the people. Neither was it reckoned any harm to have a decent *epithalamium*, or ‘modest nuptial song,’ or a feast of joy suitable to the occasion. But the *fescennina*, or immodest ribaldry, that was sometimes used under the notion of the marriage-pomp, and the scurrility and obscenity of actors and mimics fetched from the stage, together with the excessive revellings and dancings, that some called innocent nuptial mirth and diversion, were looked upon as great abuses; and accordingly proscribed and condemned by some canons, and severely inveighed against by the Fathers, as things utterly unbecoming the modesty and gravity of Christian marriages. The Council of Laodicea says,^a “Christians ought not, at marriages, βαλλίζειν ἢ ἐρχεῖσθαι, to use wanton balls or dancings, but dine or sup gravely, as becomes Christians.” Some, by the word βαλλίζειν, understand ‘playing on cymbals, and dancing to them.’ So Suidas^a and Zonaras^b interpret it. But the word denotes something more, viz. ‘tossing the hands in a wanton and lascivious manner:’ and in that sense there might be good reason to forbid it: whereas bare music and dancing, without any immodest or antic tricks, seems hardly a crime worthy a canon to forbid it. And if we may judge by Chrysostom’s sharp invective against this and other extravagancies committed at marriage-feasts, there must be something more extraordinary in them. For, speaking of Isaac’s marriage with Rebecca, “Consider here,” says he,^c “how

^a Conc. Laodic. c. liii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 1505.) “Οτι οὐ διὲ Χριστιανοὺς εἰς γάμους ἀπερχομένους βαλλίζειν ἢ ἐρχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ σιμῶς διηπνῆν ἢ ἀριστῆν, ὡς πρέπει Χριστιανοῖς.

^b Suicer. voce βαλλίζειν. Βαλλίζειν, τὸ κύμβαλα πτυπῆν, καὶ πρὸς λαΐων ἦχον ἐρχεῖσθαι. (Amstelod. 1682, p. 620.)

^b Zonar. in c. liii. Laodic. Βαλλίζειν ἰσθί, τὸ κύμβαλα πτυπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν λαΐων ἦχον ἐρχεῖσθαι.

^c Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. in Genes. (p. 549, edit. Francof.) Ἐνταῦθα ἐνόησιν μοι, ἀγαπητὲ, πῶς . . . οὐδαμῶ πομπὴ διαβολικὴ, οὐδαμῶ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὶ

there was no Satanical pomp; no cymbals, and piping, and dancing; no Satanical feasting; no scurrilous buffoonery or filthy discourse; but all was gravity, wisdom, and modesty. Let husbands and wives now imitate these. For why should a husband, from the very first, suffer the ears of his young spouse to be filled with filth from lascivious and obscene songs, and such unseasonable pomp? Know you not that youth of itself is inclined to evil? Why do you bring the mysteries of the venerable marriage upon the open stage? You ought to drive away all this sort, and teach the young bride modesty from the beginning." So again, discoursing of the marriage of Jacob and Leah, "You see," says he,^d "with what gravity marriages were anciently celebrated. Hear this, all ye that admire Satanical pomps, and disgrace the honour of marriage from the very beginning. Was there here any Satanical dancings? Why do you bring such a plague into your house from the very first moment? Why do you call the actors from the stage, and, with unseasonable expense, wound the virgin's chastity? It is difficult enough, without such fomentors, to moderate the torrent of youthful affections: but when these things are added, both by seeing

καὶ χοροῖαι, καὶ τὰ Σατανικὰ ἐκείνα συμπόσια, καὶ αἱ λοδορίαι, αἱ πάσης ἀσχημότητος γίμνουσαι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα σιμνότης, πᾶσα σοφία, πᾶσα ἐπισκευή. Εἰσῆλθε δὲ, φησιν, Ἰσαὰκ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν Ῥεῖκκαν, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῇ γυνή, καὶ ἡγάγησεν αὐτὴν καὶ (p. 681) παρεκλήθη Ἰσαὰκ πρὸς Σάρρας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. ταύτην μιμίσθωσαν αἱ γυναῖκες· ταῦτον ζηλούτωσαν ἄνδρες· οὕτω τὰς νύμφας ἀγαγίσθαι σπουδαζέτωσαν. Τίνας γὰρ ἔνικιν, εἰπέ μοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ προορίων κηλίδων πληρῶσαι συγχωρεῖς τῆς κόρης διὰ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἡμεμάτων, διὰ τῆς ἀκαίρου πόμπης ἐκείνης; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅπως ἡ νύμφη ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς ἑλισθόν; τί τὰ σιμνὰ τοῦ γάμου ἐκπομπίους μυστήρια; δῖον ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀπικαλύπτει, καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ ἐκ προορίων ἐκκαλύπτει τὴν κόρην. (Paris. 1614, p. 680, D. 5.)

^d Chrysostom. Hom. lvi. in Genes. (p. 605, edit. Francof.) Εἰδὲς τὸ παλαιὸν, μὲν ὅσας σιμνότητας τοὺς γάμους ἐπιστίλουν· ἀκούσαντε οἱ πρὸς τὰς Σατανικὰς πομπὰς ἐκπομπίους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν προορίων τὰ σιμνὰ τοῦ γάμου κατασχεύοντες· μήπου αὐτοί; μήπου νύμφεα; μήπου χοροῖαι Σατανικαί; τίνας γὰρ ἔνικιν, εἰπέ μοι, τσαούτην (p. 743) λύμην ἐθίως ἐπιστάγους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς σκηπῆς καὶ τῆς δεξιῆς καλῆς; ἦα μετὰ τῆς ἀκαίρου δαπάνης καὶ τὴν τῆς κόρης λυμῆν σωφροσύνην, καὶ τὸν οἶον ἀναισχυρτότερον ἐργάση; ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ, καὶ ἄνω τούτων τῶν ὑπερκαυμάτων, ἐκείνην τὴν ἡλικίαν δυνηθῆναι πρὸς ἐνιγκαῖν τὸν χυμῶνα τῶν παθῶν ὅταν δὲ καὶ τσαούτα ᾗ τὰ διὰ τῆς ὀψιμῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς δαψιλοτέρων ἀνάπτοντα τὴν πυρὰν, καὶ τὴν κάμινον τῶν παθῶν φλογωδιστέραν ἐργαζόμενα, πῶς οὐκ ὑπερβύχως ἢ τοῦ οἴνου ψυχὴ γιγνώσκειται; (Paris. 1614, p. 743, D. 7.)

and hearing, to raise a greater flame, and make the furnace of the affections rage more violently; how is it possible that the youthful soul should not be destroyed?" From all this it is plain, that it was not a sober entertainment at a marriage-feast, nor bare music and dancing, nor a modest nuptial song, that the Fathers so vehemently declaimed against as Satanical pomps; but it was the obscene and filthy songs, the ribaldry and lascivious actions of mimics and buffoons brought from the stage, joined with their immodest dancings and other the like vanities, tending to corrupt youthful minds, both by seeing and hearing, which they justly inveighed against, as unbecoming the modesty and sobriety of Christians. Any other innocent pomp or mirth, they freely allowed, denying only such as savoured of lightness or lewdness, or intemperance, which naturally tended, like "evil communications, to corrupt good manners." And so I have done with the rites and ceremonies observed in the contracting and celebrating of marriage among the ancient Christians. There remains only one thing behind relating to marriage, and that is to shew how the bond of matrimony might, in some measure, be broken and dissolved by divorce, and what were reputed just and legal causes of divorce: of which, because it is a matter of some moment, I will treat distinctly in a particular chapter.

CHAPTER V.

OF DIVORCES : HOW FAR THEY WERE ALLOWED OR DIS-
ALLOWED BY THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

SECT. I. — *The Ancients divided about the Sense of Fornication. Some taking it only for carnal Fornication, and making it the only just Cause of Divorce.*

THE ancients were not perfectly agreed upon this question. The writers of the Church were divided among themselves, and the laws of the state differed from both. Our business, therefore, must be to explain the differences of these opinions, and the several practices that were founded upon each of them. The ecclesiastical writers, for the most part, agreed in one thing,—that there was no just cause of divorce allowed by Christ, but only fornication : but then they differed about the notion of fornication : some took it in the obvious and vulgar sense, for carnal fornication only ; whilst others extended its signification to include spiritual fornication, or idolatry and apostasy from God, which they thought a lawful cause of divorce as well as the other. And some few thought all other sins that are equal to fornication, were included in this notion of fornication, and so made them to be just causes of divorce also. They who thought fornication or adultery was to be taken in the proper and literal sense, confined the business of lawful divorce to this cause only. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks in general against divorces,* as they were allowed and commonly practised in his time by the authority of the Roman laws, which made it necessary in case of adultery, and warrantable, at least, in many other cases. But Tertullian is more express, saying,^b “That the

* Clem. Strom. ii. c. xxiii. (Oxon. 1715, p. 506, line 31.) “Ὅτι δὲ γαμῶν ἡ Γραφὴ συμβουλεύει, οὐδὲ ἀφίστασθαι ποτε τῆς συζυγίας ἐπιτρέπει, ἄντιπερὶ νομοθετοῦ. Οὐκ ἀπολύσεις γυναῖκα, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ λόγῳ πορνείας· μοιχείαν δὲ ἡγῆσαι, τὸ ἐπιγῆμαι ζῶντος θανάτου τῶν κηχωρισμένων.

^b Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (Paris. 1664, p. 450, A. 13.) Præter ex causa adulterii, nec Creator disjungit, quod ipse scilicet conjunxit.

Creator allows no marriage to be dissolved, but only for adultery." So Chrysostom, in many places: "Christ has left but one cause of divorce, that is, adultery." Again,^d "Christ has taught us, that all crimes are to be borne with in the wife, besides adultery." "The apostles," he says further,^e "thought it hard and burdensome, that a man should retain a woman full of all wickedness, and bear with a furious wild beast in his house: and yet he gave them this precept (Matth. xix.), 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, committeth adultery.'" And this he repeats in other places.^f Lactantius seems to have been of the same mind. For he says,^g "God commanded that the wife should never be put away, but when she was

^c Chrysostom. Hom. xvii. in Matth. (p. 215, sub fin. edit. Francof.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτῃ κατακλημπάνει τρέπον ἵνα ἀφίστοις, εἰπὼν, Παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας. (Paris. 1636, p. 177, line 3 from top.)

^d Ibid. Hom. i. de Decem Millium Debitore, (p. 8, edit. cit.) Χριστοῦ παῖσαν κακίαν γυναῖκα ἀπαρνούμενος φέρειν πλὴν πορνείας μόνης. (Paris. 1616, p. 8, A. 4.)

^e Ibid. Hom. lxiii. in Matth. (p. 675, edit. cit.) Καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα ἱπαρχθῆναι ἴσται ἰδοὺ τὸ γυναῖκα πάσης κακίας γίμουσαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀνέχεται ἀνημέρου θηρίου διὰ πάντος ἴνδον συγκυλισμένου. (Paris. 1636, p. 552, at bottom.)

^f Ibid. de Virgin. c. xxviii. (Paris. 1614, p. 339, C. 8.) (p. 297, edit. cit.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοι πρότερον φορτικὸν εἶναι καὶ ἱπαχθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἐνόμισαν· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤκουσαν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ταύτην αὐτοὺς κατακληπόντος τὴν ἀνάγκην, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ὁ Παῦλος τότε· τὸ γὰρ, "Ὅς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας, ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχεύσασθαι· καὶ τὸ, 'Ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ῥήμασι μὲν ἱτέραις, γνώμῃ δὲ ἰερᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ. Εἰ δὲ τις ἀπερίστειτος καταμάθῃ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου, μᾶλλον κατεῖναι τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ φορτικώτερον ἐργάζεται τὴν δουλίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύριος οὐκ ἀφίσει κύριον εἶναι τοῦ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκκαλῖν· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος καὶ τὴν τοῦ οἰκίου σώματος ἐξουσίαν παραινεῖται, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ γυναίκα παραδίδει, καὶ ἀργυροῦντόν μᾶλλον ὑποτάξας οἰκίτου· (p. 340) τούτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἔξις πολλὰς καὶ παντοίους ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν, εἰ δυνήσῃ ποτὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀργυροῦ καταθῆναι τὴν τιμὴν τῷ δισπότῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πᾶν τὸν ἀπάντων ἀργαλιωτάριον ἔχει γυναῖκα, στήρην ἀναγκάζεται τῇ δουλίᾳ, καὶ λύσιν οὐδὲ μίαν· οὐδὲ διέξοδοι ταύτης δύναται τῆς δισποσίας ὑπεῖν. (Paris. 1616.)—Id. Hom. liii. in eos qui cum Judæis jejunant, (p. 720, C. 9.) (hom. lvi. p. 644.) Εἴ τις γὰρ, φησιν, ἔχει γυναῖκα ἁπλοῦς, καὶ αὐτὴ συνιδοκίᾳ οἰκίῃ μιστ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀφίστω αὐτὴν· ἂν δὲ πόρνη καὶ μοιχαλίδα, οὐ καλύπτει ἐκβάλλειν· "Ὅς γὰρ ἂν, φησιν, ἀπολύῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας, ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχεύσασθαι· ὥστε ἰσὶ λόγου πορνείας ἔξις ἀπολύειν. Εἴδεις φιλανθρωπίαν Θεοῦ καὶ κηδεμονίαν· ἂν Ἑλληνὶς ᾖ, φησιν, ἢ γυνὴ, μὴ ἐκβάλλης· ἂν δὲ πόρνη, οὐ καλύπτει τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ἂν εἰς ἐμὴν, φησιν, ἀσέβησιν, μὴ ἐκβάλλης· ἂν δὲ εἰς ἐλ' ὑβρίσῃ, οὐδὲς ὁ καλῶν ἐκβάλλειν. (Paris. 1616, p. 720.)

^g Lactant. Epit. Divin. Institut. c. lxvi. (Paris. 1748, vol. ii. p. 59.) Deus præcepit non dimitti uxorem, nisi crimine adulterii revictam, ut numquam conjugalī fœderis vinculum, nisi quod perfidia ruperit resolvatur.

overtaken in adultery: and the bond of the conjugal covenant can never be loosed, except it be when she breaks it;” meaning by falseness to the marriage-contract. St. Basil says the same,^h “That our Lord forbids divorce equally both to man and woman, save only in the case of fornication.” In like manner, Asterius Amasenus:ⁱ “What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.’ Hear this, ye hucksters, —who change your wives as ye do your clothes; who build new bride-chambers as often and easily as ye do shops at fairs; who marry the portion and the goods, and make wives a mere gain and merchandise; who for any little offence presently write a bill of divorce; who leave many widows alive at once;—know of a surety, that marriage cannot be dissolved by any other cause but death only or adultery.” St. Jerome^j understands the precept of Christ after the same manner:^k “That the wife is not to be dismissed but only for fornication.” And this was also the opinion of St. Ambrose.

^h Basil. c. ix. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1725.) ‘Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόφασις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῆς ἰνυίας ἀκολουθίαν, ἐξ Ἰσοῦ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξιν ἀρμάζει, περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐκίμαι γάμου ἐξίστασθαι, παρὲντος λόγου μοιχείας.— Vid. Hom. vii. in Hexaëmeron, (Paris. 1638, vol. i. p. 81, B.) Κἀν τραχὺς ἦ, καὶ ἄγριος τὸ ἦθε οἱ εὐνοικοί, ἀνάγκη φέρειν τὴν ἐμέλυντα, καὶ ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως καταδικάζειν τὴν ἴωσιν διασπῆν.

ⁱ Aster. Hom. v. ap. Combefis. Bibl. Patr. Auct. Nov. tom. i. p. 82. “Ὁ συνίεντις ὁ Θεὸς, ἄθεωπος μὴ χωρίζεται· ἐλίχθη μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις τότε· ἀκούσας δὲ νῦν, οἱ τούτων κάπηλοι, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς ἱμάτια εὐπόλοις μετανδύμενοι· οἱ τὰς παστὰδας πολλάκις καὶ ῥαδίως πηγνύντες, ὡς πανηγύρεις ἐργαστήρια· οἱ τὰς εὐπορίας γαμῶντι, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἱμωρούμενοι· οἱ μικρὸν παροξυνόμενοι, καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαίρεσιος γράφοντες· οἱ πολλὰς χήρας ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἵτι καταλμπάνοντες· πείσθητε, ὅτι γάμος θανάτου μόνον καὶ μοιχείαις διακόπτεται.

^j Hieron. Ep. xxx. in Epitaph. Fabiolæ, c. i. (Venet. 1766, Bened. vol. i. p. 458, E. 2.) Præcept Dominus uxorem non debere dimitti, excepta causa fornicationis: et si dimissa fuerit, manere innuptam. Quidquid viris jubetur, hoc consequenter redundat in feminas. Neque enim adultera uxor dimittenda est, et vir mechus tenendus. ‘Si quis meretrici jungitur, unum corpus facit:’ ergo et quæ scortatori impuroque sociatur, unum cum eo corpus efficitur. Aliæ sunt leges Caesarum, aliæ Christi: aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit. Apud illos viris impudicitiae frena laxantur; et solo stupro atque adulterio condemnato, passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido permittitur: quasi culpam dignitas faciat, non voluntas. Apud nos, quod non licet feminis, æque non licet viris, et eadem servitus pari conditione censetur.

^k Ibid. Commentar. in Matth. xix. (Venet. 1769, vol. vii. p. 145, E. 9.) Sola fornicatio est, quæ uxoris vincat adfectum. Ubicumque est igitur fornicatio, et fornicationis suspicio, libere uxor dimittitur.

SECT. II. — *Others took it to imply Spiritual Fornication, that is, Idolatry and Apostasy from God, and other Crimes of the like Nature.*

But St. Austin and some others were of opinion, that fornication or adultery, which our Saviour makes to be the only just cause of divorce, was to be understood in a little more extensive sense, so as to make it include not only carnal fornication, but spiritual fornication also, that is, idolatry and apostasy from God, and all crimes of the like nature. The Fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo were certainly of this opinion. For they order,¹ “That if any Jews were married to Christian women, they shall be admonished by the bishop of the place, that if they desire to continue with them, they should become Christians. But if upon such admonition they refused, they should be separated: because an infidel cannot continue in matrimonial conjunction with one that was a Christian.” And St. Austin for some time, was clear in this opinion. For in his exposition of the Sermon upon the Mount, he says,^m “Idolatry, which the infidels follow, and all other noxious superstition, is fornication: and the Lord permitted the wife to be put away for the cause of fornication.” Whence he argues further, “That if infidelity be fornication, and idolatry be infidelity, and covetousness be idolatry, there is no doubt to be made

¹ Conc. Tolet. IV. c. lxii. (Labbé, vol. 7. p. 1720.) Judæi, qui Christianas mulieres in conjugio habent, admoneantur ab episcopo civitatis ipsius, ut, si cum eis permanere cupiunt, Christiani efficiantur. Quod si admoniti noluerint, separantur: quia non potest infidelis in ejus conjugio [conjunctione] permanere, quæ jam in Christianam translata est fides.

^m Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. i. c. xvi. (Bened. 1700, vol. iii. part. ii. p. 132, F.) Idololatria, quam sequuntur infideles, et quælibet noxia superstitio, fornicatio est. Dominus autem permisit causa fornicationis uxorem dimitti. . . . § 46. Si infidelitas fornicatio est, et idololatria infidelitas, et avaritia idololatria, non est dubitandum et avaritiam fornicationem esse. Quis ergo jam quamlibet illicitam concupiscentiam potest recte a fornicationis genere separare, si avaritia fornicatio est? Ex quo intelligitur, quod propter illicitas concupiscentias, non tantum quæ in stupris cum alienis viris aut feminis committuntur, sed omnino quælibet, quæ animam corpore male utentem a lege Dei aberrare faciunt, et perniciose turpiterque corrumpi, possit sine crimine et vir uxorem dimittere, et uxor virum: quia exceptam facit Dominus causam fornicationis, quam fornicationem . . . generalem et universalem intelligere cogimur.

but that covetousness is also fornication." Whence he likewise concludes, "That for unlawful lusts, not only such as are committed by carnal uncleanness with other men or women, but also for any other lusts, which make the soul, by the ill use of the body, go astray from the law of God, and perniciously and abominably corrupt it, a man may, without crime, put away his wife, and a wife her husband, because the Lord excepted the cause of fornication; which fornication we are compelled to take in the most general and universal sense." St. Austin advances the same notion in many other places:^a yet in his *Retractations* he speaks a little more doubtfully of this matter, and says,^o "It is a

^a Aug. de *Adulterinis Conjugiis*, lib. i. c. xviii. tom. vi. p. 848, edit. Basil. 1569. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 291, C. 12.) Sic recedere ab infidelibus uxoribus vel maritis, fideles viri vel feminae non prohibentur a Domino (1 Cor. vii.), ut neque jubeantur. Nam si dimittere tales conjuges juberentur, nullus esset locus consilio monentis apostoli, ne hoc fieret, &c. — Id. *Epist. lxxxix.* ad Hilar. in *Respons.* ad quæst. iv. (tom. iii. p. 409, edit. Basil. 1569.) (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 422, B. 3.) In iis, quæ dimittenda mandavit Christus (Matth. xix.) etiam uxor commemorata est, quam nullis humanis legibus licet vendere, Christi autem legibus nec dimittere, excepta causa fornicationis. Quid sibi ergo volunt ista præcepta? (non enim possunt inter se esse contraria:) nisi quia occurrit aliquando necessitatis articulus, ubi aut uxor dimittatur aut Christus: ut alia omittam, si ipsi uxori maritus displicuerit Christianus, eique proposuerit aut a se divortium, aut a Christo. Hic ille quid eligat, nisi Christum, et dimittat uxorem laudabiliter propter Christum. Ambobus quippe Christianis Dominus præcepit, ne quisquam dimittat uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis, &c. Vid. de *Fide et Oper.* c. xvi. (tom. iv. pp. 72, 73, edit. Basil.)

^o Aug. *Retract.* lib. i. c. xix. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 22, A. 7.) De præcepto quo prohibetur uxor dimitti, nisi propter fornicationem, scrupulosissime disputavi: sed quam velit Dominus intelligi fornicationem, propter quam liceat dimittere uxorem; utrum eam quæ damnatur in stupris, an illam de qua dicitur, 'Perdidisti omnem qui fornicatur abs te,' in qua utique et ista est, (neque enim non fornicatur a Domino, qui tollens membra Christi, facit ea membra meretricis,) etiam atque etiam cogitandum est atque requirendum. Nec volo in re tanta tamque ad dignoscendum difficili putare lectorem istam sibi nostram disputationem debere sufficere: sed legat et alia, sive nostra quæ postea scripta sunt, sive aliorum melius considerata atque tractata: vel ipse, si potest, ea quæ heic merito movere possunt, vigilantiori atque intelligentiori mente discutiat. Non quia omne peccatum fornicatio est; neque enim omnem peccantem Deus perdit, qui quotidie sanctos suos exaudit, dicentes, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.' quum perdat omnem qui fornicatur ab eo. Sed quatenus intelligenda atque limitanda sit hæc fornicatio, et utrum etiam propter hanc liceat dimittere uxorem, latebrosissima quæstio est. Licere tamen propter istam quæ in stupris committitur, nulla quæstio est. Et ubi dixi, hoc permissum esse, non jussum; non attendi aliam Scripturam dicentem, 'Qui tenet adulteram, stultus et impius est.'

very dark and dubious question, whether a man may put away his wife for this sort of spiritual fornication: but for carnal fornication, that he may put her away, is beyond all question." Hence it appears, that this was no very current doctrine in the Church: and yet there appear some footsteps of it before St. Austin. For Hermes Pastor has the same notion of fornication: "Adultery," says he,^p "is not only in those who defile their own flesh, but every one commits adultery that makes an idol. Therefore if a woman so commits adultery, and perseveres therein without repentance, depart from her, and live no longer with her; for otherwise thou wilt be partaker of her sin." And Origen^q is generally reckoned by learned men as an assertor of this opinion, "That if a woman was guilty of other crimes equal to, or greater than, fornication; as if she was a sorceress, or a murderer of her children, or the like; that for such crimes she might be lawfully divorced." But these authorities^r are not sufficient to counterbalance the former; and, therefore, I reckon this but a private opinion in the Church for the three first ages.

^p Herm. Past. lib. ii. Mandat. iv. (Russel, Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 172.) Non solum mœchatio est illis qui carnem suam coinquinant: sed et is, qui simulacrum facit, mœchatur. Quod si in his factis perseverat, et pœnitentiam non agit; recede ab illa, et noli convivere cum illa; alioquin et tu particeps eris peccati ejus.

^q Origen. Hom. vii. in Matt. (p. 43, c. edit. Paris. 1604.) Quærendum est autem, si propter solam causam fornicationis dimittere jubet uxorem, quid sit, si mulier non quidem fuerit fornicata, sed aliud quid gravius fecerit; utputa venefica inveniat, aut interfecit communis infantis nati, aut in quocumque homicidio, aut exportans domum et male dispergens substantiam viri, aut furta viro faciens; si juste hujusmodi mulier dimittatur, quum Dominus excepta causa fornicationis dimittere vetet? Ex utraque enim parte aliquid inhonestum videtur: nescio autem, si vere inhonestum. Talia enim mulieris sustinere peccata, quæ pejora sunt adulteris et fornicationibus, irrationabile esse videbitur. Item facere contra voluntatem doctrinæ Salvatoris, omnis confitebitur impium esse. Disputo ergo, quia non præceptione mandavit, ut nemo dimittat uxorem excepta causa fornicationis, sed quasi exponens rem dixit, 'Qui dimiserit uxorem.'

^r Grot. in Matth. v. 32. Notat Origenes, verba hæc poni magis enuntiando quam jubendo. — Selden. Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. c. xxxi. p. 602. Horum uterque (Origenes et Tertullianus) liberum divortiorum jus seu extra causam mœchiæ aut causam, ut sentire videtur Origenes, non disparem impugnat. (Francof. 1673, p. 441.)

SECT. III.—*This later Opinion, from the Time of Constantine, much countenanced by the Laws of the State. First, by Constantine himself.*

But when Constantine came to the imperial throne, the laws of the state all turned this way, and were made in favour of divorce upon other causes besides that of carnal fornication. Women indeed had not immediately, in all respects, the same privilege as men: but yet for three crimes, specified in one of Constantine's laws,^{*} each sort were at liberty to make divorces. The man was at liberty to give a bill of divorce to his wife, if she was either an adulteress, or a sorceress, or a bawd: and the woman, on the other hand, might give a bill of divorce to her husband, if he was a murderer, or a sorcerer, or a robber of graves: but for being a drunkard, or a gamester, or a fornicator, she had no power against him. And here was the great inequality between the man and the woman, that the man had liberty by this law to put away his wife for adultery; but the woman had not the same privilege against an adulterous husband. And this is a thing frequently complained of by the ancient writers, who thought the man and the woman were upon the same foot and right by the law of God; and that a woman ought to have as much power to put away a fornicating husband, as a husband to put away a lewd wife. And, as Gothofred observes,[†] there were some old Roman laws which made the privilege equal: as the Rescript of

^{*} Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. xvi. de Repudiis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 310.) Placet, mulieri non licere propter suas pravas cupiditates marito repudium mittere, exquisita causa, velut ebrioso, aut aleatori, aut mulierculario: nec vero maritus per quascumque occasiones uxores suas dimittere. Sed in repudio mittendo a femina hæc sola crimina inquiri, si homicidam, vel medicamentarium, vel sepulchrorum dissolutorem maritum suum esse probaverit. . . . In masculis etiam si repudium mittant, hæc tria crimina inquiri conveniet, si mœcham, vel medicamentariam vel conciliatricem repudiare voluerit, &c.

[†] Gothofred. in locum. p. 312, line 40. Esti veteri quoque aliquando jure hanc a viris quoque divertendi justam causam fuisse, aliquot exemplis et documentis discimus, vel ex hac lege et exemplo, quod ex Apologia Justiniani refert Eusebius, (lib. iv. Hist. Eccles. c. xvii.) et ex Antonini Rescripto, quod ex codice Gregoriano memorat Augustinus, lib. ii. ad Pollent. et lib. de Bono Conjugal. Eodemque adludit, quod Jurisconsultus scribit, in lib. xiii. sect. v. §. de Adulteriis.

Antonine, mentioned by St. Austin,^u and the judgment of Ulpian, in the Pandects.* But, notwithstanding these laws, custom prevailed on the men's side to give them license to dismiss their wives for fornication, or even any slight cause, without allowing the same privilege to the woman: as Gothofred there evinces, from the complaints made by Lactantius,^v Gregory Nazianzen,^z Asterius Amase-

^u Aug. de Adulterin. Conj. lib. ii. c. viii. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 299, D. 4.) Cavendum viro illac ire vivendo, qua timet ne uxor sequatur imitando. Sed isti quibus displicet, ut inter virum et uxorem par pudicitiae forma servetur, et potius eligunt, maximeque in hac causa, mundi legibus subditi esse quam Christi, quoniam jura forensia non eisdem quibus feminas pudicitiae nexibus viros videntur obstringere; legant quid Imperator Antoninus, non utique Christianus, de hac re constituerit, ubi maritus uxorem de adulterii crimine accusare non sinitur, cui moribus suis non praebeuit castitatis exemplum, ita ut ambo damnentur, si ambos pariter impudicos conflictus ipse convicerit. Nam supra dicti imperatoris haec verba sunt, quae apud Gregorianum leguntur. 'Sane,' inquit, 'meae litterae nulla parte causae praepjudicabunt. Neque enim si penes te culpa fuit ut matrimonium solveretur, et secundum legem Juliam Eupasia uxor tua nuberet, propter hoc rescriptum meum adulterii damnata erit, nisi constet esse commissum. Habebunt autem ante oculos inquirere, an quum tu pudice viveres, illi quoque bonos mores colendi auctor fuisti. Periniquum enim mihi videtur esse, ut pudicitiam vir ab uxore exigat, quam ipse non exhibet: quae res potest et virum damnare, non ob compensationem mutui criminis rem inter utrumque componere, vel causam facti tollere.'

* Pandect. lib. xlviii. tit. v. ad Leg. Juliam de Adult. leg. xiii. § 5. Judex adulterii ante oculos habere debet et inquirere, an maritus, pudice vivens, muliere quoque bonos mores colendi auctor fuerit? (Amstelod. 1663, p. 724.)

^v Lactant. lib. vi. c. xxiii. (Dufresnoy, vol. i. p. 500.) Servanda fides ab utroque alteri est; immo exemplo continentiae docenda uxor, ut se caste gerat. Iniquum est enim, ut id exigas, quod praestare ipse non possis. Quae iniquitas effecit profecto, ut essent adulteria, feminis aegre ferentibus, praestare se fidem non exhibentibus mutuam caritatem. Denique nulla est tam perditum pudoris adultera, quae non hanc causam vitiis suis pretendat; injuriam se peccando non facere, sed referre. Quod optime Quintilianus expressit: 'Homo,' inquit, 'neque alieni matrimonii abstinens, neque sui custos, quae inter se natura connexa sunt.' Nam neque maritus, circa corrumpendas aliorum conjuges occupatus, potest vacare domesticæ sanctitati: et uxor, quum in tale incidit matrimonium, exemplo ipso concitata, aut imitari se putat, aut vindicari. Cavendum igitur, ne occasionem vitiis nostra intemperantia demus: sed adsuescant invicem mores duorum, et jugum paribus animis ferant. Nos ipsos in altero cogitemus. Nam fere in hoc justitiae summa consistit, ut non facias alteri, quicquid ipse ab altero pati nolis.

^z Nazianz. Orat. xxxi. (Colon. 1690, vol. i. p. 499, at bottom.) Περι ἧν ἐρῶ τοὺς πολλοὺς κακῶς διακείμενους, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀντὶν ἄνισον, καὶ ἀνόμαλον· τί δὲ ποτε γὰρ τὸ μὴν θῆλυ ἐκύλασε, τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν ἐπίτρεψε, καὶ γυνὴ μὴ κακῶς βουλευσαμένη περὶ ποίτην ἀνδρὸς μοιχᾶται, καὶ πικρὰ ἐπιτίθειν τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμια; ἀλλὰ διὰ καταπορεύων γυναικὶς, ἀνύθυνος; οὐ δέχομαι ταύτην τὴν νομοθεσίαν, οὐκ ἵκανῶ

nus,^a Chrysostom,^b Jerome,^c and several others. And Constantine was much inclined to correct these abuses and inequality of privileges in the matter of divorce between men and women: but in the first beginnings of reformation, he could not do every thing as he piously intended; and therefore was in a manner constrained to make this law with some inequality to women, who might be put away for fornication, though they might not for the same crime put away their husbands. But as he, in some measure, restrained the great liberty of divorcing upon any occasion, which the heathen laws before had allowed men, so he granted men liberty in more cases to put away their wives, than had been generally thought consistent before with the strict interpretation of the law of Christ. For that, as I shewed before, takes the exception of fornication or adultery in the strictest sense: but Constantine allowed divorce in cases that cannot be called fornication in the strict sense, but require a much larger interpretation. And whether he consulted the Christian bishops at that time before he made his law, or whether the bishops then had that extensive notion of fornication, including other great crimes, such as murder, sorcery, sacrilege, and the like, as Mr. Selden supposes they had,—is what I will not venture to assert, because many, in those times, were of a different opinion.

τὴν συνθήκην ἄνδρες ἦσαν οἱ νομοθετοῦντες, διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ γυναικῶν ἢ νομοθεσία . . . πῶς σὺ σωφροσύνη μὴν ἀπαιτεῖς, οὐκ ἀντισφίρεις δέ; πῶς ὁ μὴ δίδως αὐτῆς; πῶς ὁμότιμον σῶμα ὦν, ἀνίσως νομοθετεῖς.

^a Aster. Hom. v. p. 91. Οὗτος τῆς σωφροσύνης ὁ νόμος οὐ κατὰ γυναῖκα μόνον παρὰ Θεοῦ ὄρεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου νομοθεταὶ προσίχοντες, ἀνύθουν καταλείπουσι τῆς πορνείας τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὴν ἔξουσίαν, βαρὺς μὲν ἴσιν κριταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν σιμνότητος· οἱ δ' ἐν πολλοῖς ἀναίδην ἱσχυμαίνοντες σώμασιν, Ἄλλων ἱστροί, κατὰ τὴν παρεμπίαν, μυρίους βρῆντες ἔλκισιν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. v. in 1 Thessal. (p. 305, edit. Francof.) Καθάπερ ἡμεῖς τὰς γυναῖκας πολεῖμεν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συνοικοῦσαι ἰτίρεις ἑαυτὰς δώσιν· οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς πολεῖμεθα, πᾶν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μοιχεία ἰστί· μοιχεία γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῇ ἰτίρῃ συνζυγμῇτη μοιχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διδμεῖν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα. (Paris. 1636, vol. vi. p. 1442, line 8 from top.)

^c Hieron. Epitaph. Fabiolæ, ep. xxx. Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, &c. See sect. i. note (j), p. 348.

SECT. IV. — *Then by Honorius.*

However it is certain, that the following emperors trod in the same steps, still adding more causes of divorce to the first three which Constantine had allowed : for Honorius not only allowed of divorces both in men and women for great crimes, but also gave way to divorces for lesser faults, only imposing a slight penalty upon them. For by one of his laws,^d a man, for great crimes, might put away his wife, and recover both his espousal gifts and dowry, and marry again as soon as he pleased : and for lesser faults he might put her away without any other punishment than loss of the dowry, and confinement not to marry within two years. So that here was plainly permitted a greater liberty of divorce than had been allowed by the law of Constantine before. Which made Asterius Amasenus complain, as we have heard before,^e “ That husbands were mere hucksters in marriage ; changing their wives as they did their clothes ; building new bride-chambers as often and as easily as they did their shops at fairs ; marrying the portion and the goods, and making wives a mere gain and merchandise ; for any little offence presently writing a bill of divorce, and leaving many widows alive at once.” And Gothofred himself complains, that this was the great blemish of this age :^f “ For it had been more agreeable to the Divine law, not to have suffered such divorces at all, than to have allowed them only with such slight penalties put upon them.”

^d Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. xvi. de Repudiis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. i. p. 313.) Si divortium prior maritus objecerit, ac mulieri grave crimen intulerit, persequatur legibus accusatam, impetrataque vindicta et dote potiat, et suam recipiat largitatem, et ducendi mox alteram liberum sortiatur arbitrium. Si vero morum est culpa, non criminum, donationem recipiat, et dotem relinquat, aliam post biennium ducturus uxorem.

^e Aster. Hom. v. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Nov. tom. i. p. 82. See sect. i. note (1), p. 348.

^f Gothofred. iii. Cod. Theod. tit. xvi. leg. ii. vol. i. p. 314. Quæ sane magna hujus ævi labes fuit. Divino enim præcepto convenientius non ita dissociari conjugia quam pœnas imponi.

SECT. V.—*And Theodosius Junior.*

But Theodosius Junior went yet a little further in the former part of his reign. For he abrogated the two preceding laws of Constantine and Honorius, and reduced back again into use the old Roman laws about divorces, by a novel (an. 432), which runs in these terms:^s “We command that marriages be contracted by mutual consent; but when they are contracted, they shall not be dissolved otherwise than by giving a bill of divorce. But, in giving a bill of divorce, and making inquiry into the causes or faults proper to be alleged for divorce, we think it hard to exceed the rules of the ancient laws: therefore, now abrogating those constitutions which command heavy penalties to be laid upon husbands or wives dissolving marriage, we by this constitution appoint, that divorces and faults alleged as reasons for divorce, and the punishments of such faults, be reduced to the ancient laws, and the answers of the prudent.” But this abrogation of those two former laws, as Mr. Selden observes,^h was, doubtless, displeasing to very many, as seeming to introduce again the licentiousness of old paganism in the matter of divorces, and to permit them to be made for any fault or crime whatsoever. Therefore within a few years Theodosius himself revoked this constitution, making another law (an. 449), wherein he specified more particularly the causes for which either man or woman might lawfully give a bill of divorce.ⁱ “If any woman found her

^s Cod. Justin. (p. 162.) Consensu licita matrimonia posse contrahi, contracta non nisi misso repudio dissolvi, præcipimus: solutionem enim matrimonii difficiliorem debere esse, favor imperat liberorum. Sed in repudio culpaque divortii perquirenda, durum est legum veterum moderamen excedere. Ideo constitutionibus abrogatis, quæ nunc maritum, nunc mulierem matrimonio soluto præcipiunt poenis gravissimis coerceri, hac constitutione repudia, culpas, culparumque coherctiones ad veteres leges responsaque prudentum revocari censuimus.

^h Selden. *Uxor Hebr.* p. 567, (pp. 416, 417, edit. Francof. 1673.)

ⁱ Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xvii. de Repudiis, leg. viii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 162.) Si qua maritum suum adulterum, aut homicidam, aut veneficum, vel certe contra nostrum imperium aliquid molientem, vel falsitatis crimine condemnatum invenerit, si sepulchrorum dissolutorem, si sacris ædibus aliquid subtrahentem, si latronem vel latronum susceptorem, vel abactorem, aut plagiarium, vel ad contem-

husband to be an adulterer, or a murderer, or a sorcerer, or attempting any thing against the government, or guilty of perjury; or could prove him a robber of graves, or a robber of churches, or guilty of robbery upon the highway, or a receiver or encourager of robbers, or guilty of plagiary or man-stealing; or that he associated openly, in her sight, with lewd women; or that he insidiously made attempt upon her life by poison or sword, or any other way; or that he beat her with stripes, contrary to the dignity of freeborn women: in all these cases she had liberty to right herself by a bill of divorce, and make her separation good against him at the law." In like manner, "If the husband could prove his wife to be an adulteress, or a sorceress, or a murderer, or a plagiary, or a robber of graves, or a robber of churches, or a harbourer of robbers; or that she feasted with strangers against his knowledge or his will; or that she lodged out all night, without any just and probable cause, against his consent; or that she frequented the games of the cirque, or the theatre, or the place where the gladiators or fencers used to fight, against his prohibition; or that she made attempts upon his life by poison or sword, or any other way; or was partaker with any that conspired against the government, or guilty of any false witness or perjury, or laid bold hands upon her husband: in all these cases the man had equal liberty to give his wife a bill of

tum [sui] domusve suæ, ipsa inspiciente, cum impudicis mulieribus (quod maxime etiam castas exasperat) cœtum ineuntem, si suæ vitæ veneno, aut gladio, aut alio simili modo insidiantem, si se verberibus (quæ ingenuis aliena sunt) adficiantem probaverit. . . . Vir pari fine claudetur, nec licebit ei sine causis apertius designatis propriam repudiare jugalem. Nec ullo modo expellat, nisi adulteram, vel veneficam, aut homicidam, aut plagiariam, aut sepulchrorum dissolutricem, aut ex sacris ædibus aliquid subtrahentem, aut latronum faultricem, aut extraneorum virorum, se ignorante vel nolente, convivia appetentem; aut ipso invito sine justa et probabili causa foris scilicet pernctantem, vel circensibus vel theatralibus ludis, vel [arenarum] spectaculis [in ipsis] locis, in quibus hæc adsolent celebrari, se prohibente, gaudentem; vel sibi veneno, vel gladio, aut alio simili modo insidiatricem; vel contra nostrum imperium aliquid machinantibus consciam, seu falsitatis se crimini immiscentem invenerit, aut manus audaces sibi probaverit ingentem: tunc enim necessario ei discedendi permittimus facultatem, et causas dissidii legibus comprobare. . . . Quod si præter hæc nupserit, erit ipsa quidem infamis: connubium vero illud nolumus nuncupari.

divorce, and make his action good against her at the law." But if the woman divorced herself without any of the fore-said reasons, she was to forfeit her dowry and espousal gifts, and to remain five years without marrying again. And if she pretended to marry within that time, she was to be reputed infamous, and her marriage to be reckoned as nothing. But, if she rightly proved her cause, she was to recover her dowry and antenuptial gifts, and had liberty to marry again within a year. And if the man made good his action against the woman, he might retain the dowry and espousal gifts, and marry again as soon as he pleased.

SECT. VI. — *And Valentinian III.*

Not long after Valentinian III. published a novel, wherein, abolishing the old Roman practice of making divorces, without any other cause but mere consent of both parties (which, though forbidden by Constantine, was crept into use again), he reflects upon the first novel of Theodosius, which also permitted such divorces by mutual consent; and ordered, that the decrees of Constantius¹ (or rather Constantine, for so it should be read), concerning the dissolution of marriage, should be observed, permitting none to dissolve their marriage barely by mutual consent.

SECT. VII. — *And Anastasius.*

Yet, notwithstanding this, Anastasius, about the year 497, brought in that antiquated practice again. For though he commended the last constitution of Theodosius Junior as an excellent law, yet he relaxed the force of it in this one point; ordering,¹ "That if a divorce was made by mutual consent of the man and woman, without alleging any of

¹ Valentin. Nov. xii. In ipsorum matrimoniorum reverentia et vinculo, ne passim et temere deserantur, antiquata novella lege, quæ solvi conjugia sola contraria voluntate permiserat, ea, quæ a divo patre nostro Constantio [al. Constantino] decreta sunt, intemerata servantur.

¹ Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xvii. de Repudiis, leg. ix. Si constante matrimonio, communi consensu tam viri quam mulieris repudium sit missum, quo nulla causa continetur, quæ consultissimæ constitutioni divæ memoriæ Theodosii et Valentiniani inserta est; licebit mulieri non quinquennium expectare, sed post annum ad secundas nuptias convolare. (Amstelod. 1662, p. 163.)

those causes against each other that are mentioned in Theodosius's law, the divorce should be allowed; and the woman should not be obliged to wait five years before she married (as some former laws directed), but after one year was expired, she should have free liberty to marry as she pleased a second time.

SECT. VIII.—*And Justinian.*

Thus stood the business of divorces in the civil law to the time of Justinian (an. 528), when by a new decree^m of his own he not only confirmed all the causes of divorce that had been declared legal by the long constitution of Theodosius, but added one more to them, which had never been mentioned before, viz. the case of imbecility in the man; whom the wife, after two years, for this reason might put away by a bill of divorce. And this he again repeats in one of his Novels,ⁿ only with this difference, that instead of two years there should be allowed three. In another law,^o he adds to all the former causes of divorce these that follow,

^m Cod. Justin. leg. x. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 163.) In causis jam dudum specialiter definitis, ex quibus recta mittuntur repudia, illam addimus, ut, si maritus uxori ab initio matrimonii usque ad duos annos continuos computandos coire minime propter naturalem imbecillitatem valeat, possit mulier vel ejus parentes sine periculo dotis amittendæ repudium marito mittere: ita tamen, ut ante nuptias donatio eidem marito servetur.

ⁿ Justin. Novel. xxii. c. vi. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 45.) Καὶ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἀναγκαίαν τι καὶ οὐκ ἄλογον διαλύεται γάμος, ὅταν τις οὐχ οἷός τι εἴη συνίαι τῇ γυναικί, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀνδράσι δεδομένα πράττειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μὲν, κατὰ τὸν περὶ τούτου πρῶτον παρ' ἡμῶν γιγναμμένον νόμον, παραδράμοι ἐκ τοῦ τῶν γάμων καιροῦ ὃ δι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, οὐ δύνουσι πάρισι γὰρ τῇ γυναικί ἢ τοῖς γι αὐτῆς πατρῷσι διαζευγνύμενοι τὸ συνικνίσαι, καὶ στείλαι διαζύγιον, εἰ καὶ μὴ βούλωντο τοῦτο ὃ συνικνύν· ἀνταῦθα ἢ μὲν προῖξ [εἴ τις ἐστὶν ὅλως ἐπαδεδωμένη προῖξ] ἀκολουθήσει τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀποδώσει ταύτην ὃ ἀνὴρ, εἴγε τύχοι λαβῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν γάμον ἦτοι πρὸ τῶν γάμων δωρεὰ μινύει παρὰ τῇ ἀνδρὶ, οὐδὲν οἰκτον ζημιουμένην. ταῦτος δὲ δὴ τὸν νόμον ἀπανορθοῦμεν βραχείᾳ τινὶ προσθήκῃ οὐ γὰρ διετίαν ἀρβυμίσθαι μόνην τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς συναφείας, ἀλλὰ τρεπίαν βουλόμην· καὶ γὰρ ἐιδόχθημεν ἐκ τῶν ἱσχυροτάτων ἐν μίση, τινὰς πλείονα ἢ καὶ κατὰ διετίαν χρεόνον οὐκ ἐσχύσαντας, ὅστιρον ἱκανοὺς ὀφθίνοντας ὑπεριτήσασθαι τῇ τιμωροσίᾳ.

^o Cod. Justin. leg. xi. Si forte uxor sua ope vel industria abortum fecerit, vel ita luxuriosa est, ut commune lavacrum cum viris libidinis causa habere audeat; vel, dum est in matrimonio, alium maritum sibi fieri conata fuerit.

viz. : if the wife industriously use means to cause abortion ; or be so lewd and luxurious as to go into a common bath with men ; or endeavour, when she is in matrimony, to be married to another man. But he hereby cancelled and abolished all such ancient laws, as allowed of divorce for light and trivial causes. He repeats the same causes of divorce in other Novels, and adds to them some other causes. As if a man or woman was minded to betake themselves to a monastic life, they might then give a bill of divorce, without alleging any other cause of separation.^p Which was a new law of Justinian's : for this was never allowed as a just cause of divorce before. He allowed also that a bill of divorce might be given, in case either party was a long time detained in captivity. Which sort of divorces were

^p Justin. Novel. cxvii. c. xii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 159.) Ταῖς εἰρημίαις αἰτίας συνίδουσι καὶ ταύτας ὁμοαστὶ προσθίνας, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς γάμους δίχα πωτὶς ἔξωσι διαλύειν τούτοις τὴν τι περὶ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ γάμου μίγνυσθαι ταῖς ταυτῶν γαμισταῖς, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀνδράσι δεδομένα πρᾶττειν. καὶ πρὸς γὰρ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν συνιστάσιν τῷ γάμῳ εὐλαβῆ βίον καὶ τὴν ἐν μοναστηρίοις οἰκῆσιν ἐπιλογισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίῃ ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον διακρετουμένων προσώπων· ἐπὶ ταύταις γὰρ τοῖς τριῶν δίμασι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς προτέραις ἡμῶν νόμοις περιεχόμενα, βίβαια εἶναι διασπίζομεν. Τὰς εἰρημίαις τοῖνυ ἀπάτας αἰτίας, τὰς τῷ παρόντι ἡμῶν νόμῳ περιεχομένας, μὴντες ἀρκούντι κελεύουσι πρὸς τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν νομίμων συνουκισίων. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάτας ἀργῶν παρακεκλιυμένα, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην αἰτίαν πλὴν τῶν ὁμοαστὶ ἐγκυμένων τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ δύνασθαι διαλύειν νόμῳ γάμον· εἴτε ἡμῖν, εἴτε παλαιότεροις περιέχεται νόμοις. — Ibid. Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. liii. sect. iii. (p. 23.) "Ἐτι διασπίζομεν· εἴτε ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ μονήρῃ βίον ἰδῶν βουληθείς, εἴτε γυνὴ τὸν ἄνδρα καταλιποῦσα πρὸς ἄσκησιν ἔλθοι μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ζῆμίας παρέχουσι πρόφασιν· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οἰκία πάντως λαμβάνειν· ὅστις τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν προίκα εἶναι λαβεῖν τὴν αὐτῆς· καὶ τὴν πρὸ γάμου δωρεὰν τῷ συνουκίσαντι· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τούτου κέρδος, μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐν βίβουδιου διάζευξιν ἐκδικεῖν, ἢ μίνας παρὰ τῷ μὴ ἀποταξαμένῳ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐν θανάτου σύμφωνον· ὅσα δοκούντος τοῦ ἀφισταμένου τῷ τι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διαίτης ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ γι ἐπὶ τῷ συνουκίσῳ εἰσθῆναι διὰ τὸ τῷ συνουκίσαντι παντοῦ ἀχρηστοῖν εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως αἱ τῶν προκρίων συμβολαίων διέξινι δύναμις ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τιμωρίας συμφόρων, ἐφυλόμενοι. τοῦ μὴ θάρρῃν τὴν γυναῖκα πρὶν ἐκινεῖν διελθεῖν εἰς ἴτριον ἰδίῳ συνουκίσῳ διὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφίαν· ἀλλ' εἴ τι μίλλαι γίνεσθαι τοιοῦτο, τηλικαῦτα ἐτίλλεσθαι διαίσιον κατὰ τούτο· δὴ τὸ καλούμενον BONA GRATIA, παρὰ τοῦ μὴ τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐλομένου προσώπου. οὕτως πρᾶττειν, ἢ βούλειται τῶν κερδῶν (κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημίαν τρόπον) προσυνομινομένου αὐτῷ· δηλαδὴ τῷ κερδανομένῳ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐκ τρόπου παντὸς, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων γάμων ἢ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ὁ ἀνὴρ μιν, ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς καιροῖς ἐκ τοῦ γάμου γινόμεναι, εἴ τινα εἴη, φυλαττομένου.

said to be made *cum bona gratia*,[¶] not for any crime, but, as it is called, for other reasonable causes. Thus stood the matter of divorces in the time of Justinian, when the civil law was fully revived and settled in the Roman empire. What new laws or alterations were afterward made by other princes either in the East or West, to the time of the reformation, the reader that pleases, may see in Mr. Selden,[†] who carries the history down to the last ages: but this is beyond the limits of the present discourse, which is designed only to account for the practice of church or state in the primitive ages.

¶ Nov. xxii. Mitiores nuptiarum solutiones, tamquam generali quadam ratione sub bona gratia factis disjunctionibus, sciendum est, tolerasse quodammodo.

† Seld. Uxor Hebr. lib. iii. c. xxix. xxx. seq.

BOOK XXIII.

OF FUNERAL RITES ; OR, THE CUSTOM AND MANNER OF
BURYING THE DEAD OBSERVED IN THE ANCIENT
CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF CEMETERIES, OR BURYING-PLACES ; WITH AN INQUIRY,
HOW AND WHEN THE CUSTOM OF BURYING IN CHURCHES
FIRST CAME IN.

SECT. I.—*A Cemetery a common Name for a Burying-place
and a Church. How this came to pass.*

BEFORE we say any thing of the sacred rites and customs observed in burying the dead, it will be necessary to give some account of the places where they were buried. That the Christians had anciently some places peculiar to themselves for burying their dead, is evident from hence, that they often met in times of persecution to celebrate Divine service at the graves and monuments of their martyrs : which had not been proper places for such meetings, had they been common to them with the heathens. These were called by a general name κοιμητήρια, *cæmeteria*, ‘dormitories’ or ‘sleeping-places,’ because they esteemed death but a sleep, and the bodies there deposited not properly dead, but only laid to sleep till the resurrection should awaken them. These were otherwise called *aræ sepulturarum*^a and *cryptæ*,^b because they were vaults often made under ground,

^a Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iii. (Paris. 1664, p. 70, A. 2.) Sicut et sub Hilarione præside, quum de aræ sepulturarum nostrarum adclamassent, ‘Aræ non sint ;’ aræ ipsorum non fuerunt : messes enim suas non egerunt.

^b Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. c. xl. (Venet. Vallars. 4to. vol. v. p. 468, B.) Dum essem Romæ puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum ceteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis sepulcra Apostolorum et Martyrum circuire ; crebroque cryptas ingredi, &c.

where the Christians could meet with greater safety to hold religious assemblies in time of persecution. Upon which account, as I have noted elsewhere,^c all these were common names both of burying-places and places of religious assemblies. Whence the heathens often, when they would forbid Christians to hold any assemblies for Divine service, forbid them their *areæ*; as in that place of Tertullian, *Areæ non sint*, 'Let the Christians have none of their *areæ* to meet in;'^d and the like prohibitions we find in other places. So, in like manner, Æmylian, the Roman prefect, tells Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria,^e that they should not have liberty to go into their cemeteries, as they called them, and there hold their assemblies for Divine worship. In all which places, it is evident, the words are taken promiscuously, both for burying-places, and places of assembling for religious worship. Which would incline a man almost to think, were there not otherwise insuperable arguments against it, that it was the ancient custom of the most primitive Christians to bury in churches.

SECT. II.—*No Burying-places in Cities or Churches for the first Three Hundred Years.*

But upon a nicer inquiry and more exact view, we are sure there neither was nor could be any burying in churches, properly speaking, for the first three hundred years. Necessity sometimes forced the Christians, during this interval, to hold their assemblies in the burying-places of the martyrs, and so make a sort of extraordinary and temporary churches of them, as they might do of any cave or place of retirement in such circumstances: for, as Dionysius of

^c Book viii. chap. i. sect ix. vol. ii. p. 351.

^d Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iii. See note (*). Et Gesta Purgationis Cæcilian. ad calcem Optati, p. 272, (p. 95, b. Paris. 1679.) Cives in area martyrum fuerunt inclusi.—Id. p. 277, (p. 96, d.) Tollat aliquis de vestris in area, ubi orationem facitis, et illic ponantur.—Id. Passio Cyprian. p. 12. Ejus corpus positum est in areis Macrobbii Candidi.

^e Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 211, A. 13.) Οὐδ' αὖτως ἔξεσται οὕτοι ὑμῖν οὕτοι ἄλλοις τοῖσι, ἢ συνόδους ποιῆσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσελθόναι.

Alexandria well words it,^f “ Every place is instead of a temple in time of persecution, whether it be a field, or a wilderness, or a ship, or an inn, or a prison.” But this occasional use, in an extraordinary case and extreme necessity, does not properly make them churches; that is, places set apart only for Divine service: and therefore the occasional meetings of the primitive Christians in their cemeteries, or at the graves and monuments of the martyrs, did not, as yet, turn them into churches. Neither can it be said, with any propriety, upon this account, that they then buried in churches, but only that they made a sort of extraordinary churches, or places of occasional assembly, at the graves or burying-places of the dead. Their churches, which were their standing and proper churches, were chiefly then in cities, and in most places it may be in cities only: and the Roman laws all that time forbade all burying in cities to persons of every rank and quality whatsoever. Consequently the Christians, who lived in a due obedience and subjection to the Roman laws in all things of an innocent and indifferent nature, noways interfering with the necessary rules of their religion, were as ready to comply with this innocent law or custom as any others: and that is an undoubted argument, that the Christians neither did nor could then bury in churches. The heathens, indeed, themselves sometimes brake through the laws, and in spite of prohibition and restraint would presume to bury in cities: but we nowhere find this accusation of transgressing the laws in this particular brought against the Christians; but, rather, the Christians objected the transgression of it to the heathens: as Savaro, in his learned notes upon Sidonius Apollinaris,^g shews out of several passages of Clemens Alex-

^f Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 291, B. 6.) *Πᾶς δ' εὖς καὶ ἡσασσεν θάψιμος τόπος, πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γίγναι χωρίον ἀγρόε' ἐρημία' ναῦς' παιδοχῆϊον' δισμωτήριον.*

^g Savaro in Sidon. lib. iii. ep. xii. (Paris. 1609, p. 207.) *Veteres in campis et agris cadavera sepeliebant, non in urbibus . . . qui mos cum apud Græcos, tum apud Latinos obtinuit.* — Polybius, lib. vi. et lib. viii. Diogenes Laërtius in Pyrrhone Heliensi, apud Latinos, ex. 12. ‘ In urbe ne sepelito neve urito:’ quæ lex quum exolevisset, et plerique intra urbem inhumarentur, et quot Romæ templa, tot sepulcra prius fuerant. Clemens Alexandrin. ad Gentes, Arnobius,

andrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Julius Firmicus, Prudentius, and others. It was one of the original laws of the twelve tables, *In urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*,^b ‘Let no one bury or burn in the city.’ This was afterward confirmed, upon some transgression, by a decree of the senate, when Duellius was consul, as Savaro shews further out of Servius’s observations upon Virgil. And then, for some time, the practice was to bury only in the suburbs, and not in the city, as the same author shews out of Tully, Livy, and Ovid. Afterward, upon some invasion made again upon the law (for the heathens were still ambitious of burying in the temples), Hadrian published a new edict to forbid it,¹

lib. vi.; Lactantius, lib. i. c. xi.; Plutarch. *Rerum Romanar.* c. lxxix.; Julius Firmicus de *Errore Prof. Relig.*; Prudent. lib. i. cont. Symmachum; Festus I. in *Argea loca.* Id. iii. in *Cincia*, postea senatusconsulto cautum est, ne quis in urbe sepeliretur. Servius, lib. xi. ad hæc :

Urbique remittunt ;

‘Meminit,’ inquit, ‘antiquæ consuetudinis ; nam etiam ante homines in civitate sepeliebantur, quod postea Duellio consule senatus prohibuit, et legavit ne quis in urbe sepeliretur.’ Unde mos invaluit, ut in continentibus urbis humatio fieret. Ovidius :

Inque suburbano membra sepulta solo.

M. Tullius pro Roscio ; et T. Livius, lib. xi. ab Urbe Cond. Gregor. ; Turon. de Glor. Confessor. c. lxxx. quod senatusconsultum, quum penitus antiquatum esset, D. Hadrianus restituit, lib. iii. §. D. Hadrianus, de Sepulch. Violato. Itemque ejus successor Antonin. Pius, Capitolinus, intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit. Paulus I. sentent. titulo ultimo, § ii. ‘Corpus in civitatem inferri non licet.’—Id. § iii. Sed quum leges illæ conculcarentur, ut omnes intra ecclesias et urbes sepeliri vellent, id Christiani imperatores vetuerunt, leg. vi. Cod. Theod. de Sepulch. Violato, et leg. ii. Cod. de Relig. et Sump. Funer. Leo Sapiens, Nov. liii. legem illam refixit, quam legem Galli religiose excoluerunt, Concilii Bracarenensis, primi cap. xxxvi. : Nam si firmissimum hoc privilegium usque nunc retinent Galliæ civitates, ut nullo modo intra ambitum murorum civitatum cujuslibet defuncti corpus sit humatum, &c.—Dallæus de *Objecto Cultus Religiosi*, lib. iv. c. vii. pp. 620, 621.

¹ Cicer. de *Legibus*, lib. ii. c. lviii. Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.

¹ Ulpian. in *Digest.* lib. xlvii. tit. xii. de Sepulchro Violato, leg. iii. sect. v. Divus Hadrianus rescripto pœnam statuit quadraginta aureorum in eos, qui in civitate sepeliunt : quam fisco inferri jussit et in magistratus, eadem qua passi sunt : et locum publicari jussit, et corpus transferri. Quid tamen, si lex municipalis permittat in civitate sepeliri ? post rescripta principalia an ab hoc discessum sit, videbimus : quia sunt generalia rescripta, et oportet imperialia statuta suam vim obtinere et in omni loco valere.

laying a penalty of forty pieces of gold upon any one that should presume to bury in the city, and as much upon the judges that permitted it; ordering the place to be confiscated, and the body to be removed: and no municipal or private laws in this case, Ulpian says, were to be regarded against the general law of the prince. Antoninus Pius, successor to Hadrian, revived the same law, forbidding any to bury the dead within the cities, as Julius Capitolinus,^j the writer of his Life, informs us. And Gothofred cites Paulus, the eminent lawyer, as concurring in the same judgment, and giving a good reason for it:^k “It is not lawful for any corpse to be buried in the city, that the sacred places of the city be not defiled.” Finally, Diocletian^l mentions and confirms these preceding laws by a law of his own, wherein he gives the same reason against burying in cities, as Paulus did before. Hence it was, that graves and monuments were commonly erected by the highways’ side, as Varro, an ancient Roman writer, observes; giving a further reason for it,^m “That passengers might be admonished that they themselves were mortal, as well as those that lay buried there.” Augustus and Tiberius were buried in the Via Appia,ⁿ and Domitian in the Via Latina.^o And, accordingly, Juvenal^p speaks of the dead in general, as those that lay buried in

^j Capitolin. Vit. Antonini Pii, p. 60. *Intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit.*

^k Paulus, Sentent. lib. i. cap. ult. ap. Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. vi. vol. iii. p. 149. ‘Corpus in civitatem inferri non licet, ne funestentur sacra civitatis:’ et qui contra ea fecerit, extra ordinem punitur.

^l Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xlv. de Religiosis et Sumtibus Funerum, leg. xii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 107.) Mortuorum reliquias, ne sanctum municipiorum jus polluat, intra civitatem condi jam pridem vetitum est.

^m Varro de Lingua Latina, lib. v. citante Gothofred. l. c. p. 148. Sepulchra ideo secundum viam sunt, quo prætereuntes admoneant, et se fuisse, et illos esse mortales. — Tertul. de Testimon. Animæ, c. iv. (Paris. 1662, p. 66, C. 8.) Vocas porro securos (defunctos) si quando extra portam cum obsoniis et matteis tibi potius parentans ad busta recedis, aut a bustis dilutior redis.

ⁿ Seneca, Apocolocynt. Claud. Appiæ Viæ curator est, qua scis et divum Augustum et Tiberium Cæsarem ad deos isse.

^o Sueton. Vit. Domitian. c. xvii. (B. Crusius, vol. ii. p. 356.) Cadaver ejus, populari sandapila per vespillones exportatum, Phyllis nutrix in suburbano suo Latina Via funeravit.

^p Juvenal. Satir. i. 171.

Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

the Via Flaminia and Latina.^q St. Peter, upon this account, was buried in the Via Triumphalis, beyond the Tiber, as St. Jerom^r informs us: and St. Paul in the Via Ostiensis, three miles without the gate of the city,^r as the same author, and all others that speak of their deaths, assure us. Nay, Sidonius Apollinaris assures us further, that the place where St. Peter was buried, though there was then a church built over it, was still, in his time (an. 470), without the *pomæria*, or 'space before the walls' of Rome. For, speaking of his journey to Rome, he says,^t before ever he came at the *pomæria*, of the city, he went and saluted the church of the apostles, which stood in the Via Triumphalis: which implies, that his monument and church was still without the walls. And so, generally, the graves and monuments of the martyrs are spoken of as being without the cities: as St. Cyprian's,^u in the Via Mappaliensis; and Sixtus, in the cemetery of Calixtus, in the Via Appia;^w and his six deacons, in the cemetery of Prætextatus, Via Appia; and St. Laurence in the Crypta, Via Tiburtina. And upon this account, in after-ages, when they held assemblies at the monuments of the martyrs, we always find them speaking of going out of the cities into the country, where the martyrs lay buried. Thus Chrysostom, in one of his homilies upon the martyrs, says,^x "As before, when the festival of the

^q See more from Dempster, in Rosini Antiq. Roman. lib. v. cap. ult. p. 1006.

^r Hieron. de Scriptor. c. i. Sepultus Romæ, in Vaticano, juxta Viam Triumphalem, totius urbis veneratione celebratur.

^s Ibid. c. xv. Hic xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus, sepultusque est in Via Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini tricesimo septimo.

^t Sidon. Apoll. lib. i. epist. v. p. 28. Priusquam vel pomæria contingerem, triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus adfusus, omnem protinus sensi membris male fortibus explosum esse languorem, &c.

^u Passio Cypriani, p. 14, (p. 15, edit. Amstelod. 1700.) Ejus corpus propter gentilium curiositatem in proximo positum est cum cereis et scolacibus, in areis Macrobiani Candidi procuratoris, quæ sunt in Via Mappaliensi juxta piscinas, cum voto et triumpho magno.

^w Pontific. Vit. Sixti. [Not. Apud Labbeum, tom. i. Conc. p. 553, hæc non invenio, sed ista ibi leguntur: 'Qui sepultus est juxta corpus Beati Petri in Vaticano.'—Grischow.]

^x Chrysostom. Hom. lxxv. de Martyribus, (Paris. 1616, Duceus, p. 972, line 5 from bottom,) (hom. lxxviii. tom. v. p. 872, edit. Francof. 1698.) Καθ' ἡμέραν οὕτως

Maccabees was celebrated, all the country came thronging into the city. So now, when the festival of the martyrs, who lie buried in the country, is celebrated, it was fit the whole city should remove thither." In like manner, speaking of the festival of Drosis, the martyr, he says,⁷ "Though they had spiritual entertainment in the city, yet their going out to the saints in the country afforded them both great profit and pleasure." From all which it is evident to a demonstration, that for the three first centuries the Christians neither did nor could bury in the cities or city churches, because the Roman laws, with which they readily complied, were absolutely against it. If, afterwards, at any time we meet with martyrs lying in churches, that is only to be understood of the relics of martyrs translated into the city churches, or of churches newly built in the country over the graves and monuments of the martyrs, neither of which has any relation at all to burying in churches: because the one was only the translation of their ashes in an urn some ages after; and the other rather an erecting of new churches in the places where the martyrs lay buried some ages before, than any proper burial of the martyrs in churches. Though this gave the first occasion in future times to the innovation that was made in this matter of burying in churches, as we shall see more hereafter.

SECT. III.—*But either in Monuments erected by the Public, or in Vaults and Catacombs in the Fields under Ground.*

Meanwhile, let it be observed, that the common way of burying, for this interval of three hundred years, was either in graves with monuments set over them in the public roads, or else in vaults and catacombs, for greater safety made in the fields under ground. For that they had such

ἱερῆς τῶν Μακκαβαίων ἐπιταφίαις, πᾶσα ἡ χώρα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκχυθῆν οὕτω τῆς ἱερῆς τῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἀγομένης, νῦν τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν πρὸς κείνους μεταστήναι ἔχρη.

⁷ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxvii. in Drosidem, tom. v. p. 989, C. 3, (hom. lxx. p. 815, edit. Francof.) Πλήρης μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἡ τεράστια τῶν πνευματικῶν ἰδιωμάτων παρείκιστο, ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ἔξοδος τούτους ἔχει τινὰ καὶ ψυχαγωγίαν, καὶ κίρδος τῆς ψυχαγωγίας οὐκ ἔλαττον.

vaults for this purpose, called *cryptæ* and *arenaria*, from their being digged privately in the sand under ground, is evident both from the ancient and modern accounts of them. Baronius* tells us there were about forty-three such in the suburbs of Rome: and Onuphrius* gives us a particular account of their names (taken from the names of their founders, or such charitable persons as were at the pains or charge to build or repair them): and what is chiefly remarkable, he tells us the places where they were, viz. not in the city, but in the ways, or roads, without the walls, leading from Rome to other places, as the Via Appia, Aurelia, Ostiensis, Nomentana, Tiburtina, Latina, Salaria,

* Baron. an. 226, n. ix. (Antwerp. 1597, vol. ii. p. 346.) Præter cœmeteria duo, Callisti et Calepodii, quorum heic mentio est, illud fuit cum primis nobilissimum, positum in Vaticano, in quo S. Petri et aliorum plurium summorum pontificum corpora condita sunt: aliud Ostianum Via Salaria, in quo idem S. Petrus dicitur baptizasse, cujus mentio est in Actis Liberii Papæ: quintum ad Nymphas dictum, Via Numentana, in prædio Severæ, septimo ab urbe lapide: sextum Soteris nominatum, haud longe a cœmeterio Callisti; juxta quod etiam septimum situm erat cœmeterium Zephyrini; octavum Prætextati, Via Appia: nonum Pontiani: Cyriacæ matronæ decimum, in agro Verano: undecimum Lucinæ, Via Aurelia: duodecimum Aproniani Via Latina: decimum tertium Felicis Papæ, Via Aurelia, secundo ab urbe lapide: decimum quartum Priscillæ, Via Salaria, tertio ab urbe lapide juxta cryptam sancti Crescentionis: quintum decimum Timothei, Via Ostiensi, in loco, ubi nunc est basilica S. Pauli: decimum sextum Novellæ dictum Via Salaria: decimum septimum S. Balbinæ, inter Viam Appiam et Ardeatinam, idemque nominatum Marci Papæ: in super cœmeterium Julii, Via Flaminia: aliud ejusdem nominis, Via Aurelia: rursus aliud ejusdem quoque nominis, Via Portuensis, quod numeratur vigesimum: rursum cœmeterium Damasi, inter Viam Ardeatinam et Appiam: vigesimum secundum vero quod dicebatur Anastasii Papæ, tempore pacis intra urbem in Esquilino factum: vigesimum tertium Hermetis: aliud Nicomedis, Via Ardeatina: vigesimum quintum sanctæ Agnetis, Via Nomentana: vigesimum sextum sanctæ Felicitatis, Via Salaria: vigesimum septimum dictum Jordanorum: vigesimum octavum Nerei: Sanctorum Felicis et Adaucti undetrigesimum: trigessimum vero Tiburtii et Valeriani: xxxi. sanctorum Petri et Marcellini, Via Lavicana: xxxii. Marci et Marcelliani; quod sequitur xxxiii. dictum Quarti et Quinti: itemque illud sanctæ Agathæ Via Aurelia: xxxv. cœmeterium Ursi: et aliud quod dictum est Cardianum: trigessimum vero septimum dictum est, Inter duas lauros: trigessimum octavum ad clivum cucumeris, Via Salaria: cœmeterium vero Thrasonis ad sanctum Saturninum ponitur trigessimum nonum: quadragesimum vero Cyriaci, Via Ostiensi: quadragesimum primum Petronillæ: quadragesimum secundum Januarii: denique quadragesimum tertium Simplicii et Serviliani. Quorum omnium fit mentio in libro de Romanis Pontificibus, et aliis in locis.

* Onuphr. de Cœmeteriis, c. xii. tot. (pp. 18–22, edit. Colon. 1568.)

Flaminia, Portuensis, Ardeatina, Lavicana, &c. : which are the known roads leading to the neighbouring cities about Rome. And by this we may understand what St. Jerome means when he says,^b “ It was his custom, when he was a boy at school in Rome, on Sundays, to go about and visit the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs, and often to enter into the vaults, which were digged deep into the ground, and on each side as one went in, had along by the walls the bodies of such as lay buried : and were so dark, that to enter in them was, in the Psalmist’s language, ‘ Almost like going down alive into hell : ’ the light from above peeped in but here and there, a little to take off the horror of darkness, not so much by windows as little holes and crannies, which still left a dark night within, and terrified the minds of such as had the curiosity to visit them, with silence and horror.” This is to be understood, not of any places within the city, but of those vaults which lay by the several ways round about Rome. And the description agrees very well with the account which Baronius^c gives of one of them, called ‘ the cemetery of Priscilla,’ discovered

^b Hieron. in Ezech. c. xl. p. 636, (p. 455, b. edit. Paris. 1643.) (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 468, B.) Dum essem Romæ puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam, cum ceteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis sepulchra apostolorum et martyrum circuire : crebroque cryptas ingredi, quæ in terrarum profunda defossæ, ex utraque parte ingredientium, per parietes habent corpora sepulchrorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia, ut propemodum illud propheticum compleatur, ‘ Descendant ad infernum viventes : ’ et raro desuper lumen admissum horrorem temperet tenebrarum, ut non tam fenestram, quam foramen demissi luminis putes : rursumque pedetentim acceditur, et cæca nocte circumdatis illud Virgilianum proponitur :

Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.

^c Baron. an. 130, n. ii. (Antuerp. 1597, vol. ii. p. 81, D. 5.) Vidimus sæpiusque lustravimus Priscillæ cœmeterium, haud pridem inventum atque refossum Via Salaria tertio ab urbe lapide ; quod nullo magis proprio vocabulo dixerimus præ ejus amplitudine, multisque atque diversis ejusdem viis, quam subterraneam civitatem : quippe quod ipsius ingressu primaria via ceteris amplior pateat, quæ hinc inde diversas vias habeat, easdemque frequentes, quæ rursus in diversos viculos dividantur et angustas : rursus, ut in civitatibus, statis locis velut fora quædam, ampliora sint spatia ad conventus sacros agendos, eademque sanctorum imaginibus exornata ; nec desint, licet nunc obstructa, ad lumen recipiendum desuper excisa foramina. Obstupuit urbs, quum in suis suburbiis abditas se novit habere civitates, Christianorum tempore persecutionis olim colonias, modo autem sepulchris tantum refertas, &c.

in his time (an. 1578), in the Via Salaria, about three miles from Rome. He says, "At the entrance of it there was one principal way, which on either side opened into divers other ways, and those again divided into other lesser ways, like lanes in a city: there were also some void open places fitted for their holding of religious assemblies, which had in them the effigies and representations of martyrs. And likewise there were holes at the top of it to let in light, but these were long ago stopped up." These catacombs of Rome have made the greatest noise in the world; but there were such belonging to many other cities. Bishop Burnet describes those of Naples,^d which, he says, are without the city, and much more noble and spacious than those of Rome. He supposes them to be made by the heathens, and not by the Christians: which is not a dispute material in our present inquiry: because whether they were made by the one or the other (probably some were made by each),^e

^d Burnet's Travels, Letter iv. pp. 162, 163. Without the city, near the church and hospital of St. Genarro, that is without the gates, are the noble catacombs, which because they were beyond any thing I saw in Italy, and to which the catacombs of Rome are not to be compared; and since I do not find any account of them in all the books that I have yet seen concerning Naples, I shall describe them more particularly. They are vast and long galleries, cut out of the rock: there are three stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it; but I saw the passage to it. These galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high; so that they are noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the catacombs at Rome, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe that these catacombs of Naples went into the rock nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards Puzzolo, and so they may have been the burial-places of the towns on that bay: but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found galleries going off in all hands without end; and, whereas, in the Roman catacombs there are not above three or four rows of niches that are cut out in the rock, one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher. Some niches are for children's bodies; and in many places there are in the floors, as it were, great chests hewn out of the rock, to lay the bones of the dead, as they dried, in them, &c.

^e Christian catacombs are mentioned in a very ancient book, called *Depositio Martyrum*, cited by Bishop Pearson, *Annal. Cyprian. an. 258, p. 62, (p. 49, sect. ii. edit. Amstelod. 1700.)* Ratio, si recte capio, in antiquissima *Depositione Martyrum* continetur; ubi hæc leguntur, 'Tertio Kalendas Julii, Petri in ca'acumbas, et Pauli Ostiense, Tusco et Basso Coss.'

they were still without the walls of the cities; which is enough to our present purpose. And to this agrees the testimony of that ancient writer under the name of St. Chrysostom, who says in general,^f "That every city, nay, every village, had their graves or burying-places, before the entrances into them, that they who went in, might first consider what they themselves were, before they set a foot into the cities flourishing with riches, dignity, and power. There are graves before cities, and graves before fields: every where the school of humility lies before our eyes." Now I think, upon the whole, we can hardly have better proof of any thing than we have of this, whether we consider law or fact, that for the first three hundred years under the heathen emperors, the general rule and custom was to bury without the walls of the cities, and, consequently, neither in cities nor city-churches, unless by some connivance or transgression.

Hegesippus, indeed, and Eusebius, and St. Jerome after them,^g say, that St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, was buried in the city, near the temple where he was slain: but St. Jerome owns there were some who thought he was buried upon Mount Olivet: which is much more probable: because it is certain, from the Gospel, that it was the custom of the Jews to bury without the city (Matth. xxvii. 60; Luke, vii. 12; John, xi. 30). And Eusebius,^h speaking of the mausoleum, or monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, says expressly, it was *ἐν προαστείσις*, 'in the suburbs' of Jerusalem. So that, for any thing that appears to the contrary,

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xvii. de Fide et Lege Naturæ, tom. vi. p. 184, (p. 155, edit. Francof.) (Front. Duc. Paris. 1636, vol. vi. p. 156, B. 2.) Πᾶσα πόλις, πᾶσα κώμη πρὸ τῶν εἰσόδων τάφους ἔχει· ἐκείναις τις εἰσιλθὼν εἰς πόλιν βασιλεύουσιν, καὶ κομῶσιν πλούτη καὶ δυναστείαν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀξιώμασι καὶ πρὶν τῇ δ' φαντάζεται, βλίπτει πρῶτον ὁ γίνεσθαι τάφου πρὸ τῶν πόλεων, τάφου πρὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. πανταχοῦ τὸ διδασκάλιον τῆς ταπεινότητος ἡμῶν πρίκεται, καὶ παιδιώμεθα πρῶτον εἰς τί καταλήγομεν, καὶ τότε ὁρῶν τὰ ἴσα φαντάσματα. — See Tertul. de Testimon. Animæ, c. iv. cited sect. ii. note (m), p. 366.

^g Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (Amstelod. 1695, p. 52, A. 8.) Ἐθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῇ ναῷ.

^h Ibid. lib. ii. c. xii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 39, D. 1.) Τῆς γίγναι Ἑλένης, ἥς δὲ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, εἰσέτι νῦν στήλαι διαφανῆς ἐν προαστείσις δίκηνεται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀδιαζηνῶν ἱθύνους αὕτη βασιλεῦσαι ἱκρίγναι.

it may be concluded to have been the general custom of Christians, Jews, and Romans, to bury all their dead without the cities for the first three hundred years.

SECT. IV.—*Burying in Cities and Churches prohibited by Christian Emperors, for several ages after.*

Let us next examine how this matter stood in the next period of time, when the emperors and laws were both become Christian. Now here we find that the laws stood for many ages just as they were before, forbidding all burying in cities; and some new laws were made, particularly prohibiting and restraining men from burying in churches. For when some persons in Constantinople began to make an invasion upon the laws, under pretence that there was no express prohibition of burying in churches made in them; Theodosius, by a new law,¹ equally forbade both burying in cities and burying in churches; and this, whether it was only the ashes, or relics, of any bodies kept above ground in urns, or whole bodies laid in coffins: they were all to be carried and repositied without the city, for the same reasons that the old laws had assigned, viz. that they might be examples and memorials of mortality, and the condition of human nature to all passengers; and also that they might not defile the habitation of the living, but leave it pure and clean to them. And if any presumed to transgress, henceforward, the inhibition of this law, he was to forfeit the third part of his patrimony: and whatever officer was assisting in such a funeral, was to be amerced in a fine of forty pounds of gold. And that no little quirk or subtlety should elude the intention of this law, and leave men at

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 147.) Omnia, quæ supra terram urnis clausa, vel sarcophagis corpora detinentur, extra urbem delata ponantur, ut et humanitatis instar exhibeant, et relinquant incolarum domicilio sanctitatem. Quisquis hujus præcepti negligens fuerit, atque aliquid tale ab hujus interminatione præcepti ausus fuerit moliri, tertia in futurum patrimonii parte multetur: Officium quoque, quod sibi paret, quinquaginta librarum auri adfectum dispoliatione merebitur. Ac ne alicujus fallax et arguta sollertia ab hujus se præcepti intentione subducat, atque apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humanis corporibus æstimet esse concessam, ab his quoque, ita ut a reliquo civitatis, noverint se atque intelligant esse submotos.

liberty to think that this general prohibition of burying in the city, did not exclude men from burying in the places where the ashes of the apostles and martyrs were reposed, it was expressly provided, that they should be secluded from these repositories, as well as any other places within the city. St. Chrysostom takes notice of this law, arguing thus with sinners, whom he reckons no better than mere graves and sepulchres, when dead in trespasses and sins: "Consider," says he,^k "that no grave is allowed to be made in the city: therefore, neither canst thou appear in the city that is above. For if this be forbidden in an earthly city, how much more in that which is heavenly?" In like manner, in another place:^l "If we bury dead bodies without the city, much more ought we to expel those who speak dead words, offensive to others, and utter things they ought to conceal: for such mouths are the common pest and plague of the city." The author under the name of St. Chrysostom,^m probably Severianus of Gabala, one of his contemporaries, had his eye upon this law and those that went before, when he said, "Every city and village had their burying-places before their entrance into them." This is not only an evidence of what went before, but also of the practice of his own times, pursuant to the law, about the year 400. Sidonius Apollinaris, a French bishop, lived almost a whole century after this; and he plainly intimates, that it was still the custom, in France, to bury without the walls of the city, in the open field. For, speaking of the grave of his grandfather, he

^k Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvii. al. lxxiv. in Matth. p. 634, (p. 781, edit. Francof.) Ἐνόησον ὅτι οὐδὲς τάφος ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζεται οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ ἐν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φαινῆται δυνήσῃ πόλιν· εἰ γὰρ ἐν ταῦτα τοῦτο ἀτίθηται, πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκίῃ.

^l Ibid. Exposit. Psalm. v. tom. iii. p. 50, B. 9, (p. 44, edit. cit.) Εἰ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καταβάπτονται πολλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς τὰ νεκρὰ ῥήματα, καὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκφέρουσιν, καὶ οὐδὲ εὐσεβεῖσαι βουλομένους, πόρῳ που κατακίβουν χρεῖ.

^m Ibid. Hom. xvii. de Fide, tom. vi. p. 184, (p. 155, edit. cit.) See note (f), p. 372. — Vid. Macar. Hom. xxx. sect. v. Ὡςπερ ὁ νεκρὸς ἀχρεῖς, καὶ ὅλος μὴ χρησιμῶν τοῖς ἐκίῃ ἐστι· διὸ καὶ ἐκπομίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ κατατίθενται οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἥ μὴ φέρουσα τὴν πνευματικὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φωτὸς εἰκόνα, τὴν ζωὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥςπερ ἀδόκιμος καὶ πάντῃ ἀπόβλητος τυγχάνει.

says,ⁿ “ It was a field where he lay buried, filled with funeral ashes and the bodies of the dead, in the road and suburbs of the city Arverne.” And after this, the Council of Braga (an. 563) speaks of it again^o as a privilege, even then firmly retained in the cities of France, that no corpse whatsoever was buried within the walls of any of their cities: and they make use of this as an argument, why no one should be buried in any church in Spain: of which more by and by. In the meanwhile, if we look into Afric, in the time of St. Austin (an. 401), we find, by an order made in the fifth Council of Carthage, against the Donatists, that it was then the custom to bury still in the fields and highways. For the Donatists so buried the Circumcellions, their pretended martyrs, erecting them tombs, in the fashion of altars, to be their memorials. Upon which account, that Council ordered,^p “ That such altars that were so erected by the roads or in the fields, as monuments of martyrs, in which it could not be proved that the bodies, or relics, of true martyrs were reposed, should be demolished, if it were possible, by the bishops of the respective sees in whose diocesses they were found.” Which was not so ordered, because they were buried in the fields or highways (for that was agreeable to the law made by Theodosius not long before); but because it was doubtful whether they were true martyrs or not. For neither the Catholics nor Donatists did then generally pretend to bury either in cities or in churches; but only some few of the Circumcellions, who were the fiercer and hotter part of them, in spite of all laws, buried some of their pretended martyrs in the churches: but even these, as Optatus

ⁿ Sidon. lib. iii. ep. xii. *Avi mei tumulum, hesterno (proh dolor!) die, pene manus profana temeraverat. Sed Deus adfuit, ne nefas tantum perpetraretur. Campus autem ipse dudum refertus tam bustualibus favillis, quam cadaveribus, nullam jam diu scrobem recipiebat, &c.* (Paris. 1609, p. 606.)

^o Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxvi. *Firmissimum hoc privilegium usque nunc retinent Galliæ civitates, ut nullo modo intra ambitum murorum civitatum cujuslibet defuncti corpus sit humatum, &c.*

^p Conc. Carth. V. c. xiv. *Placuit, ut ultaria, quæ passim per agros aut vias, tamquam memoriæ martyrum constituuntur, in quibus nullum corpus aut reliquiæ martyrum conditæ probantur, ab episcopis, qui eisdem locis præsunt, si fieri potest, evertantur.* (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1217.)

tells us,⁹ “were taken up again and cast out, because it was not lawful to bury any corpse in the house of God.” This is the first instance of any, that I remember, being buried in churches; and then it was contradicted by the bishop of the place, by whose order they were cast out. No alteration, as yet, was made in the law against burying in churches. For Justinian, who cut off the former part of Theodosius’s law against burying in cities, retained still the latter part against burying in churches, inserting it into his Code: “Let no one think that the places of the apostles and martyrs are allowed to bury human bodies in.” And long after this, the prohibition continued to the time of Charles the Great, though with some exceptions in favour of some eminent persons; as we shall see in the sequel of the story, examining by what steps and degrees the contrary custom came into the Church.

SECT. V.—*The first Step made toward Burying in Churches was the Building of Churches over the Graves of the Martyrs in the Country, or else translating their Relics into the City-Churches.*

The first thing that gave occasion to any to think of burying in churches, was the particular honour that was done to martyrs in the fourth century, when the graves or monuments where they lay buried, and where the Christians had used to assemble in times of persecution formerly, for the worship of God, had now churches erected over them in the country: or else their ashes and remains were translated into the city, and deposited in churches; and many times new churches were erected in the places where they were laid, thence called *martyria*, *propheteia*, *apostolæa*, from ‘the

⁹ Optat. lib. iii. (Du Pin, 1702, p. 60.) (p. 71, edit. Paris. 1679.) In loco Octavensi occisi sunt plurimi, detruncati sunt multi: quorum corpora usque in hodiernum, per dealbatas aras aut mensas potuerunt numerari. Ex quorum numero quoniam aliqui in Basilicis sepeliri cepissent, Clarus presbyter in loco Subbulensi, ab episcopo suo coactus est, ut insepultam faceret sepulturam. Unde proditum est, mandatum fuisse fieri, quod factum est, quando nec sepultura in domo Dei exhiberi concessa est. (Antwerp. 1702, p. 60.)

^r Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Ecclesiis, leg. ii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 6.) Nemo apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humanis (leg. humanis) corporibus existimet esse concessam.

martyrs, prophets, or apostles,' whose remains were translated into them. This was so much the known practice of the fourth century, that I need not stand to give any particular instances of it, but only remark in general, that it had so much the approbation of the Church in that age, as that no such kind of *martyria*, or 'churches,' were to be builded, unless the remains of some approved martyrs were reposed in them. Which appears from a canon of the fifth Council of Carthage,* forbidding any memorials of martyrs to be accepted as such, unless either the body or the relics of a martyr were certainly known to be deposited there. But then this was nothing to burying in churches, but only an honour paid to the ashes of the martyrs, who had been dead and buried, it may be, some hundreds of years before; and cannot so properly be called a 'burying in churches,' as a 'building of churches,' and new erecting them in the ancient burying-places of the dead. But whatever it was, it was a peculiar privilege of the martyrs to have their remains thus reposed in the body of the church: the laws forbade it still to all others, and the greatest persons had not this honour and favour allowed them, to be interred in the same place where the remains of the martyrs were reposed.

SECT. VI.—*The next was allowing Kings and Emperors to be buried in the Atrium, or 'Porch,' and outer Buildings of the Church.*

But kings and emperors had, in this age, a peculiar privilege above the rest of men, to be buried in the *atrium*, or 'church-porch,' or some other of the outer buildings of the church. Eusebius says,† "Constantine had desired to be buried near the apostles, whose memorial he had honoured by building a church called by their names." But this was not understood to be a desire to be buried in the church

* Conc. Carth. V. c. xiv. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1218.) Omnino nulla memoria martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, nisi aut ibi corpus, aut aliquæ reliquæ sint, &c.

— Note. These relics were buried under the altar, not kept above ground upon the altar: for Mabillon says, no relics were set upon the altar to the tenth century. — Liturg. Gallicana, lib. i. c. ix. n. iv.

† Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxxi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 464, C. 7.)
Τὰ σπουδασιόντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατηξέυτο μνήμῃ, κ. τ. λ.

itself, but only in the porch before the church. And so far Constantius, his son, fulfilled his will, as Chrysostom more than once informs us. "His son," says he,^u "thought he did his father Constantine a very great honour, to bury him in the fisherman's porch. And what porters are to the emperors in their own palaces, the same are the emperors to the fishermen in their graves. The apostles, as masters of the place, have their residence within; but the emperor's ambition proceeds no further, than as neighbours and attendants, to take possession of the porch before the church." Again, in another place, speaking of the same matter,^v "At Constantinople, they that wear the diadem, take it for a favour to be buried, not close by the apostles, but in the porch without the church: and kings are the fishermen's door-keepers." Thus also Theodosius Senior, and Arcadius, and Theodosius Junior, are said, by some historians, to be buried.^w Which is probable enough, though the ancient historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, say nothing of it. Hitherto, then, for five hundred years we see the generality of Christians were still buried without the city, and only kings and emperors allowed to be buried within the city; and yet this not in the church, but only in the *atrium* or churchyard, or in the porch, or other outer buildings of the church.

^u Chrysostom. Hom. xxvi. in 2 Cor. p. 929, line 22 from bottom, (p. 741, edit. Francof.) Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μέγαν μεγάλην τιμὴν ἐνόμισεν ὁ παῖς, εἰ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καταθείτο τοῦ ἀλτίως· καὶ ὅπερ εἰσὶν οἱ πυλῶρες τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, τοῦτο ἐν τῇ σήματι οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῖς ἀλτίωσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὥσπερ διακόνται τοῦ τόπου, ἵδον κατήχουσιν, οἱ δὲ, ὡς πάροιποι καὶ γείτονες, ἡγάπησαν τὴν αὐλὴν αὐτοῖς ἀφορισθῆναι θύραν.

^v Ibid. lib. Quod Christus sit Deus, c. viii. tom. v. p. 839, line 5 from bottom, (p. 752, edit. cit.) Ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἰγγύς, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρέθοντα ἔξω ἀγκαπητὸν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν οἱ τὰ διαδήματα περιεπίμνυν τὰ σήματα αὐτῶν κατορύττισθαι, καὶ γιγῶνασι θυρεοὶ λοιπὸν τῶν ἀλτίων οἱ βασιλεῖς.

^w Niceph. lib. xiv. c. lviii. Θεοδοσίος δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πατρὶά ὅλην ἰδέσαστο, κατὰ τὸ διζὺρον ὑπερῶν τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων σπηκοῦ, ἐν λίθῳ Ῥωμαίων, ᾧ δηλαδὴ ὑπερῶν τῷ ἴσθι λίθῳ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρκάδιος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Εὐδοξία, καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίος κατετίθησαν.

SECT. VII.—*Then the People, in the Sixth Century, began to be admitted into the Churchyards, but not into the Church.*

In the beginning of the sixth century, the people also seem to have been admitted to the same privilege of being buried in the *atrium*, or churchyard before the church: but still they were forbidden, by laws both ecclesiastical and civil, to bury in the church. For Justinian, in his new Code, dropping the former part of Theodosius's law, which obliged all people to bury without the city, still retains the latter clause,^{*} which forbids men to be buried in the seats of the martyrs and apostles. And about the year 563, the first Council of Braga,[†] in Spain, allows men to be buried, if need require, in the churchyard under the walls of the church, but utterly forbids any to be buried within: giving this reason for it, "That the cities of France still retained the ancient privilege firm, to suffer no dead body to be buried within the walls of the city; and therefore it was much more reasonable, that this respect should be paid to the venerable martyrs." We may conclude hence, as we have done before, that at this time, in France, they were so far from allowing burials in the church, that as yet they did not suffer any corpse to be buried in the churchyard, no, nor any where within the walls of the city. But some time after, about the year 658, or 895, when the Council of Nantes was held (chronologers are not exactly agreed about the time),[‡] the people of France were also permitted to bury in the church-

^{*} Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Eccles. leg. ii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 6.) *Nemo apostolorum vel martyrum sedem humandis corporibus existimet esse concessam.*

[†] Conc. Bracar. II. c. xviii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 842.) *Corpora defunctorum nullo modo in basilica sanctorum sepeliantur: sed si necesse est, deforis circa murum basilicæ usque adeo non abhorret. Nam si firmissimum hoc privilegium usque nunc manet civitates [Galliæ], ut nullo modo intra ambitum murorum cujuslibet defuncti corpus humetur; quanto magis hoc venerabilium martyrum reverentia debet obtinere?*

[‡] Conc. Namnet. c. vi. (Labbé, vol. ix. p. 770.) *Prohibendum etiam, secundum majorum instituta, ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut in porticu, aut in in exedris ecclesiæ. [N.B. Labbé reads extra ecclesiam.] Intra ecclesiam vero, et prope altare, ubi corpus et sanguis Domini conficitur, nullatenus [sepeliantur] habeat licentiam sepeliendi.*

yard, or in the porch, or in the *exedrae*, or 'outer buildings of the church,' but not within the church itself, and near the altar where the body and blood of Christ is consecrated. This rule is again repeated in the Council of Arles,^a and the Council of Mentz, held an. 813,^b in the time of Charles the Great, out of which that emperor made a rule in his Capitulars,^c to the same purpose. Not to insist upon the uncertain canon of the *Concilium Varense*, as it is called in Gratian,^d which is a repetition of the canon of Nantes; we may add to these the rule made in the Council of Tribur,^e another synod in the time of Charles the Great: "Let no layman, for the future, be buried in the church: yet such bodies as are already buried there, may not be cast out, but the pavement shall be so made over the graves, that no footstep of a grave shall appear. And if this cannot, without great difficulty, be done for the multitude of corpses lately buried there, let the place be turned into a *polyandrium*, or 'cemetery,' and let the altar be removed thence, and set in some other place, where the sacrifice may be religiously offered to God." While these laws were thus made in the West, giving men liberty to bury in cities and churchyards, but still restraining them, in a great measure, from burying in churches; Leo Sapiens, in the East, about the year 900, abrogated all the old laws against burying in cities, and left men at perfect liberty to bury within the walls or without the walls of any city;^f but still

^a Conc. Arelat. III. c. xxi. De sepeliendis mortuis in Basilicis illa constitutio servetur, quæ ab antiquis patribus constituta est.

^b Conc. Mogunt. c. lii. See following note (*).

^c Carol. Capitular. lib. i. c. clix. ap. Lindenbrog. Leg. Antiq. Nullus deinceps in ecclesia mortuum sepeliat.

^d Gratian. Caus. xiii. quæst. ii. c. xv.

^e Conc. Tribur. c. xvii. Præcipimus, ut deinceps nullus laicus in ecclesia sepeliatur. . . . Corpora antiquitus in ecclesia sepulta, nequaquam projiciantur, sed pavimento desuper facto, nullo tumulorum vestigio apparente, ecclesiæ reverentia conservetur. Ubi vero hoc præ multitudine cadaverum difficile sit facere, locus ille cæmeterium et polyandrium habeatur, ablato inde altari et constituto ubi religiose sacrificium Deo valeat offerri. (Labbé, vol. ix. p. 450.)

^f Leo, Nov. liii. Ne igitur ullo modo inter civiles leges hæc lex recenseatur, sancimus: quin potius, ut a consuetudine recte contemnitur, sic etiam decreto nostro prorsus reprobatur. Quicumque autem sive extra muros, sive intra civitatem, sepelire mortuos volet, perficiendæ voluntatis facultatem habeto.

says nothing of any license to bury in churches. So that it is evident, beyond all contradiction, that hitherto there was no general license granted by any laws in any part of the world, authorizing all sorts of persons to bury in churches, without distinction, but many of the laws in this interval, run peremptorily and universally against it.

SECT. VIII.—*And in this Period of Time, Kings, Bishops, Founders of Churches, and other Eminent Persons, were, by some Laws, allowed to be buried in Churches.*

Yet some laws, within this period of time, were made with some limitations and exceptions, in the case of great and eminent persons, such as kings, and bishops, and founders of churches, and presbyters, and such of the laity as were singularly conspicuous and honourable for their exemplary sanctity and virtue. The Council of Mentz, mentioned before, qualifies the general prohibition with this exception; saying,^g “None shall be buried in the church, except bishops, and abbots, and worthy presbyters, and faithful laymen.” And the Council of Tribur,^h only forbidding laymen to be buried in the church, may be supposed to allow it to the clergy. And this honour was paid to bishops and emperors some time before. For Socrates says,ⁱ “Proclus removed the body of St. Chrysostom from Comana to Constantinople, and laid it in the Church of the Apostles.” And Evagrius speaks of it as customary to bury the emperors and clergy in the Church of the Apostles, built by Justinian, at Constantinople.^j This honour, likewise, was paid to founders of churches: they were allowed

^g Conc. Mogunt. c. lii. (Labbé, vol. vii. p. 1252.) Nullus mortuus intra ecclesiam sepeliatur, nisi episcopi, aut abbates, aut digni presbyteri, aut fideles laici.

^h Conc. Tribur. c. xvii. See above, note (*).

ⁱ Socrat. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 315, C. 5.) Τὸ σῶμα Ἰωάννου ἐν Κομάνοις τιθαμνῖνον, βασιλῖα πείσας, τριακοστῇ πέμτῃ ἔτι μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν, εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν μετακίμετον· καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς, δημοσίᾳ πομπεύσας αὐτὸ, εἰς τὴν ἱπώνυμον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέθιτο.

^j Evagr. lib. iv. c. xxxi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 406, D. 3.) Εἰργαστο αὐτῇ ὁ τῶν Θεοπισίων ἀποστόλων νηὶς, οὐκ ἰδίῳν ἰτέρῃ τὰ πρῶτῃα δίδουσι· ἐν δὲ οἷσι βασιλεῖς, οἷσι ἱερωμένοι, τῆς νομοθεμένης ταφῆς τυγχάνουσι.

to be interred in their own structures. As Sozomen¹ says the wife of one Cæsarius was buried in the church near the *ambon*, or 'reading-desk,' because her husband had been the founder of it. And Valesius thinks that Constantine was therefore buried in the Church of the Apostles, because it was built by him. So he had a double title to this privilege, both as emperor and founder. But we may observe a difference between Constantine's age and this. In Constantine's time, an emperor and a founder was buried only in the porch: but in the time of Sozomen, any ordinary founder might be buried in the middle of the church.

SECT. IX. — *The Matter at last left to the Discretion of Bishops and Presbyters, who should or should not be buried in Churches. Hereditary Sepulchres not yet allowed in the Ninth Century, but brought in by the Popes' Decretals.*

Thus the thing went on from one degree to another, taking various steps and motions, partly by permission and relaxation of the laws, and partly by transgression of the laws, and connivance in those who had the execution of them. And the matter at last was left, in a great measure, to the discretion of bishops and presbyters to determine who should or should not be buried in churches, according to the merit and desert of the persons who desired it. In the ninth century, in France, some families began to set up a claim to hereditary sepulchres in the church; but this was opposed, and the Council of Meaux (an. 845) made an order,¹ "That no one should pretend to bury any corpse in the church upon hereditary right, but the bishops and presbyters should judge who were worthy of this favour, according to the quality of their life and conversation." And after this we find

¹ Sozomen. lib. ix. c. ii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 649, B. 8.) Μίμνηται παρατυχὼν τῇ ταφῇ τῆς Καισαρίου γαμικῆς καὶ ἀναλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῆς πίστεως παρακαταμένης λιαφίρου, ἐκάλει αὐτὴν κῆσθαι πρὶ τὸν ἑμῶνα βῆμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκόντων.

¹ Conc. Meldens. c. lxxii. (Labbé, vol. vii. p. 1841.) Nemo quemlibet mortuum in ecclesia, quasi hæreditario jure, nisi quem episcopus, aut presbyter pro qualitate conversationis et vitæ dignum duxerit, sepelire præsumat.

some laws made, in general, against burying in churches : as that of the Council of Winchester, under Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (an. 1076),^m “ Let no bodies of the dead be buried in churches.” But so many exceptions had been made to the old laws, that it was no hard matter for any one who had ambition or superstition enough to think that he should be much benefited in his death, by being buried in the church, to obtain this privilege. And these two reasons opened the way to greater liberties by far than the ancient canons had allowed : for an opinion, that it was of great service to men’s souls to be buried in the church, made men more eager than ever to obtain this privilege at their death. And Pope Leo III. had made a decree, which Gregory IX. inserted into his Decretals,ⁿ giving a sort of hereditary right to all persons to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors, according to the example, as it is said, of the ancient patriarchs. This was about the year 1230. Not long after which, Boniface VIII.^o speaks of it as a customary thing for men to be buried in the church, in the sepulchres of their ancestors. So that from these Decretals, I think, may be dated the ruin of the old laws : for they took away that little power that was left in the hands of bishops to let people bury in the church or not bury, as they should judge proper, in their discretion, and put the right and possession of burying-places in the church into the hands of private families. And others, who had no such right, being led by their ambition or superstition, could then easily purchase a right to be buried in the church, which was a thing that emperors themselves did not pretend to ask in former ages. I have been the more curious in deducing the history of this matter from first to last, because the innovation has been thought a grievance to some very learned and judicious men, and what they could

^m Conc. Vinton. an. 1076, c. ix. (Labbé, vol. x. p. 332, A. 8.) *In ecclesiis corpora defunctorum non sepeliantur.*

ⁿ Gregor. Decretal. lib. iii. de Sepulturis, c. i. *Statuimus unumquemque in majorum suorum sepulchris jacere, ut patriarcharum exitus docet.*

^o Sext. Decretal. lib. iii. tit. xii. de Sepulturis, c. ii. *Quum quis, cujus majores sunt soliti in aliqua ecclesia sepeliri ab antiquo, &c.*

have wished to have seen rectified at or since the Reformation. "This custom," says the learned Rivet,^p "which covetousness and superstition first brought in, I wish it were abolished, with other relics of superstition, among us; and that the ancient custom was revived, to have public burying-places in the free and open fields without the gates of cities. This would be more convenient for civil uses also; because in close places the air cannot but be affected with the nauseous smell of dead bodies: there is no good done by it to the dead, and the living are in manifest danger by it, especially in the time of contagious distempers, when infected bodies are promiscuously buried in churches, wherein men daily meet and assemble together: a thing," says he, "which, not without reason, has ever appeared horrible to me and many others." The like complaint is made by some among the Romanists, particularly by Durantus,^q who was an eminent lawyer, and president of the parliament of Toulouse. He commends the piety of the ancients for not allowing the dead to be buried in the church; and Charles the Great, for reviving and restoring the primitive institution, when it had been in some measure neglected: and withal speaks it with great regret, that whereas heretofore emperors were buried only in the church-porch, now the custom is to let the meanest of the people commonly be buried in the church itself, against the laws and institutions of the ancient Christians. To which, after this digression, I must now return again.

^p Rivet. in Gen. xlvii. Exercitat. clxxii. p. 842, (p. 656, ed. Roterod. 1651.) Hunc morem quem invexit avaritia et superstitio, valde vellem apud nos, cum aliis superstitionum reliquiis, esse abolitum, et pristinam consuetudinem revocari, ut sepulturæ publicæ in campo libero et aperto, extra civitatum portas, constituerentur. Id etiam convenientissimum esset usibus civilibus, quia in locis reclusis non potest aër non adfici tetro cadaverum odore, ita ut nec mortuis hac ratione consulatur; nec viventium pericula caveantur; præsertim morborum contagiosorum tempore, quo promiscue cadavera pestifera conduntur templis, in quibus quotidie convenitur. Quod sane horrendum mihi et aliis multis merito visum est.—Grotius (Luc. vii. 12.) makes a like complaint: Quod in memoriam martyrum olim inductum, nescio an satis sapienter retineatur.

^q Durant, de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxiii. sect. v.—vii.

CHAPTER II.

SOME OTHER OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE PLACE, AND MANNER, AND TIME OF BURYING.

SECT. I. — *Consecration of Cemeteries not very ancient.*

HAVING thus far considered, in general, the place of burying, I now proceed to some more particular observations concerning the place, and manner, and time of burying among Christians. And here the first question may be, Whether they used any formal consecration of their cemeteries as they did of their churches? Now, concerning this, in the first ages there is a perfect silence. No writer before Gregory of Tours, who lived about the year 570, makes any mention of it: but he says,^a the burying-places in his time were used to be consecrated by sacerdotal benediction. Durantus^b can trace the custom no higher: and therefore we may conclude, that about this time, and not before, it became the practice of the Church. For the sacredness of sepulchres, that we so often read of before this, was from another reason, and not from their former consecration.

SECT. II. — *The Sacredness of them arising from another Reason, and not from their formal Consecration.*

For the heathens themselves were used to reckon these places sacred, and the violation of them a sort of sacrilege and violation of religion: as appears from the edicts of two

^a Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confessor. c. cvi. Quid faciemus, si episcopus urbis non advenerit? Quia locus ille, quo sepeliri debet, non est sacerdotali benedictione consecratus? Tunc cives et reliqui viri honorati, qui ad exsequias beatæ reginæ convenerant, imperant parvitati meæ, dicentes: 'Præsume de caritate fratris tui, et benedic altare illud. Confidimus enim de ejus benevolentia, quod molestum non ferat, si feceris, sed magis gratiam referat. Præsume, precamur, ut caro sancta sepulturæ reddatur.' Et sic ab illis injunctus altare in cellula ipsa sacra vi.

^b Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxiii. n. ix. Omnia cœmeteria consecrabantur, ab hisque potestas sæcularis excludebatur. Ivo Carnotensis, epist. ccxxix. Gregor. Turon. (de Gloria Confessor. c. cvi.) testatur sepulchrorum loca sacerdotali benedictione consecrata fuisse.

heathen emperors, Gordian and Julian, which are still retained among the Christian laws. Gordian calls them things destined for religion, and things made a part of religion: and therefore orders,^c that all robbers of graves should be prosecuted as criminals guilty of an injury done to religion. In like manner, Julian says,^d “The graves of the dead are consecrated hills; and to move a stone hence, or disturb the ground, or break a turf, has always been accounted next to sacrilege by our forefathers. To steal away the ornaments from the tables or porticoes of graves is a piacular crime and violation of religion, to be punished as doing injury to the dead.” Justinian, in repeating this law of Julian in his Code,^e instead of *pœna Manium*, reads it *pœna sacrilegii cohibentes*, inflicting both the name and punishment of sacrilege expressly upon this crime. And so the ancient poet does in that distich,—

Res ea sacra, miser; noli mea tangere fata :
Sacrilegæ bustis abstinuere manus.

‘Touch not my monument, thou wretch: it is a sacred thing: even sacrilegious hands commonly abstain from offering violence to the habitations of the dead.’ All which shews, that graves and burying-places were reckoned sacred things both by heathens and Christians, without any formal consecration: and the Romans accounted it a piece of impiety in any case to disturb or violate the ashes of the dead, except it were those of their public enemies, whose graves were not reckoned sacred, as Paulus,^f the great lawyer,

^c Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xix. de Sepulchro Violato, leg. i. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 296.) Res religioni destinatas, quin imo jam religionis (al. religiosas) effectas, scientes qui contigerint, et emere et distrahere non dubitaverint; tametsi jure venditio non subsistat, læsæ tamen religionis inciderunt in crimen.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. v. (Lugd. 1663, vol. iii. p. 144.) Pergit audacia ad busta diem functorum, et aggeres consecratos: cum et lapidem hinc movere, terram sollicitare, et cespitem vellere, proximum sacrilegio majores semper habuerint: sed ornamenta quidam triclinaii aut porticibus auferunt de sepulchris. Quibus primis consulentes ne in piaculum incident, contaminata religione bustorum, hoc fieri prohibemus, pœna Manium vindice cohibentes.

^e Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xix. de Sepulchro Violato, leg. v. (p. 297.)

^f Digest. lib. xlvii. tit. xii. de Sepulchro Violato, leg. iv. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 715.) Sepulchra hostium nobis religiosa non sunt: ideoque lapides, inde

determined : and therefore it was lawful for any one to take the stones of such graves and turn them to any other use, and no action of violating sepulchres could be brought against them.

SECT. III. — *The Way of adorning Graves different among Heathens and Christians.*

But, in all other cases, the graves of the dead were places of great sacredness, and consequently places of great security: insomuch, that they were reckoned safe repositories not only for the dead, to secure them from violence, but also for any ornaments that were set about them, or riches that, together with the dead, were often buried with them. For the Romans often adorned their monuments with rich pillars of marble, and fine statues and images set about them: as appears from several laws in the Theodosian Code,^s which are made to restrain the pillagers of them: and also from a great variety of Roman writers, which Gothofred^b mentions and alleges in his Comment upon one of those laws, as Pliny, Cicero, Aggenus, Propertius, Servius, and Eutropius; who gives a particular account of Trajan's pillar, which was one hundred and forty foot high. The two Antonines, indeed, laid some restraint upon the excessive vanity and profuseness of the Romans in this matter, making severe laws against extravagance in burying and building of sepulchres, as Julius Capitolinusⁱ informs us;

sublatos, in quemlibet usum convertere possumus. Non sepulchri violati actio competit.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xix. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 138.) Universi, qui de monumentis columnas vel marmora abstulerunt, vel coquendæ calcis gratia lapides dejecerunt, . . . singulas libras auri per singula sepulchra fisci rationibus inferant. . . . Eadem etiam pœna, qui dissipaverunt, vel ornatum minuerunt, teneantur, &c.—Leg. iv. p. 143. Qui ædificia Manium violant, domus, ut ita dixerim, defunctorum, geminum videntur facinus perpetrare: nam et sepultos spoliant destruendo, et vivos polluant fabricando. Si quis igitur de sepulchro abstulerit saxa, vel marmora, vel columnas, aliamve quamcumque materiam, fabricæ gratia, sive id fecerit venditurus, decem pondo auri cogatur inferre fisco; sive quis propria sepulchra defendens, hanc in judicium querelam detulerit, sive quicumque alius accusaverit, vel Officium nuntiaverit.

^b Gothofred. in leg. ii. p. 141, a fin. seq.

ⁱ Capitolin. Vit. Marc. Anton. p. 78. Tunc Antonini leges sepeliendi sepul-

but this did not hinder men from adorning their monuments with marble statues and pillars, and suchlike common ornaments, as we afterwards find allowed in one of the laws of Gordian, in the Justinian Code:^k so that these monuments of the heathen were often very pompous and magnificent both in building and ornament, which frequently made them become a prey and spoil to rapacious invaders. But we can hardly suppose this of any Christian sepulchres for the first three hundred years. Caius, an ancient writer and presbyter of the Church of Rome, about the year 210, speaks of the trophies and monuments of St. Peter and St. Paul,^l which were then to be seen, the one in the Vatican, in the Via Triumphalis, and the other in the Via Ostiensis: but these trophies were not so magnificent, whatsoever they were, but that afterwards, about the year 258, they were translated by Pope Xystus^m into the catacombs, for fear of some indignity that might be offered to them in the heat of persecution. The most that we can suppose is, that they were gravestones, with an inscription, declaring their names and character, and the time and manner of their death. And some of them, we are sure, were not so much as this: for sometimes great multitudes of martyrs were buried in one common grave; and then the inscription contained only the number, and not the names, or any particular account of them. Prudentius says,ⁿ he had observed

chrorumque asperimas sanxerunt: quandoquidem caverunt, ne uti quis vellet fabricaret sepulchrum: quod hodieque servatur.

^k Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xlv. de Religiosis et Sumtibus Funerum, leg. vii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 107.) Statuas sepulchro superimponere vel monumento quod [a te] extractum profiteris, ornamenta quæ putas superaddere non prohiberis: quum jure suo eorum quæ minus prohibita sunt, unicuique facultas libera non denegetur.

^l Apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 54, A. 6.) 'Εγὼ δὲ τὰ τεύχεα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχον διῆκ' ἰὰν γὰρ Σιλόνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς Βατικανῶν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀστίαν, ἐνέησεν τὰ τεύχεα τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένων τῆν ἐκκλησίαν.

^m Depositio Martyrum ap. Pearson. Annal. Cyprian. p. 62, (p. 49, sect. ii. edit. Amstelod. 1700.) see chap. i. sect. iii. note (c), p. 374.

ⁿ Prudent. Peristephan. hymn. xi. de Hippolyto,

Plurima litterulis signata sepulchra loquuntur

Martyris aut nomen, aut epigramma aliquod.

Sunt et muta tamen, tacitas claudentia tumbas,

Marmora, quæ solum significant numerum.

one such grave, wherein sixty martyrs were buried together. St. James's monument at Jerusalem was no more than a pillar,^o or gravestone, with an inscription. And in after-ages the Christians were not very fond of erecting stately monuments before they came to bury in churches: for they had observed what spoil and ravagement had been made of the heathen monuments, and how many laws the emperors were forced to make against the violation of sepulchres; which made many pious Christians think how much better and safer it was to build themselves monuments in their lifetime by liberality to the poor, than to build stately and costly monuments, for thieves and robbers to plunder at their pleasure. Thus St. Jerome says of Paula,^p "That she gave all her substance to the poor, and wished not to have any thing at her death, but that she might be beholden for a winding-sheet to the charity of others." And Ephraem Syrus left it upon his will, that nothing should be expended upon his funeral, but whatever should be appointed for that should be given to the poor; as Gregory Nyssen^q reports in the Life of that great saint and luminary of the Eastern Church. And St. Basil exhorts rich men in general rather to expend their superfluities in works of piety, than to build themselves costly sepulchres:^r "For what need

Quanta virum jaceant congestis corpora acervis

Nosse licet, quorum nomina nulla legas.

Sexaginta illic, defossas mole sub una,

Reliquias memini me didicisse hominum.

^o Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1695, p. 52, A. 9.), calls it *Στήλην*: ἵτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μίνι παρὰ τῇ ταφῇ. — Hieronymus de Scriptor. Eccles. c. ii. Titulum juxta templum, ubi præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est, titulum usque ad obsidionem Titi et ultimam Hadriani notissimum habuit.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxvii. in Epitaph. Paulæ, c. vii.

^q Nyassen. Vit. Ephraem, (Opp. Ephraem Syri, Romæ, 1732, fol. vol. i. p. xvii. B. 2.) Μίλλον ὁ Φιλόθεος αὐτός ἀνὴρ ἀπαίρειν πρὸς τὰ εὐράνια, τοῖς παροῦσι παραγγυᾷτο, ὡς οὐκ ἔξόν αὐτοῖς ἰσθῆτι πολυτιμὴ τὸ τούτου σῶμα ἰνταφιάσαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ τις φιλοπᾶτωρ ᾧν τοιοῦτόν τι προνιόηκειν, ἢ παρατοιμάσαι, μηδαμῶς εἰς ἔργον τὴν βουλὴν ἀγαγίην· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἐκείνο, τὸ ὀρίσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφὴν, δοθῆναι πτωχοῖς.

^r Basil. Hom. in Divites, (Paris. 1638, tom. i. p. 348, D.) Τί μνήματος ἐπισήμου καὶ ταφῆς πολυτιμοῦς, καὶ δαπάνης ἀκιεροῦς ὄφιλος; . . . καλὸν ἰντάφιος ἢ ἐνσίβια· πάντα περιβαλλόμενος ἄπιλλ' οἰκίον κόσμον τὸν πλοῦτον ποίησαι ἔχ' αὐτὸν μινὰ σιαυτοῦ.

have you of a sumptuous monument or a costly entombing? What advantage is there in a fruitless expense? Prepare your own funeral whilst you live. Works of charity and mercy are the funeral obsequies you can bestow upon yourself."

SECT. IV. — *They differed also in the Manner of Burying: the Heathens commonly burning the Body, and putting the Bones and Ashes in Urns; but the Christians buried the Body whole in the Earth, abhorring the Heathen Custom.*

Another difference between heathens and Christians was in the manner of burying. For the heathen, for the most part, burned the bodies of the dead in funeral piles, and then gathered up the bones and ashes, and put them in an urn above ground: but the Christians abhorred this way of burying, and therefore never used it, but put the body whole into the ground; or, if there was occasion for any other way of burying, they embalmed the body, to lay it in a catacomb, that it might not be offensive to them in such places, where they were sometimes forced to hold their religious assemblies. That the Christians used the plain and simple way of inhumation, and not burning, is evident from the objection of the heathen in Minutius: "They abhor funeral piles, and condemn burning by fire, for fear it should hinder their resurrection." To which the Christian answers, "We do not, as ye suppose, fear any detriment from burying (by fire), but we retain the ancient custom of inhumation, as more eligible and commodious." The same is evident from

* Minut. p. 32, (c. xi. n. 2, 3, p. 33, edit. Cellar. Hallens. 1699.) *Anceps malum, et gemina dementia! Cælo et astris, quæ sic relinquimus ut invenimus, interitum denuntiare; sibi mortuis extinctis, qui sicut nascimur et interimus, æternitatem repromittere! Inde videlicet et execrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturas: quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis subtrahatur, annis tamen et ætatis in terram resolvatur, &c.* (Paris. 1836, p. 454.)

† Ibid. p. 101, (c. xxxvii. n. 10, 11, pp. 129, 130, cit. edit. Hallens.) *Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimatur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis: sed Deo elementorum custodia reservatur. Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturæ timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humani frequentamus.* (Paris. 1836, p. 463.)

Tertullian, who says,^u some of the heathen abstained from burning upon a superstitious notion, that the soul hovered over the body after death: and therefore they would not burn the body, out of a needless compassion to the soul. "But," says he, "our reason is piety and humanity to the body, not flattering it as the relics of the soul, but abhorring cruelty in respect to the body itself, forasmuch as no man deserves to be destroyed by a penal death." In another place,^v he derides the heathens for their contradictory customs: first, in burning the body with great barbarity, and then making feasts and sacrifices at their graves, by way of parentation, as they called it; which was to make the same fires both oblige them and offend them; to shew themselves cruel, under the pretence of piety; and insult them, by making feasts in behalf of those whom they had burnt before.—The critics are not agreed when or by what means this custom of burning was laid aside by the Romans: some think it was forbidden by the two Antonines, in their severe laws about funerals, mentioned before; but Gothofred and others, not without reason, think this a mistake, because not only Tertullian derides it as still customary among the heathen, but also because there is some intimation given in one of Theodosius's laws,^x that there was some remains of it even in his time: for he speaks of both customs; that is, of burying not only whole bodies in coffins under ground, but also of burying in urns above ground: which supposes the body to be burnt before,—and the remains only, the bones and the ashes, to be put in an urn, and kept above ground. However it is certain that this custom was quite worn out,

^u Tertul. de Anima, c. li. (Paris. 1664, p. 301, C. 7.) Propterea nec ignibus funerandum aiunt, parcentes superfluo animæ. Alia est autem ratio pietatis istius, non reliquiis animæ adulatrix, sed crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine aversatrix, quod et ipsum homo non utique mereatur pœnali exitu impendi.

^v Ibid. de Resurr. c. i. (ibid. p. 325, A. 6.) Ego magis ridebo vulgus, tunc quoque, quum ipsos defunctos atrocissime exurit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit; iisdem ignibus et promerens et offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem!

^x Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. vi. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 147.) Omnia quæ supra terram urnis clausa, vel sarcophagis corpora detinentur, extra urbem delata ponantur, &c.

even among the heathen, within the space of forty years after. For Macrobius, who lived in the time of the younger Theodosius, about the year 420, says expressly,⁷ “That the use or custom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite left off in that age, and all that he knew of it, was only from ancient reading.” It is most probable, that the heathen custom altered by degrees from the time of Commodus the emperor: for Commodus himself, and many of his friends, were buried by inhumation, and not by burning, as a learned person⁸ observes out of Xiphilin: and from that time the custom of burning might decrease, till at last, under the Christian emperors, though without any law to forbid it, the contrary custom entirely prevailed, and this quite dwindled into nothing. But the Christians were always very tenacious of the plain way of burying by inhumation, and never would consent to use any other: reckoning it a great piece of barbarity in their persecutors, whenever they denied them this decent interment after death, as they sometimes did, either by exposing their bodies to the fury of wild beasts and birds of prey, or burning them in scorn and derision of their doctrine of a future resurrection. Thus, Eusebius says, out of the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna,⁹ they treated Polycarp, at the instigation of the Jews, burning his body, according to their own custom; after which the Christians were content to gather up his bones and bury them.—And so they treated the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, in France, to the great grief of the Christians, whom they would not allow to bury them, but for six days together kept them above ground, and then burned their bodies, and cast their ashes into the river Rhone, in despite to their

⁷ Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. vii. c. vii. Licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro sæculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet eo tempore, quo igni dari honor mortuis habebatur, si quando usu venisset, ut plura corpora simul incenderentur, solitos fuisse funerum ministros denis virorum corporibus adjicere singula muliebria, &c.

⁸ Burnet's Travels, Let. iv. p. 210.

⁹ Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. 1695, p. 109, C.) Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ ἐπισκοπὸς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενεὴν φιλονικίαν, διὰ αὐτὸν ἐν μίση, ὡς ἴδεν αὐτοῖς, Ἰεουστίνου οὕτως τι ἡμῖς ὑστέρῳ ἀνιλέμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελεῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερον ὑπὲρ χρυσίου ὅσα αὐτοῦ, ἀπεβίβισθα ὅσπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν.

belief of a resurrection : crying out, “ Now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God is able to deliver them out of our hands :” as the same Eusebius^b relates the story out of the Acts and Monuments of their Passion. Thus Maximus the president threatened Tharacus the martyr,^c “ That though he raised himself upon the confidence that his body, after death, should be embalmed and buried, he would defeat his hopes, by causing his body to be burnt, and sprinkling his ashes before the wind.” And it were easy to give other examples of the like usage of them upon such occasions, some of which are related by the heathen historian himself,^d not without some resentment and reflection upon the unnatural cruelty and inhumanity of such proceedings.

SECT. V.—*Embalming of Bodies much used by Christians ; and why more by them than the Heathens.*

From the last instance of the president’s threatening the martyr Tharacus that he should not be embalmed, it were easy to infer, that the custom of Christians was to bestow the honour and charge of embalming commonly upon their martyrs, at least, if not upon others. But the custom seems

^b Euseb. lib. v. c. i. (Vales. 1695, p. 134, B. 10.) Τὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῃ καθυστάσει πίνουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρύψαι τῇ γῇ. . . . τὰ οὖν σώματα τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίως παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰδρασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ, μετέπειτα πάντα καὶ αἰδαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατισαρώθη εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον παραβήσαντα, ὅπως μὴ δι’ αἰψάνου αὐτῶν φαίηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσσε καὶ ταῦτ’ ἴσραττον, ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ἀφιλιόσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν . . . οὖν ἴδωμεν εἰ ἀναστήσονται, καὶ εἰ δύναται βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἰξίλισθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν.

^c Acta Tharaci ap. Baron. an. 290, n. xxi. (n. xxiii. ed. Antuerp. 1617.) (Antuerp. 1597, vol. iii. p. 683.) Præses dixit, Nonne sic te perdam, et sicut antea prædixi, et reliquias tuas ? ne mulierculæ in linteamine corpus tuum involvant, et unguentis et odoribus adornent. Sed scelestæ, jubebo te comburi, et cineres tuos in ventum dispergam.

^d Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. p. 241, (inter Scriptor. August. tom. ii. p. 406, edit. Francof. 1588.) (Ernesti, Lipsiæ, 1773, p. 261.) Quo non contenta multitudo immanis, dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis imposita vexit ad littus : iisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne collectis supremis, ades illis extruerentur ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc martyres appellantur.

to have been more general: for the heathen, in Minutius,* makes it a matter of reproach to Christians universally, that they would make use of no odours for their bodies whilst they lived, but reserved all costly ointments for their funerals. And Tertullian seems to intimate,^f that the preparation of the body for its funeral with odoriferous spices, was the general practice of Christians. "It is true," says he, "we buy no frankincense; but if Arabia complains of this, let the Sabeans know, that more of their costly wares is spent in burying of Christians, than the heathens spend in their temples in offering incense to their gods." One of the chief ingredients in this unction of the body, or embalming, was myrrh: whence Prudentius, alluding to the custom, says,^g "The Sabean myrrh anointing the body, by its medicinal virtue, preserves it from corruption." This was the particular use and virtue of myrrh, as Grotius^h observes out of Pliny; and thereforeⁱ he tells us further, out of Herodotus also,^j "That the Eastern nations were wont to make use of myrrh to embalm the bodies of the dead." And that the Jews used an unction as a preparation for burial, is infallibly certain, in general, both from the testimony of our Saviour,

* Minut. p. 35, (p. 38, edit. Hal.) Non corpus odoribus honestatis, reservatis unguenta funeribus.

^f Tertul. Apol. c. xlii. (Paris. 1664, p. 34, B. 2.) Tura plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ queruntur, scient Sabæi, pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profigari, quam diis fumigandis.—Vid. de Idololatria, c. xi. (p. 91, C. 10.) Sane, non illa principalis idololatria? Viderint, si eædem merces, tura dico et cetera peregrinitatis ad sacrificium idolorum etiam hominibus ad pigmenta medicinalia, nobis quoque insuper ad solatia sepulturæ usui sunt. —Acta Euplii ap. Baron. an. 303, n. cxlix. (vol. ii. p. 784, D.) Sublatum est postea corpus ejus a Christianis, et conditum aromatibus, sepultum est.

^g Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn. de Exsequiis Defunctorum.

Adpersaque myrrha Sabæo
Corpus medicamine servat.

^h Grot. in Matth. ii. 11. Myrrhæ vix alius usus est, quam ut corpora incorrupta conservet.

[ⁱ Not. Nulla apud Grotium, l. c. (nec. Joan. xix. 39.) mentio habetur Herodoti, nec eorum, quæ heic ex eo adferuntur.—Grischow.]

^j Herodot. lib. ii. c. lxxxvi. tot. p. 120, (edit. London. 1679.) Ubi inter alia hæc habentur: "Ἐπισα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρης ἀκηράτου τισσεμίνης, καὶ κασίης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλὴν λίβανου, πλῆσαντες, συββάκτουσι ἐκείνῳ." (Schweigh. vol. i. p. 357.)

given to the woman who anointed his body to the burial, and also from what St. John says, in particular, of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, "That they brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight, and took the body of Jesus, and wound it in the linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." (John, xix. 39.) From hence, most probably, the Christians took their intimation of paying the same respect to the bodies of the dead. The ancients also were of opinion, that there was something mystically denoted in the presents made by the Wise men to our Saviour at his birth, when they presented him with gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh: gold, as to a king; frankincense, as to God; and myrrh, as to a man that must die and be buried. For though they might intend none of these things, yet the Holy Ghost might direct these presents to be such as might signify all these things without their knowledge, as he directed Mary's anointing of Christ to his burial; for so our Lord himself was pleased to interpret and accept it, though perhaps that was not particularly in her intention. It is certain, that this was the general notion of the ancients concerning the myrrh presented to our Saviour: as Maldonat,^k from Irenæus, Cyprian, Origen, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Austin, Jerome, Juvenius, and Sedulius. And the opinion seems to have taken its original from the practice of the Eastern countries in using myrrh in the preparation of dead bodies for their burial. And this, concurring exactly with the Jewish custom and our Saviour's

^k Maldonat. in Matth. ii. 11. 'Obtulerunt ei munera, aurum, tus, myrrham.' Quibus Orientales abundant, quamquam nolim mysterium excludere, quod omnes heic veteres auctores tanto consensu cognoverunt, ut regi aurum, Deo tus, homini myrrha data sint. Minus enim mysterii esse videbatur, quod mulier illa unguento Christum perfudisset, quod nihilominus erat apud Orientales usitatum, tamen Christus ad significandam suam sepulturam, de qua nihil fortasse mulier cogitabat, factum dixit, Matth. xxvi. 12. Hujus autem mysterii etsi non Christum, quia nihil eum de magis loquutum legimus, tamen omnes veteres auctores interpretes habemus, Irenæum, lib. iii. c. x.; Cypr. Serm. de Stella et Magis; Orig. lib. i. cont. Celsum; Basil. homil. de Humana Christi Generatione; Gregor. Nyssen. hom. de Christi Nativit.; Chrysost. hom. in Varios Evangelistas; Ambros. lib. i. de Fide, c. ii.; Aug. serm. i. de Epiphania, et serm. xxxvii.; Hieron. Comment. Juvenium et Sedulium, quorum nota sunt carmina.

manner of burial, might probably the more incline the ancients to be curious in using the same preparation of dead bodies for their funeral. But they had also a further reason for it: for they were often obliged to bury their dead in those places, where they were to assemble for Divine service: and in that case it was necessary, that they should use embalming to preserve the bodies from corruption, and make those places to be the less offensive: as I find a late ingenious writer is also inclined to think,¹ in his reflections on this subject. Now the heathens having generally another way of burying, this custom was of no use among them: for it was incongruous to use methods to preserve the body from corruption, which they intended immediately to destroy by fire, and reduce to ashes in a funeral pile. These things were plainly contradictory to one another; and, therefore, as the Roman heathens made no use of embalming, so we may reckon this another difference between the Christian funerals and those of the heathens.

SECT. VI. — *The Christians usually buried by Day, the Heathens by Night.*

There was one difference more in point of time: for the heathens commonly performed their funeral obsequies by night; but the Christians, when they had liberty, and could do it with safety, always chose the day. In times of persecution, indeed, it is reasonable to suppose they might often be forced to celebrate their funeral offices, as they did others, in the security and silence of the night, to avoid the rage of their enemies: as we find an example in the Passion of Cyprian,^m whose body, because of the curiosity of the Gentiles, is said to be buried secretly in the night, with lamps and torches. And yet even this was not always the case in those difficult times: for the judges were often better natured than to deny them the common right and civility of burying, which they themselves thought was a debt due to human nature in general; and therefore, whatever other

¹ Reeve's Apolog. Note on Minutius, p. 76.

^m Passio Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682, p. 14.) Ejus corpus propter gentilium curiositatem in proximo positum est cum cereis et scolacibus.

cruelties they exercised toward Christians, they ordinarily gratified them in suffering them to bury the martyrs whom they had slain; as is evident from several of their Acts, or histories of their Passions:^a in which case there was no need to fly to the favour and security of the night, but they might bury, as they often did, in the open day. Thus when Polycarp was burnt, the disciples afterward were permitted quietly to gather up his bones and relics,^o and bury them as they pleased. And Asturius,^p a Roman senator, is famed for carrying Marinus on his own shoulders, from the place of his martyrdom to his grave.

But however this matter stood in times of persecution, it is certain, that as soon as Constantine came to the throne, Christians chose to perform their funeral rites openly in the day, which they did all the time of Constantine and Constantius: at which Julian the Apostate was so highly offended, that he set forth an edict on purpose to forbid it, which is a certain evidence in the case. "We understand," says he,^q "that the bodies of the dead are carried to their graves with great concourse of people, and multitudes to attend them: which is an ominous sight, and a defilement to the eyes of men. For how can the day be auspicious that sees a funeral? Or how can men go thence to the gods and to the temples? Therefore, because grief in funeral obsequies rather chooses secrecy, and it is all one to the dead, whether they

^a Passio Maximiliani ad calcem Lact. de Mort. Persecut. p. 46. Pompeiana matrona corpus ejus de judice meruit, et imposuit dormitorio suo, &c.

^o Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. See before, note (*), p. 392.

^p Ibid. lib. vii. c. xvi. (Vales. 1695, p. 215.) "Εἶδα καὶ Ἀστούριος ἐπὶ τῇ θιοφιλῷ παύρησίᾳ μνημονεύσας ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκλητικῶν γινόμενος, βασιλεῦσι τε προσφίλῃς, καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος ἐν γενεῇς τε Ἰνκα καὶ περιουσίας δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιλοιμίας τῇ μάρτυρι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποθίς, ἐπὶ λαμπρῆς καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτος ἄρας τὸ σκῆνος ἐπιφέρειται· περιστεύσας τε οὐ μάλᾳ πλουσίως, τῇ προσσηκούσῃ ταφῇ παραδίδουσι.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Violandis Sepulchris, leg. v. Efferri cognovimus cadavera mortuorum per confertam populi frequentiam, et per maximam insistentium densitatem: quod quidem oculos hominum infaustis infestat adspectibus. Qui enim dies est bene auspicatus a funere? aut quomodo ad deos et templa venietur? Ideoque quoniam et dolor in exsequiis secretum amat, et diem functis nihil interest, utrum per noctes an per dies efferantur, liberari convenit populi totius adspectus, ut dolor esse in funeribus, non pompa exsequiarum, nec ostentatio videatur. (Lugd. 1662, vol. iii. p. 144.)

be carried forth by night or by day, it is fit that such spectacles should not fall under the view of all the people, that true grief, and not the pomp and ostentation of obsequies, should appear in funerals." This is a plain reflection on the practice of the Christians in the two foregoing reigns. It grieved Julian to see the Christians celebrate their funerals so openly by day, and with indications of joy rather than grief; especially in their translations of martyrs, which was of the same nature with funerals, and was performed with great magnificence and expressions of joy, with psalmody and hymns to God, in a general assembly and concourse of the people: as it was particularly in the translation of Babylas from Daphne to Antioch, which happened in his time, and was one of the great grievances in his reign. For, as the historian tells us,^r "All the Christians of Antioch, men and women, young men and virgins, old men and children, accompanied the coffin all the way, having their precentors to sing psalms; at the end of every one of which the whole multitude joined, by way of antiphonal response, with this versicle, 'Confounded be all they that worship carved images, and that boast themselves in idols or vain gods.' This they did for the space of six thousand paces, or forty furlongs, even in the hearing of Julian himself: which so enraged him, that the next day he put many of them into prison; and some to extreme torture and death." And this,

^r Socrat. lib. iii. c. xviii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 157.) Τὰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἱερὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνοιγῆναι κελεύσας, χρησμὸν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Δαφνῇ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσχυρίδου· ὡς δὲ ὁ ἱουκῶν τῇ ἱερᾷ δαίμονι τὸν γάιστον δεδοικώς, λίγην δὲ Βαβυλῶν τὸν μαρτυρα, οὐκ ἀπειρήνατο· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν ἡ σορὸς, ἣ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος κρύπτουσα· γινούς τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν σορὸν τάχως κελεύει μετακί-
ζεσθαι· τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Χριστιανοί, ἅμα γυναῖξί καὶ ἡφ' ἡλκιάς, χαίροντες καὶ ψαλμωδοῦντες, ἀπὸ τῆς Δάφνης ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν μεταφίρον τὴν σορὸν· αἱ δὲ ψαλμωδαὶ ἦσαν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θιῶν, καὶ τῶν πιστευουσῶν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοῖς ἰδῶλοις αὐτῶν. — Sozom. lib. v. c. xix. (ibid. 1700, p. 509, D. 5.) Φασὶ δὲ τότε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ νιούς καὶ παρθένους, γίνοντάς τε καὶ παῖδας, οἱ τὴν σορὸν ἵλκον, παρακλινομένους ἄλλήλοις, παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν διατιλίσαι ψάλλοντας· πρόφασιν μὲν τῇ ᾠδῇ τοὺς ἰδῶτας ἐκινουφίζοντας· τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ὑπὲρ ζήλου καὶ προθυμίας κινουμένους, τῇ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γυνάμην ἔχιν αὐτοῖς τὸν κρατοῦντα περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐξῆρχον δι' τῶν ψαλμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ τοῦτους ἀκριβοῦντες, καὶ ζυσπῆχιν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἱσχυρίδου ἠσχυρήσαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχόμενοι τοῖς ἰδῶλοις. — Vid. eadem ap. Ruffinum, lib. i. c. xxxv. Theodoret. lib. iii. c. x.

no doubt, was his secret reason of his enacting that law against the manner of celebrating Christian funerals, though the law itself pretends other reasons, taken from the superstitious principles of his profound philosophy and religion. His first reason is, "That the very sight of a funeral by day, and much more their attendance upon it, pollutes men so, that they are not fit all that day to attend upon the service of the gods;" and therefore a priest or a magistrate, by the rules of the Roman superstition, was not allowed to attend upon any funeral by day, but only by night: as Gothofred,^a out of the best Roman writers, Servius, and Donatus, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Tacitus, and Dio, shews at large in his exposition of that law. This is a reason taken from the principles of his own superstition in religion: another is taken from the principles of his philosophy, of which he pretended to be a great master; namely this, "That the secrecy and silence of the night was fitter for sorrow, than the pomp and ostentation of the day," as he called it: a third reason was, "That it was all one to the dead, whether they were buried by night or by day: and therefore it was more commodious to bury by night, for the sake of the living, who by nocturnal funerals could not be polluted or offended." But the Christians despised these reasons, both as unphilosophical, and ridiculous, and irreligious. As to the first, they knew no pollution arising from the attendance of a dead body or a funeral: the bodies of Christians were the

^a Gothofred. in Dict. leg. Juliani. (vol. iii. p. 146.) Quibus concinit Donatus in Andriam Terentii. 'Noctu,' inquit, 'efferebantur propter sacrorum celebrationem diurnam.'—Id. Servius, lib. xi. *Æneid.* ad verba illa: 'Rapueres faces.' 'Quia,' inquit, 'in religiosa civitate cavebant, ne aut magistratibus occurrerent, aut sacerdotibus, quorum oculos nolebant alieno funere violari.' Eaque ipsa ratione vel certe simili Paulus (I. sent. tit. de Sepulchris et Lugendis), corpus in civitatem inferre non licere scripsit, 'Ne funestentur,' inquit, 'sacra civitatis.' Et tamen refert Gellius (lib. x. c. xv.), ex Fabii Pictoris, lib. i., etai fas non esset Pontifici, vel Flamini Diali mortuum intueri, (quod etiam Seneca, Consol. ad Mart. c. xv. et Tacitus, i. Annal. agnoscunt, id perperam negat Dio, lib. iv.) et feralia tangere, funus tamen exsequi ne quidem Pontifici religioni fuisse. Neque tamen hæc sunt contraria. Non fuit religioni Pontifici funus exsequi de nocte, quo tempore sacra non celebrabantur: religioni fuisset de die, ut in indictivo funere. Vide exemplum in Tiberio apud Dionem, lib. lv., in funere Cæsaris Augusti, quo tempore sacrorum celebratio diurna, ut loquitur Donatus, fiebat.

members of Christ, both alive and dead; and they owned no defilement in accompanying such to their graves, who were there only laid asleep and at rest, as candidates of the resurrection. Whatever the Gentile theology might teach, they were fully persuaded that the dead were in the communion of saints still, and as such might be communicated with and attended without any moral defilement or pollution. And for his second reason from philosophy, "That the night is more convenient for sorrow, while the day only serves for pomp and ostentation;" this was no argument to them, who were taught not to give way to excessive sorrow for the dead, nor to sorrow as others without hope for them that were only fallen asleep: for Christian mournings had also a mixture of joy and comfort in them: their funeral pomp was chiefly psalmody and praises, with which they conducted the deceased party to the grave, and such a pomp as that had nothing of ostentation in it: it served only to provoke the living to holiness and virtue, to be mindful of death, and to make a good preparation for it; and therefore was proper to be exhibited in open view, in the eyes of all the people, in the most public manner, among crowds of spectators, and a general concourse. For all which the day was far more convenient than the night, the design of their funerals being to be seen of all the people; and, therefore, since it was an indifferent thing to the dead whether they were buried by day or by night (which was his third reason), the Christians chose the day for such solemnities, as being much more proper for the living, whose advantage herein was chiefly regarded.

And upon these reasons the Christians continued to perform their funeral obsequies by day, notwithstanding Julian's inhibition or reasons to the contrary. Gothofred thinks, that from this time there is no instance of their burying by night: against which he says there is nothing to be alleged but one passage in St. Ambrose,¹ which seems to speak still

¹ Ambros. de Viduis, (Paris. 1836, vol. iii. p. 265.) Nonne iterum passura quod repetit, et ad ipsos votorum tumulos, exceptarum orbitatum imagines, lamentorum strepitus perhorrescit? Vel quum accensis funalibus nox ducitur, nonne pompæ funebris exsequias magis putat, quam thalamum præparari?

of funerals by night: for, writing to widows, he bids them consider whether marrying again, and being conducted home with torches in the night, would not look as much like a funeral as a marriage? But Gothofred says,^u this is not any account of fact, or what was then practised, but only an allusion to the ancient custom of using torches both at marriages and funerals, according to that of the poet, *Vivite felices inter utramque facem*, which was the common acclamation of the people to the new-married couple, ‘Live happy all your lives between your marriage-torch and your funeral-torch.’ But I am not sure that this is a good answer; because there are other undeniable evidences, in fact, of Christians burying with lamps and torches attending the funeral; and, therefore, some other account seems necessary to be given of it. And it may be this: that the Christians, even when they buried by day, used sometimes to carry lighted torches in the procession of the funeral, as a demonstration of joy, which they also did upon some other occasions. For St. Jerome says, “In all the churches of the East, when the Gospel was to be read, they lighted candles in the day-time; not to drive away the darkness, but to give a demonstration and testimony of their joy for the good news which the Gospel brought, and by a corporeal symbol to represent that light of which the Psalmist speaks, ‘Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my paths:’” and therefore it is not improbable but that they might use the

^u Gothofred. l. c. Verum non vult eo loco Ambrosius ad noctem exsequias celebrari, sed ritum nuptiarum cum ritu funeris componit. Ut in funere, ita in nuptiis, faces usitatæ. Hinc illud ad matrimonio recens junctos;

Vivite felices inter utramque facem:

Et sub noctem, accensis facibus, nova nupta in domum mariti deducebatur. Ait igitur Ambrosius, ipso nuptiarum die funalia illa accensa non minus exsequiarum ritum præ se ferre quam nuptialem deductionem, non quod tempus temporis respondere contendat.

^v Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. iii. (Venet. 4to. vol. ii. p. 394, B. 5.) Per totas Orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est Evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras; sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum. . . . ut sub typo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur, de qua in Psalterio legimus: ‘Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, Domine, et lumen semitis meis.’

same ceremony in their funerals by day, and, for the same reason, to demonstrate their joy, rather than sorrow, like the heathens. In fact, it is evident, beyond dispute, that they did use lighted torches at their funerals; and yet no intimation is given that their funerals were by night. Nazianzen, speaking of the obsequies of his brother Cæsarius, says expressly,* “That his mother carried a torch in her hand before his body at his funeral.” St. Jerome says,[†] “The bishops of Palestine did the like at the funeral of the famous Lady Paula: some of them, in honour to her, carried her body to the grave; and others went before the corpse with lamps and torches in their hands.” Gregory Nyssen gives the same account of the funeral of his sister Macrina,[‡] “That the clergy went before the corpse, carrying lighted torches in their hands.” And Theodoret, speaking of the translation of Chrysostom’s body from Comana to Constantinople, says,[§] “There was such a multitude of people met him in ships in his passage over the Bosporus, that the sea was even covered with lamps.” St. Chrysostom^b himself speaks also of the use of lamps in their funerals: and in one of Justinian’s Novels,^c the Acolythists are forbidden to exact any thing for their torches, because at Constantinople they

* Nazianzen. Orat. x. in Cæsarium, (Colon. 1690, tom. i. p. 169, C. 7.) Καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ πολλὸς Καισαρίος ἀποτίσσεσθαι, κόνις τιμίᾳ, νεκρὸς ἱπαινούμενος, ὕμνοις ἔξ ὕμνων παραπαινώμενος, μαρτύρων βήμασι πομπεύμενος, γονίῳ χερσὶν ὁσίαις τιμώμενος, μητρὸς λαμπροφωρίᾳ τῇ πάθῃ τὴν εὐσίχῃαν ἀντισταγούσης, κ. τ. λ.

† Hieron. Epist. xxvii. ad Eustoch. in Epitaph. Paulæ. Translata episcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro subjicientibus; quum alii pontifices lampadas cereosque præferrent, &c. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 722, D. 6.)

‡ Nyssen. Vit. Macrinæ, (Paris. 1665, tom. ii. p. 201.) Τοῦ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν κλίνην σπινγκωμένου, καὶ πάντων ἀπλήστως ἔχοντων τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου διαμέματος, οὐκ ἦν ἐν εὐκολίᾳ τὴν πορείαν ἡμῖν διανύσθαι· προηγιῶτο δὲ καθ’ ἑκάστην μίρον διακόνων διὰ καὶ ὀνηριῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων πλῆθος, στοιχηθεὶς τοῦ σκηνωμάτων προπομπήσαν, τὰς ἐκ κηροῦ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες πάντες.

§ Theod. lib. v. c. xxxvi. (Vales. 1695, p. 242.) Χρόνῳ μίντοι ὑστισιν καὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὰ λείψανα εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσιν μετακόμεσαν πόλιν· καὶ πάλιν ὁ πιστὸς ὄμιλος, ὡς ἡπίερω τῇ πηλαγῇ διὰ τῶν παρεμβίων χρησάμενος, τοῦ Βοσπόρου τὸ πρὸς τῇ Προποντίδι στόμα ταῖς λαμπάσι κατήκρυψεν.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Hebr. p. 1784, (p. 736, edit. Francof.) Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, τί βούλονται αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ φαιδεαί; οὐχ ὡς ἀθλητὰς αὐτοὺς προπύμπουσι; τί δὲ ὕμνοι; οὐχὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζομεν, καὶ ὑψαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι λοιπὸν ἱστοφάνωσι τὴν ἀπειλόντα;

^c Justin. Novel. lix. c. v. tot.

were allowed for funerals out of a public fund, which was there provided for the interment of the dead. These are not bare allusions to an ancient custom, but plain accounts of fact, which either prove that Christians celebrated some of their funerals by night, or else that they used lighted torches by day, as some of the testimonies seem to intimate: for Chrysostom says, they used their lights before the dead, to signify that they were champions or conquerors, and, as such, conducted in triumph to their graves. And thus far Gothofred's opinion may be admitted, that the Christians generally celebrated their funerals by day: but then this must be added to it, that they used lamps and torches lighted in the day, to express their joy, and signify their respect and honour to the deceased as a victorious combatant, who had conquered this world here below, and was now gone to take possession of a better world above. If any weight could be laid upon the uncertain authority of the writer of the Life of St. German, bishop of Auxerre, in Surius, it would put the matter out of dispute: for he says,^d "The multitude of lights used at his funeral seemed to outdo the sun, and beat back its rays at noon-day." But, without this uncertain testimony, enough has been said to shew the difference between the custom of the heathens burying by night and the Christians burying by day, which is the principal thing I intended in this part of my discourse. I only add one thing, by way of confirmation, that the Christians in this age generally celebrated the eucharist at their funerals; which is a service belonging to the day, and not the night: and to the morning part of the day, and not the afternoon. Whence in one of the Councils of Carthage, we find an order, that if any commendation of the dead was to be made in the afternoon, it should be performed only with prayers, and not the celebration of the eucharist: which is a certain argument, that their funerals were then generally by day, since the funeral office was in a manner appropriated to the eucharistical or morning-service: but of this more hereafter, in its proper place.

^d Surius, xxx. Jul. apud Durant. de Ritib. lib. i. c. xxiii. n. 14. Gallos funus ejus honorifice curasse, et multitudinem hominum, splendorem sibi etiam per diem vendicantem, repere: so solis radio, refulsisse.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THEY PREPARED THE BODY FOR THE FUNERAL, AND
WITH WHAT RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND SOLEMNITIES
THEY INTERRED IT.

SECT. I.—*Christians always careful to bury the Dead, even
with the Hazard of their Lives.*

COME we now to the ceremonies used in preparing the body for the funeral, and the solemnity of interring it. No act of charity is more magnified by the ancients than this of burying the dead : and therefore they many times ventured upon it, even with the hazard of their lives. In times of persecution, and in times of pestilential diseases, this could not be done without great danger, and yet they never scrupled it in either case. Asturius, a Roman senator,^a took the body of Marinus the martyr from the place of execution, and carried it on his own shoulders to the grave. And Eutychianus is celebrated, in the Roman Martyrology and the Pontifical, for having buried three hundred and forty-two martyrs^b in several places with his own hands. Sometimes they ventured to steal away the bodies of the martyrs in the night, when they could not otherwise, either by money or entreaties, get liberty to bury them : as we learn from the epistle of the Church of Lyons and Vienne, in Eusebius,^c where the brethren express their profoundest sorrow and grief, because their enemies would not suffer them to bury the bodies of their martyrs : for they kept such a strict guard upon them, that they could not come at them by night to take them away ; neither would money prevail, nor any solicitations move the keepers to deliver the bodies up to be buried ; but they kept them six days exposed in the open air, and then burned them, and scattered their ashes in the river, that there might be no relics of them remaining upon

^a Euseb. lib. vii. c. xvi. See chap. ii. sect. vi. note (p), p. 397.

^b Pontifical. Vit. Eutychiani.

^c Euseb. lib. v. c. i. See chap. ii. sect. iv. note (b), p. 393.

the earth. The brethren here ventured their lives by night, to have got the bodies, if it had been possible, to have given them a decent funeral: and there want not instances in the ancient martyrologies of some, who became martyrs themselves upon this account, for their excessive charity to their brethren. The other difficult case, in which they expressed an equal charity and concern, was the time when pestilential diseases raged in the world. Even in this case they would never desert their brethren while alive, nor leave them unburied after death. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, gives us a remarkable instance of this care in that terrible plague that happened in Egypt in his time. He says,^d “The Christians not only attended their brethren when they were sick, but also took care of them when they were dead, closing their eyes and mouths, laying them forth, watching with them, washing their bodies, dressing them and clothing them in garments proper for their burial, and then carrying them out on their own shoulders to their graves; in doing which they often ventured so far, that in a short time it was their own lot to have the same good offices done to themselves by others.”

^d Apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 291, D.) Οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀγάπην καὶ φιλαδελφίαν ἀφιδεῶντες ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἰχόμηναι, ἐπισκοποῦντες ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς νοσοῦντας· λιπαρῶς ὑσπεριταύμηναι· θρασυεύοντες ἐν Χριστῷ, συναπηλλάττοντο ἐκείνοις ἀσμενίστατα· τοῦ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀναπληράμενοι πάθους, καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίων, καὶ ἐκόντες ἀναμαρτύρητοι τὰς ἀληθείας. καὶ πολλοὶ νοσοκομήσαντες καὶ ῥώσαντες ἑτέρους, ἰσιλιύτησαν αὐτοὶ, τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεταστήσαντες καὶ τὸ δημῶδες ῥῆμα μόνῃς αἰὶν δοκοῦν φιλοφροσύνης ἔχισθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τότε πληροῦντες, ἀπάντις αὐτῶν πάντων περίφημα· οἱ γοῦν ἄριστοι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδελφῶν, τοῦτον τὸν φόρον ἐξιχώρησαν τοῦ βίου, περισφύτιροί τί σινε καὶ διάκονοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ λίαν ἰσπαινούμενοι· ὥς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος διὰ πολλὴν ἐντίθειαν καὶ πίσσιν ἰσχυρὰν γινόμενοι, μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν μαρτυρίου δοκίμῃ. καὶ τὰ σώματα δὲ τῶν ἁγίων ὑστάτις χερσὶ καὶ πόλποις ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καθαιροῦντες τι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ στόματα συγκλείοντες· ὁμοφροῦντες τι καὶ διατιθέντες· προσκολλώμενοι· συμπλεκόμενοι· λουτροῖς τι καὶ περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες· μιτὰ μικρὸν ἐτύγγαζον τῶν ἱσῶν· αἰὶ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἱφισπομένων τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν.

SECT. II. — *How they prepared the Body for Burial. First, closing its Eyes and Mouth,—a decent Circumstance, observed by all Nations.*

This passage of Dionysius shews us not only the great charity of the ancient Christians in burying the dead, but also some of the lesser circumstances and ceremonies then usually observed in preparing and decently composing the body for its burial. First, he says, they were used to close its eyes and mouth as soon as it was dead: which was a custom of decency observed by all nations, and taught them as a comely thing by nature itself. Only the Romans added another ceremony to it, which had nothing of nature, but superstition in it: which was, as Pliny describes it,^e “To open their eyes again at the funeral pile, and shew them to heaven;” which, according to the Roman superstition, was as necessary to be done, as it was necessary at first to close their eyes against the sight of men. The ground of this superstition I will not stand to inquire into: but only observe, that as the Christians rejected this ceremony because it was a mere superstition, so they retained the other, as agreeable to that decency which is taught by nature.

SECT. III. — *Then Washing the Body in Water.*

The next circumstance mentioned by Dionysius, was laying the body out, and washing it with water. This was a ceremony used not only by the Greeks and Romans, but by the Hebrews also: from whom it was taken and continued by the Christians, as it is now by the Jews, though for more superstitious reasons than formerly, as Buxtorf acquaints us,^f at this day. That it was a very early rite, derived from

^e Plin. Natur. Hist. lib. xi. c. xxxvii. p. 204. Morientibus oculos operire, rursusque in rogo patefacere, Quiritium magno ritu sacrum est. Ita more condito, ut neque ab homine supremum eos spectari fas fit, et cælo non ostendi nefas.

^f Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. c. xxxv. p. 501, (c. xlix. pp. 699, 700, edit. Basil. 1661, 8vo.) Aqua calida, cui addunt flores chamæmeli et rosas siccas, studiosæ abluitur mortuus, ut purus et mundus sit, quum peccatorum ratio reddenda erit. Ovum insuper acceptum, cum vino agitanter, permiscetur, et capiti illius illinunt. Ablutio et inunctio hæc a quibusdam fit domi, antequam efferatur; in nonnullis

the Jews to the Christians, we learn from the account which is given of Tabitha (Acts, ix. 37), where it is said, that “when she was dead, they washed her, and laid her in an upper chamber.” And some^s will have this to be the meaning of the apostle (1 Cor. xv. 29), where he speaks of being ‘baptized,’ or ‘washed for the dead:’ which is not so certain. However, the custom is mentioned as usual among Christians, not only by Dionysius, but Tertullian, who says,^b “The Christians used bathing as well as the heathens, at proper times, for health, to preserve their vital heat and blood: for it was time enough to grow pale and cold, when they came to be washed after death.” This was also an innocent and decent ceremony, and therefore the Christians retained it; not for any mystical signification, that any of them mention, but as a civil rite, and comely preparation of the body for its burial. How long it continued in practice I know not exactly: but Durantusⁱ gives later instances of its use out of Gregory the Great, and Gregory of Tours, and Bede’s Life of St. Cuthbert, and Eginhardus’s Life of Charles the Great.

locis, præsertim ubi Judæorum est magna copia, in cœmeteriis, quæ **בֵּית חַיִּים** *Beth Chajim*, ‘locum viventium’ vocant, tabulæ (quam **מִטָּה** *Mittah*, ‘lectum’ vocant) impositum in cœmeterium deferunt, in quo certam quamdam ædiculam habent, in qua eum abluunt, et post ablutionem loculo includunt. Hujus ritus fit mentio, Act. ix. 37.

^s Beza, in Act. ix. 37.

^b Tertul. Apol. c. xli. (Paris. 1664, p. 34, A. 6.) Lavo et debita hora et salubri, quæ mihi et calorem et sanguinem servet: rigere et pallere post lavacrum mortuus possum.

ⁱ Durant. de Ritib. lib. i. c. xxiii. n. 14, S. Gregorius (hom. xxxix.), de Sorore sua defuncta, loquens ait: ‘Quumque corpus ejus, ex more mortuorum, ad lavandum esset nudatum.’—Id. Gregorius, Paris. 1705, vol. ii. (lib. iii. Dialog. c. xvii.) *Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὕδus, τοῦτον λούσαντες, καὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἐνταφιάσαντες, κ. τ. λ.* Et, *Ἐπὶ τῇ λούσει τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζαντες, κ. τ. λ.* (lib. iv. c. vii. p. 399, A. 2.) Quibus etiam verbis utitur, eodem libro, c. xxvii.—Beda de Exsequiis S. Gothberti, testatur Gothbertum vita functum, a navigantibus in insulam delatum, totum corpore lavatum.—Eum morem Gallos præcipue retinuisse testatur Gregor. Turon. (lib. de Gratia Confess. c. civ.) ubi ait, ‘Pelagiam, vita functam, ablutam fuisse juxta morem, ac deinde collocatum in feretro.’—Idem Gregorius, in Vitis Patrum, (c. ix. x. xiii. et xx.) Sanctos Patroclum, Feriandum, Lupicinum, et Leopardum, post obitum ablutos fuisse commemorat.—Eginartus, in Vita Caroli Magni, corpus Caroli Magni solenni more lotum scribit.

SECT. IV.—*Dressing it in Funeral Robes: and these sometimes rich and splendid.*

The next circumstance noted by Dionysius, is dressing and adorning the body in robes proper for its funeral. He takes no notice of anointing the body with precious ointment, nor of the use of any embalming (which was proper to be mentioned between washing and clothing); because this was not so generally used, as being a more chargeable thing, and not so proper therefore to the deplorable case he was speaking of: but we have had occasion to speak enough of this before. The present circumstance of dressing and adorning the body in some robes or vestments proper for its burial, is mentioned by several other writers, who speak of these robes as differing much, either according to the dignity and quality of the deceased, or the quality of those who prepared them. Eusebius says,^k “Asturius, being a rich and noble Roman senator, wound up the body of Marinus the martyr, εἷ μάλα πλουσίως, ‘in a very rich garment,’ and so carried him to his grave.” And Constantine, according to the dignity of an emperor, was buried in a purple robe, with other magnificence proper to the dignity of his person, as the same Eusebius informs us.^l And St. Jerome signifies this to have been the custom of the rich, though, according to his usual manner, he somewhat satirically inveighs against it:^m “Spare, I pray, yourselves—spare, at least, your riches, which ye love. Why do ye wind up your dead in clothes of gold? Why does not your ambition cease in the midst of mourning and tears? Cannot the bodies of the rich find a way to rot any otherwise than

^k Euseb. lib. vii. c. xvi. See chap. ii. sect. vi. note (p), p. 397.

^l Ibid. de Vit. Constantini. lib. iv. c. lxvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 462, B. 9.)
 “Ενδον γάρ ται ἐν αὐτῇ παλατίῳ κατὰ τὸ μισαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων, ἐφ’ ὕψηλῆς
 κίμωνος χρυσῆς λάξευκος τὸ βασιλῆως σκῆνος, βασιλικαῖς τε κόσμοις, πορφύρεῃ τε
 καὶ διαδήματι τιτιμημένον, πλεῖστοι περιστοιχισάμενοι, ἐπαγρυπνῶντες δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ
 νυκτὸς ἰφροῦρουσι.”

^m Hieron. Vit. Paul. Parcite, quæso, vos: parcite saltem divitiis quas amatis. Cur et mortuos vestros auratis obvolvitis vestibus? Cur ambitio inter luctus lacrimasque non cessat? An cadavera divitum nisi in serico putrescere nesciunt? (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 13, A. 9.)

in silk?" Thus he at once give us the custom, and his own tart reflection on it, shewing himself a friend rather to the plain and common way of dressing the dead for their funeral: which was to wrap them up in clean linen clothes, after the example of Christ's body, as the manner of the Jews was to bury. So St. Jerome says in another place, speaking of the woman that was seven times smitten: "The clergy, whose office it was, wound up her bloody body in linen clothes." And so Prudentius, in his hymn upon the Obsequies of the Dead, represents it as the most usual funeral dress.^o And Athanasius says,^p "It was the custom of the Egyptians to use linen, not only for the meaner sort of people, but for the nobles also, and the martyrs." However, some adorning or other was always used: and, therefore, Sidonius Apollinaris represents it as a thing contrary to the common way of burying in the Goths,^q that being forced to inter their slain in a tumultuous manner, they could neither wash them nor clothe them for the grave, but threw whole loads of them, naked, and dropping with blood, into the earth: which is usual enough in burying the slain of an army in the field, but no way agreeable to the manner of burying in time of peace. He that would see more of this custom, may consult the learned Savaro's Notes upon Sidonius; ^r who gives other instances out of Arnobius,

ⁿ Hieron. Epist. xlix. ad Innocent. (Venet. 4to. vol. ii. p. 6, D. 7.) Clerici, quibus id officii erat, cruentum linteo cadaver obvolvunt.

^o Prudent. Cathemer. Hymn. x. circa Exsequias Defunctor. n. 49, 50.

Candore nitentia claro
Prætere linteæ mos est.

^p Athanas. Vit. Anton. (tom. i. opp. p. 862, c. edit. Paris, 1698.) Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ τῶν τιλιωτῶντων σπουδαίων σώματα, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων, φιλοῦσι μὲν θάπτειν καὶ περιλίσειν ἰσορίαις. (Colon. 1686, vol. ii. p. 502, B.)

^q Sidon. lib. iii. ep. iii. (Paris. 1609, p. 187.) Nec ossa tumultuarii cespitis mole tumulabant: quibus nec elutis vestimenta, nec vestitis sepulcra tribuebant, juste sic mortuis talia justa solvantes. Jacebant corpora undique locorum plaustris convecta rorantibus, &c.

^r Savar. in loc. Postquam eluta erant cadavera, vestiebantur. Paulus, l. xix. de in rem verso.—Ulpianus, l. xiv. §. Idemque et si, de Religios. et Sumt. Funer.—l. cxlii. §. ult. de Legat. i. l. xv. §. Proinde de Usufructu.—Constantius de S. Germano, lib. ii. c. xxii, Regina vestivit.—Præter Arnob. lib. v.;

and Lactantius, and Corippus, and Gregory of Tours, and Constantius's Life of Germanus, which I will not stand to repeat in this place. I only add that of St. Jerome,¹ where he commends the Lady Paula for her great charity to the poor, in that she never suffered any of their bodies to go without a funeral garment to their graves; and out of her immense propensity to the practice of this virtue, wished, that she herself might die poor, and be beholden to the charity of some other to give her a piece of linen to wrap up her body for its funeral. And to this subjoin that passage of St. Chrysostom, where he makes this funeral clothing to have something of signification in it, saying,² "We clothe the dead in new garments, to signify or represent beforehand their putting on the new clothing of incorruption."

SECT. V.—*Watching and attending it in its Coffin till the Time of the Funeral.*

The next circumstance mentioned in the short account of Dionysius, is the decent composing them in their coffin, and watching and attending them till the time of their funeral. It was the custom of all nations to let the dead corpse lie some time unburied, lest there should chance to be some vital spirit or remains of life in them, that might be quite destroyed by too hasty a funeral. For this reason, the Romans let their body lie seven days; meanwhile using their ablution in warm water, and their several 'conclamations,' as they called them, to try if there was any spirit left in them, which might be awaked and recovered to life again. If, after the last conclamation, no sign of life ap-

et Lactantium de Orig. Error. c. iv. Quintil. Declamat. cccclxxiii. Corippus, lib. i.

Purpureaque in veste jacens requiescere somno, &c.

Gregor. Turon. lib. iv. c. ult.; idem, lib. vi. c. ix. Hist. et de Vita Patrum, c. iii, 'Exinde vestitus atque ablatus in ecclesiam deferitur,' c. vii.; Adfuit quædam matrona, quæ ablutam dignis vestiit vestimentis; et c. xii. ablatus ac vestimentis dignis indutus; et c. viii. in fine. Idem, lib. iv. Hist. c. l.; lib. vi. c. ultim.; lib. vii. c. i.; et de Gloria Confess. c. lxxxi. &c.

¹ Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, c. ii. Quis inopum moriens, non illius vestimentis obvolutus est?

² Chrysostom. Hom. cxvi. tom. vi. p. 944, edit. Savil. Καὶ οὖτος ἱματίους τοὺς τιμωτάτους ἀμφιζόμεν, τὸ καὶνὸν ἔνδυμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἡμῶν προμνηστέον.

peared, then, *Conclamatum est*; there was no remedy; after this cry, they carried them forth to their funeral-pile. The Roman antiquaries note further, that the rich were commonly laid in beds, and the poorer sort in coffins, in the porch or entrance of their houses, close by their gate. The Christians' ceremonies were in some things the same, and in some things a little refinement upon these. The common sort of people were laid in coffins of plain wood, as St. Ambrose and others inform us.^u For in this the Christians chose rather to follow the heathens than the Jews: the Jews using no coffins, but only grave-clothes to wrap up the body, and biers to carry it to the grave. Others had their coffins adorned with more costly materials. Constantine was put 'in a coffin overlaid with gold,' *ἐν χρυσῇ λάρναι*, as both Eusebius^v and Socrates word it, and that was covered also with a purple pall. St. Jerome says, likewise, that Blesilla, the daughter of Paula, a rich lady in Rome, had her coffin covered with a cloth of gold: but St. Jerome himself did not like it, for he says immediately upon it,^x "It seemed to him as if he then heard Christ crying from heaven, 'I own not this garment: this clothing is none of mine; this ornament is the ornament of strangers.'" From whence we may conclude, that this way of adorning coffins so pompously was not very common among Christians; neither did they imitate the heathens in their collocation in the porches or entrance of their houses: though Durantus says,^y this

^u Ambros. in Luc. ii. cit. a Durant. de Ritib. lib. i. c. xxiii. p. 112. Feretrum ligneum est, ait Ambrosius (in c. ii. Lucæ), propter spem resurgendi. Lignum enim, ait ille, etsi antea non proderat, posteaquam tamen Jesus id tetigit, proficere cœpit ad vitam.

^v Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 462.) "Ἀραντες οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ τὸ σκῆνος, χρυσῇ κατετίθειτο λάρνακι· ταύτην δ' ἀλουργικῇ ἀλουργίδι περιβάλλον. — Socrat. lib. i. c. xl. (ibid. 1700, p. 63.) Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἐπιτήδευοι χρυσῇ ἐνδύμενοι λάρνακι, κ. τ. λ.

^x Hieron. Ep. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ. Aureum feretro velamen obtenditur. Videbatur mihi [Christus] tunc clamare de cœlo: 'Non agnosco vestes: amictus iste non est meus: hic ornatus alienus est.' (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 177, D. 3.)

^y Durant. de Ritib. lib. i. c. xxiii. n. xiii. Lutetiæ, ubi quis extremum vitæ spiritum edidit, cadaver in vestibulo ædium, ad januam ipsam, vulgo collocari solet: quod non nulli ad consuetudinem ethnicorum referunt. Moris enim erat et apud Græcos et apud Romanos, cadaver ad januam deponere, &c.

old Roman custom is still continued at Paris : but they set their coffins either in some inner room of their house, or an upper room, as we read of Tabitha (Acts, ix. 37), or carried them to the church, where they watched with the body to the time of its funeral. Eusebius says,^a “ Constantine’s body was laid in his golden coffin, covered with purple, in one of the chief rooms of the palace ; where lights were hanged round about it in golden candlesticks ; and the body, so adorned with the purple robe and royal diadem, was attended by the watchers for several days and nights together : such a splendid sight as was never seen from the foundation of the world before.” Others chose immediately after death to be laid in the church, where the watchers also attended them, till they were carried forth to their funeral. Thus Paulinus tells us,^a “ The body of St. Ambrose, as soon as it was dead, was carried into the church, and there they watched with him the night before Easter.” And here, instead of the Roman conclamation, they were wont to make the church echo with psalmody, and hymns, and praises to God, which was a noble refinement upon the old ceremony of conclamation. Thus Gregory Nyssen^b represents the watching that was kept with the body of his sister Macrina : they watched and sung psalms all night, as they were used to do on the vigils or pernoctations preceding the festivals of the martyrs.—And something of this kind is that

^a Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 462.)

“ Ἀραγνὶς οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ τὸ σκῆνος, χρυσῇ κατετίθειτο λάξεσσι ταύτην δ’ ἄλωε-
γιπῇ ἄλωεργίδι περιέβαλλον, ἐκμίξον α’ εἰς τὴν βασιλείας ἐπώνυμον πόλιν κἄπαν’
ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ πάντων προφύροντι τῶν βασιλείων οἴκῳ, βάθρῳ ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν κατετίθειτο
φῶτά α’ ἐβάψαντες κύκλῳ ἐπὶ σκιῶν χρυσῶν, θαυμαστὸν θέαμα τοῖς ἔρῳσι παρῴχον,
οἷον ἢ α’ οὐδινὸς πάσσοι’ ἐφ’ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἐκ πρώτης αἰῶνος συντάσις ἐστὶ γῆς
ᾧ φθῇ ἔνδοι γὰρ τοι ἐν αὐτῇ παλατίῳ, κατὰ τὸ μισαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων, ἐφ’
ὑψηλῆς κείμενον χρυσῆς λάξεσσι τὸ βασιλείας σκῆνος, βασιλικαῖς τε κόσμαις, περ-
φύεσσι τε καὶ διαδήμασι τιμιμημένοι, πλείεσσι περιστοιχισάμενοι, ἐπαγούσῃσι δὲ
ἡμέραις καὶ νυκτὶς ἱφεύρουσι.

^a Paulin. Vit. Ambros. Ad ecclesiam, antelucana hora qua defunctus est, corpus ipsius portatum est ; ibique eadem fuit nocte, qua vigilavimus in Pascha. (Paris. 1836, vol. i. p. xvii.) — Vid. Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confess. c. civ. ; ubi de Pelagia Lemovicina loquens ait, Et hæc dicens, emisit spiritum ; abluta juxta morem, conlocatur in feretro, atque in ecclesiam deportatur.

^b Nyssen. Vit. Macrinæ, tom. ii. p. 200. Τῆς οὖν παννυχίδος περὶ αὐτὴν ἐν ὀμνηδαίαις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ μαρτύρων πανηγύρεως, τιλίθισις, κ. τ. λ.

which St. Austin says^c was done in his mother's house some time after she was dead: "Euodius took the Psalter, and began to sing a psalm: and the whole family answered alternately, 'I will sing of mercy and judgment: unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.'"

SECT. VI. — *The Exportation of the Body performed by near Relations, or Persons of Dignity, or any charitable Persons, as the Case and Circumstances of the Party required.*

The last circumstance mentioned by Dionysius is the exportation of the body to the grave; which, in the particular case he speaks of, being the time of a raging plague and pestilence, was done by such charitable persons as were willing to venture their own lives to discharge these last pious offices to their dying brethren. And there were many occasions for this sort of charity in the three first ages, not only upon the account of infectious diseases, but for the multitude of martyrs, and numbers of the poor, who had nothing to depend upon but the kindness of such charitable persons in the Church. Sometimes this office was performed by the next relations; and sometimes by persons of rank and quality, when they designed to do a particular honour to the party deceased in regard to his merit and virtue. I have noted before, out of Eusebius,^d how Asturius, a noble Roman senator, carried Marinus the martyr on his own shoulders to his grave: and how Eutychian, bishop of Rome, is said to have buried above three hundred martyrs with his own hands. St. Jerome also tells us,^e that the bishops of Palestine paid this particular respect to the famous Lady Paula: that they carried her forth with their own hands, and put their own necks under her coffin. So

^c Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. xii. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 123, A.) *Psalterium arripuit Evodius, et cantare cœpit psalmum: cui respondebamus omnis domus, 'Misericordiam et judicium cantabo tibi, Domine.'*

^d Euseb. lib. vii. c. xvi. See chap. ii. sect. vi. note (p), p. 397.

^e Hieron. Ep. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ. *Translata episcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro subjicientibus.*

Gregory Nyssen says,^f that he and some others of the most eminent clergy carried his sister Macrina to her grave. Nazianzen also tells us,^g “That St. Basil was carried *χερσὶν ἁγίων*, ‘by the hands of the clergy,’ in honour to his person.”

SECT. VII.—*Particular Orders of Men appointed in some great Churches, under the Names of Copiatæ and Parabolani, to take care of the Sick, and perform all these Offices for the Dead.*

In the first ages, the poor were buried at the common charge and charity of the Church, as we learn from Tertulian's Apology,^h cap. xxxix. But afterward, in some of the greater churches, where there were multitudes of poor, in the beginning of the fourth century, we find two orders of men set up in the Church, with a sort of clerical character, whose particular business was to attend the sick, especially in infectious diseases, and to do all offices that were necessary to be done, in order to give the poor a decent funeral. The one were called *parabolani*, from venturing their lives among the sick in contagious distempers; and the other, *copiatæ*, *laborantes*, *lecticarii*, *fossarii*, *sandapilarii*, and *decani* (answerable to the old Roman names *libitinarii* and *vespillones*), whose office was to labour in digging of graves for the poor, and carrying the coffin or bier, and depositing them in the ground, as most of the names signify: which it is sufficient only to hint here in this place, because I have given a full account of these orders of men, in two distinct chapters, in a former Book.ⁱ

^f Nyssen. Vit. Macrinæ, tom. ii. p. 201. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἰδὲκετο, καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ σπουδὴ, ὑποβὰς τὴν κλίνην ἰγὰ, ἀκκίονον ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσιον μέρος πρὸς καλίσσάμενος· ἄλλωντι δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ κλῆρῳ τιτιμημένων, τὸ ἐπίσθιον τῆς κλίνης μέρος ὑπολαβόντων, εἶναι τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰχόμενος βάδην, ὡς εἰκὸς, καὶ κατ' ἐλίγον ἡμῶν γινομένης τῆς κινήσεως.

^g Nazianz. Orat. xx. in Laud. Basil. p. 371. Προτιμωζέτο μὲν ὁ ἅγιος χερσὶν ἁγίων ὑψούμενος.

^h Tertul. Apol. c. xxxix. (Paris. 1664, p. 31, B. 4.) Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit, . . . Inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratissimis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humanisque, &c.

ⁱ Book iii. chap. vii. and ix.

SECT. VIII.—*Psalmody the great Ceremony used in all Processions of Funerals among Christians, in Opposition to the Heathens' Piping and Funeral Song.*

Now to proceed. Whereas the heathens had their *nænia*, or 'funeral song,' together with their pipers, and sometimes trumpeters, to play before them;^j instead of this the Christians chose to carry forth their dead in a more solemn manner, with psalmody, to the grave. We cannot expect to find much of this in the three first ages, while they were in a state of persecution: but as soon as their peaceable times were come, we find it in every writer. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions gives this direction,^k "That they should carry forth their dead with singing, if they were faithful: 'For precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' And again it is said, 'Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee.' And, 'The memory of the just shall be blessed:' and, 'The souls of the just are in the hand of the Lord.'" These, probably, were some of those versicles which made up their psalmody upon such occasions: for Chrysostom, speaking of this matter, not only tells us the reason of their psalmody, but also what particular psalms or portions of them they made use of, as proper for this solemnity. "What mean our hymns," says he:^l

^j Vid. Rosini Antiquit. Roman. lib. v. c. xxxix. p. 991. Servius in v. *Æneid.* scribit, moris fuisse, ut majoris ætatis funera ad tubam proferrentur: minoris vero, ad tibias, &c.

^k Constitut. lib. vi. c. xxx. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 411, B. 4.) 'Ἐν ταῖς ἑξέδοις τῶν κοιμημένων ψάλλοντες προτίμωμι αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ὅσοι πιστοὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ· τίμιος γὰρ ἵναντίον Κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· Ἐπίστρεψον, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπεργένησέν σε· καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· Μνήμη δικαίων μιστ' ἰγκωμίαν· καὶ· Δικαίων ψυχὰς ἐν χερσὶ Θεοῦ.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Hebr. p. 1784, (p. 736, edit. Francof.) Εἰπέ μοι, τί βούλονται . . . οἱ ὕμνοι; οὐχὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζομεν, καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅτι λοιπὸν ἱστοφάνομεν τὸν ἀπειλόντα; ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπὸλλασξεν; ὅτι τῆς διυλίας ἐκβαλὼν ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ὕμνοι; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ψαλμῳδαί; (p. 1785, line 15) Ἐνόησον, τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον· Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπεργένησέν σε· καὶ πάλιν· Οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι ἐν μοίᾳ ἰμοῦ εἶ· καὶ πάλιν· Σὺ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως, τῆς περιουχούσης με. Ἐνόησον, τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοί· . . . εἰ ὄντως πιστεύεις οἷς λίγεις, περιττῶς πινθίς· εἰ δὲ παίζεις καὶ ὑποκρίνη καὶ μύθους αὐτὰ ἵνα νομίζεις, τί καὶ ψάλλεις; τί καὶ ἀνίχη τῶν παραγομένων; διὰ τί μὴ ἀπिलाύνεις τοὺς ψάλλοντας; (13 lines, from bottom.)

“do we not glorify God, and give him thanks, that he hath crowned him that is departed, that he hath delivered him from trouble, that he hath set him free from all fear? Consider what thou singest at that time: ‘Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord had rewarded thee.’ And again, ‘I will fear no evil, because thou art with me.’ And again, ‘Thou art my refuge from the affliction which compasseth me about.’ Consider what these psalms mean. If thou believest the things which thou sayest to be true, why dost thou weep and lament, and make a mere pageantry and mock of thy singing? If thou believest them not to be true, why dost thou play the hypocrite so much as to sing?” He speaks this against those who used excessive mourning at funerals, shewing them the incongruity of that with this psalmody of the Church. And he uses the same argument frequently upon this occasion, dissuading men, not from moderate, but excessive sorrow, as inconsistent with the usual psalmody of the Church, and exposing them at the same time to the ridicule of the Gentiles. “For what?” said they,^m “are these the men that talk so finely and philosophically about the resurrection? Yes, indeed! But their actions do not agree with their doctrine: for whilst they profess in words the belief of a resurrection, in their deeds they act more like men that despair of it. If they were really persuaded that their dead were gone to a better life, they would not so lament: therefore,” says Chrysostom, “let us be ashamed to carry out our dead after this manner: for our psalmody, and prayers, and solemn meeting of fathers, and such a multitude of brethren, is not that thou shouldst weep and lament, and be angry at God, but give him thanks for taking a deceased brother to himself.” St. Jerome also frequently speaks of this psalmody as one of the

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. de Dormientibus, tom. v. p. 423, A. 11. (hom. xxx. p. 380, edit. Francof.) Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἱερῶσαι ἱκεῖνοι; τί δὲ οὐ φερίζονται περὶ ἡμῶν; οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ περὶ ἀναστάσεως φιλοσοφούντες; πάνυ γὰρ οὐ γὰρ συμβαίνει τοῖς δόγμασι τὰ γινόμενα· ἐν ῥήμασι τὰ περὶ ἀναστάσεως φιλοσοφῶσι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ τῶν ἀπειγνυμένων ποιῶσιν· . . . εἰ πιστικότες ἦσαν ἑαυτοῦς, ὅτι πρὸς βελτίονα λατῶν ἀπῆλθεν οὗτος, οὐκ ἂν ἰσθίονσαν· . . . Δυσχύνεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐκφορᾶς· ψαλμοὶ δὲ, καὶ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πατήρων σύλλογος, καὶ πλῆθος ἀδελφῶν τοσούτων, οὐχ ἵνα κλαίης καὶ ἐδάσῃ καὶ ἀποδυσπικτῇς, ἀλλ’ ἵνα εὐχαριστῇς τῷ λαβόντι.

chief parts of their funeral pomp. He says,ⁿ “At the funeral of the Lady Paula, at Bethlehem, which was attended with a very great concourse of the bishops, and clergy, and people of Palestine, there was no howling or lamenting, as used to be among the men of this world, but singing of psalms in Greek, and Latin, and Syriac (because there were people of different languages present), at the procession of her body to the grave.” And speaking of St. Antony’s burying Paul the hermit, he says,^o “He wound him up, and carried him forth, singing hymns and psalms, according to the manner of Christian burial.” Gregory Nyssen gives the same account of the funeral of his sister Macrina,^p and Nazianzen of the funeral of his brother Cæsarius.^q And the practice was so universal, that Socrates takes notice of it among the Novatians,^r telling us how they carried the body of Paulus, their bishop at Constantinople, with psalmody to his grave: and it being so general and decent a practice, it was a grievance to any one to be denied the privilege of it. Victor Uticensis, upon this account, complains of the inhuman cruelty of one of the kings of the Vandals:^s “Who can bear,” says he, “to think of it without tears, when he calls to mind how he commanded the bodies of our dead to be

ⁿ Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, ep. xxvii. Non ululatus, non planctus, ut inter sæculi homines fieri solet, sed psalmodiarum linguis diversis examina concrepabant. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 722, D. 3.)

^o Ibid. Vit. Pauli, (tom. i. opp. p. 245, a. edit. Paris. 1643.) Obvoluto et prolato foras corpore, hymnos quoque et psalmos de Christiana traditione decantans, &c. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 11, D. 7.)

^p Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. tom. ii. p. 201. Καὶ ἦν τις μυστικὴ πομπὴ τὸ γινόμενον, ἡμοφώνως τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἀπ’ ἄκρων ἐπ’ ἐσχάτους, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν τριῶν παίδων ὑμνωδίᾳ, μελωδομήνης.

^q Nazianz. Orat. x. tom. i. (Colon. 1690, p. 167, C. 7.) Καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ πολλὸς Καيسάριος ἀποσώσεται, κόνις τιμία, νεκρὸς ἱστανόμενος, ὕμνος ἔξ ὕμνων παρασημασμένος, μαρτυρῶν βήμασι πομπευόμενος, . . . ψαλμωδίας κοιμίζουσας τοὺς θρήνους.

^r Socrat. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 316, A.) Ὅς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἱκκομίδι, πάσας τὰς διαφόρους αἰρέσεις τρέπον τινὰ μίαν [ἐκκλησίαν] ἐργάσατο· πᾶσαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἔχει· τῷ μνήματι σὺν ψαλμωδίας παρίεμπον, ἰατίπτε καὶ ζῶν δὲ βίου δρόσητα πάσαις ἐκίραστος ἦν.

^s Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 589, (tom. viii. p. 677, a. edit. Lugd. 1677.) Quis sustineat, atque possit sine lacrimis recordari, dum præciperet nostrorum corpora defunctorum sine solennitate hymnorum, cum silentio ad sepulturam perducere?

carried in silence, without the solemnity of the usual hymns, to the grave?" For none were wont to be denied this privilege, save only such as either laid violent hands upon themselves,^t or were publicly executed for their crimes, or died in a wilful neglect of baptism. Such were not allowed this solemnity of psalmody at their funeral, being in the same rank with excommunicated persons, who had no title to be partakers in any offices peculiarly appropriated to communicants in the Church. But such as were called away, out of the world, "in the vocation of God," as one of the Councils of Toledo words it;^u that is, the bodies of all pious and religious Christians were allowed this honour of being carried to their graves with singing: but then that singing must not be those funeral songs which were commonly used among the Gentiles, accompanied with antic beating of their breasts, and the like: for it was sufficient for Christians, whose bodies were buried in hopes of a resurrection, to have the service of Divine songs or psalmody bestowed upon them. This shews us another difference between the heathen and the Christian way of burial. The heathens were used to have their *præficae*, or women hired on purpose to make lamentations at their funerals: which even Lucian himself derides, bringing in a dead man, by way of *prosopopœia*, asking this question, "What does your lamentation signify to me, or your beating of the breast at the sound of the pipe?" And Chrysostom,^v in a more serious

^t Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxiv. xxxv. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 841.) (al. Conc. II. c. xvi. xvii.) Placuit, ut hi qui sibi ipsis aut per ferrum, aut per venenum, aut per præcipitium, aut suspendium, vel quolibet modo violentam inferunt mortem, nulla pro illis in oblatione commemoratio fiat, neque cum psalmis ad sepulturam eorum cadavera deducantur. . . . Similiter et de his placuit, qui pro suis sceleribus puniuntur. Item placuit, ut catechumenis, sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo neque oblationis commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

^u Conc. Tolet. III. c. xxii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 2014.) Religiosorum omnium corpora, qui divina vocatione ab hac vita recedunt, cum psalmis tantummodo [et] psallentium vocibus debere ad sepulcra deferri. Nam funebre carmen quod vulgo defunctis cantari solet, vel pectoribus se proximos aut familias cadere omnino prohibemus. Sufficiat autem, quod in spe resurrectionis, Christianorum corporibus famulatus Divinorum impenditur canticorum.

^v Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Hebr. p. 1786, (p. 737, edit. Francof.) Εἴ τις τὰς θρηνησὰς ταύτας μισθώσαντο, πιστεύοντί μοι λήγοντι, οὐκ ἄλλως γὰρ ἰεῦ.

manner, reproves some who, in his time, were still fond of this heathenish custom, whom he threatens, unless they amended, to prosecute with the utmost severity of excommunication.

SECT. IX.—*Crowning the Coffin with Garlands not allowed among Christians, though they scrupled not to carry Lights before them.*

The heathens were used, in their funeral pomp, to crown their corpse with garlands, in token of victory, as Clement Alexandrinus interprets it,* drawing thence an argument to prove that their idol gods were only dead men. Tertullian† also expressly mentions their funeral crowns, but he condemns them among all the rest that he writes against in his Book of the Soldier's Crown, where he reckons them all idolatrous, as used by the heathens. We do not find this custom used by Christians in their funeral rites. The heathen, in Minutius, makes it one topic of accusation against them, that‡ “they did not crown their sepulchres.” And Minutius, in his answer, owns the charge:§ “We do not crown the dead: and I wonder more at you, that ye give either torches or crowns to a dead man, who has no sense of them; when, if he be happy, he needs no flowers; and, if he be miserable, he takes no pleasure in them. We

ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχον· ὁ βουλόμενος ἐργαζέσθω, πολλὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαίρεσθαι ὡς τὸν εἰδωλολάτρην. (Paris. 1636, p. 1785, at bottom.)

* Clem. Pædagog. lib. ii. c. viii. (p. 213, line 17, edit. Oxon.) Ἀρχαίου δὲ ἀμνημονίας ὁ στίφανος σύμβολον· ταύτη καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καταστυφانوῦσιν· ὃ λόγος καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα, ἔργῳ προσμαρτυροῦντες αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι νεκροῖς.

† Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. x. (Paris, 1664, p. 106, B. 6.) Quid enim tam indignum Deo, quam quod dignum idolo? Quid autem tam dignum idolo, quam quod et mortuo? Nam et mortuorum est ita coronari: quoniam et ipsi idola statim fiunt et habitu et cultu consecrationis, quæ apud nos secunda idololatria est.

‡ Minut. p. 35, (c. xii. n. vi. p. 38, edit. Hall.) Coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis.

§ Ibid. p. 109, (c. xxxviii. nn. v. vi. p. 142, edit. cit.) Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis exanimi, aut sentienti facem, aut non sentienti coronam: quum et beatus non egeat, et miser non gaudeat floribus. At enim nos exsequias adornamus eadem tranquillitate qua vivimus: nec adnectimus arescentem coronam, sed a Deo æternis floribus vividam sustinemus. (Paris. 1836, p. 470, sec. col.)

adorn our funeral obsequies with the same tranquillity that we live; not making fading crowns to ourselves, but expecting a crown of everlasting flowers from God." It is plain from this, that the Christians did not crown their dead; neither, according to this reading of Minutius, could they use torches at their funerals. But this seems strange, when it is certain, that in the time of Minutius they were often forced to bury in the night. Therefore it is probable the word *facem* is crept into the text, for the sense and scope of the argument requires it not. However, in after-ages, the Christians scrupled not to carry lights and torches by day before their dead, as an emblem of victory and joy, as we heard St. Chrysostom himself before explaining the reason of it.^b So that either the Christians did never scruple this ceremony; or else, it must be said, they thought fit to adopt it into their rites in after-ages.

SECT. X. — *Funeral Orations made in the Praise of eminent Persons.*

When they had thus conducted the corpse to the place of burial, it was usual to make a funeral oration in the praise and commendation of the party deceased, if there was any thing singular and eminent in him, fit to be recommended as an example and pattern of virtue to others, or worthy to be related, as a just memorial and monument of his own merits and glory. We have several orations of this kind still remaining: as that of Eusebius, at the funeral of Constantine; and those of St. Ambrose, at the funerals of Theodosius and Valentinian, and his own brother Satyrus; and those of Gregory Nazianzen upon his father, and his brother Cæsarius, and his great friend St. Basil, and his sister Gorgonia; and that of Gregory Nyssen, upon the death of Melitus, bishop of Antioch, which Socrates in one place calls^c ἐπικήδειον λόγον, his 'funeral oration,' and in

^b Chrysostom. Hom iv. in Hebr. cited before in chap. ii. sect. vi. note (b), p. 402.

^c Socrat. lib. v. c. ix. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 218, D. 2.) Τότε δὲ καὶ Μελίτιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, ἀββαστὶα περισσὸν ἐπιλιύσθησεν· ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἐπικήδειον ἐκ' αὐτῷ λόγον ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βασιλείου Γρηγόριος ἐπιεῖληθεν.

another place^d ἐπιτάφιον, his ‘epitaph.’ But St. Jerome’s epitaphs upon Nepotian, Fabiola, and Paula, are of another sort, being only private characters composed by him to perpetuate their memory, but not delivered in public as funeral orations.

SECT. XI. — *Together with Psalmody, and the usual Service of the Church.*

But whether there was a funeral oration or not, the other service of the Church was usually performed at the interment of the dead; the whole service, if the burial was in the morning, when the oblation of the eucharist might be celebrated; or else only the psalmody and prayers, if the funeral was in the afternoon. The psalmody and prayers are largely described by the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite,* who speaks first of their singing hymns of thanksgiving to God for the party deceased, and his making a victorious end, and desiring that they may come to the same rest with him. Then the bishop makes a prayer of thanksgiving also to God, for making the party persevere in the knowledge of God, and his Christian warfare, unto death. Then the deacon reads such portions of Scripture as contain the promises of a resurrection, and the hymn appertaining to the same purpose. Thus far was the service of the catechumens in this office of burial. After their dismissal, the chief deacon makes a commemoration of all saints departed, and proclaims them conquerors, giving the same eulogium to him that was now to be interred, and exhorting all to follow his example, and beg of Christ a happy end. Then the bishop prays after this for him that was deceased, that God would forgive him all his sins, contracted by human infirmity, and translate him into the place of light, and the regions of the living, and give him a mansion in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence all grief, and sorrow, and mourning, are fled away. Then he gives him the kiss of peace, and anoints him with the holy

^d Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxvi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1700, p. 200, A.) Ἐπιτάφιον εἰς Μιλίτιον, τὸν Ἀντιοχίας ἐπίσκοπον, ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει διεξῆλθε.

* Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii. pp. 408, 409, 411.

oil, and so commits him to the earth. Here is no mention of the eucharist being celebrated in this office, but we find it in others: and the two last ceremonies, of giving the kiss of peace and anointing with oil, are in a manner peculiar to this author, and the former of them expressly forbidden in some other rules of burial: but the hymns and psalmody, and proper portions of Scripture, and prayers, made a part of the burial-office in all churches. St. Jerome thus describes the funeral of Fabiola: ^f “The psalms were sung aloud, and the echo of the allelujahs shook the golden roof of the church.” So, again, at the funeral of Paula, ^g he speaks not only of their singing in the procession, but in the middle of the church also. The African Councils speak likewise of prayers used at the funerals of the dead: which prayers were particularly termed παραθέσις and *commendationes*, ^h ‘commendatory prayers,’ being such as they used when they committed the bodies to the ground: and these are appointed to be such only as were approved in synod, that no corruption of faith, through ignorance, might creep into the offices of the Church. This is abundant proof that psalmody and prayers were always a part of the funeral service in the Church.

SECT. XII. — *And sometimes the Oblation of the Eucharist.*

And whenever it was a proper season, the communion was added to these also; that is, when the funeral or commendation of any person deceased was in the morning, which was the only proper time for the communion, because it was to be received by all fasting. This distinction is made

^f Hieron. Epitaph. Fabiol. c. iv. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 466, C. 5.)

^g Ibid. Epitaph. Paulæ, ep. xxvii. (Venet. 1769, vol. ii. p. 722.) Alii choros psallentium ducerent, in media ecclesia, &c.

^h Conc. Milevit. c. xii. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1540.) Placuit, ut preces, vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.

in the third Council of Carthage, which orders, first,¹ “That all men shall receive the communion fasting:” and then adds, “That if any commendation, or funeral of a bishop, or any other, be to be celebrated in the afternoon, it should be done with prayers only, and not with the celebration of the eucharist, if they that assisted at the funeral office had dined before.” This is a manifest evidence, that the communion was generally celebrated at funerals in this age, at least in the African Church, unless some intervening circumstance of time made it otherwise. Accordingly Possidius tells us,² St. Austin was buried with the oblation of the sacrifice to God for the commendation of his body to the ground. And so St. Austin himself tells us,³ his mother Monnica was buried with the offering of the sacrifice of our redemption, according to custom, before her body was laid in the ground. This made Victor Uticensis bring in the people of Afric thus complaining, when all their clergy were driven away in the barbarous desolation of the Vandals:^m “Who shall now bury us, when we are dead, with the solemn prayers?” And that we may not think this was a custom peculiar to Afric, Paulinus tells us,ⁿ St. Ambrose was so buried on Easter-day in the morning, after the Divine sacrament had been administered. In like manner, Eusebius describes the funeral of Constantine. He says,^o “The clergy

¹ Conc. Carth. III. c. xxix. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1171.) *Sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis celebrentur. Et deinde addit: Si aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, sive episcoporum, . . . sive ceterorum commendatio facienda est, solis orationibus fiat, si illi qui faciunt, jam pransi inveniantur.*

² Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xiii. (Bened. 1700, vol. x. App. p. 188, C. 5.) *Pro ejus commendanda corporis depositione sacrificium Deo oblatum est, et sepultus est.*

³ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. xii. (ibid. vol. i. p. 123, B. 8.) *Quum offerretur pro ea sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulcrum posito cadavere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet, &c.*

^m Victor. Utic. de Persec. Vandal. lib. ii. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 600, (tom. viii. p. 682, b. edit. Lugd. 1677.) *Qui nos solennibus orationibus sepulturni sunt morientes?*

ⁿ Paulin. Vit. Ambros. *Lucescente die Dominico, quum corpus ipsius, peractis sacramentis divinis, de ecclesia levaretur, portandum ad basilicam Ambrosianam, &c.* (Paris. 1836, vol. i. p. 17.)

^o Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxxi. (Vales. Amstelod. 1699, p. 464.) *Τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς λατρείας δι' ἰσχυρῶν ἀνεπλήρου (C. 11), μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἀξιούμενον καὶ κοινωνίας ὁρίων ἀπολαῦον ἰσχυρῶν.*

performed the Divine service with prayers:" and lest we should take this for prayers only, he adds, "They honoured him with the mystical liturgy [or service of the eucharist], and the communion of the holy prayers." So St. Ambrose gives us to understand it was in the funeral of Valentinian, by those words in his oration upon his death:^p "Bring me the holy mysteries: let us pray for his rest with a pious affection." And so, Euodius says,^q he buried his pious notary, singing hymns to God at his grave "three days together, and on the third day offered the sacraments of redemption."

SECT. XIII.—*With particular Prayers for the Dead.*

Now this was the rather done, because in the communion-service, according to the custom of those times, a solemn commemoration was made of the dead in general, and prayers offered to God for them; some eucharistical, by way of thanksgiving for their deliverance out of this world's afflictions; and others, by way of intercession, that God would receive their souls to the place of rest and happiness; that he would pardon their human failures, and not impute to them the sins of daily incursion, which in the best men are remainders of natural frailty and corruption; that he would increase their happiness; and, finally, bring them to a perfect consummation with all his saints by a glorious resurrection. All which prayers, as I have fully demonstrated in another place,^r could have no relation to the modern groundless fancy of purgatory, but went upon other principles that perfectly overthrow it; but, being agreeable to the sense and opinions of those times, they chose the rather to use the communion-service at burials, because of these prayers that were constantly made therein to God for all holy men and women departed, among whom they

^p Ambros. de Obitu Valent. p. 12, (Paris. 1836, vol. iv. p. 186.) *Date manibus sancta mysteria: pio requiem ejus poscimus affectu.*

^q Apud Aug. ep. cclviii. *Exsequias, præbuimus satis honorabiles et dignas tantæ animæ: nam per triduum hymnis Dominum collaudavimus super sepulcrum ipsius et redemptionis sacramenta tertio die obtulimus.*

^r Book xv. chap. iii. sect. xvii. See vol. v. p. 114.

reckoned the soul of him in particular whom they were then about to commit to his grave. But whether they had a communion or not at the funeral, they had always prayers : as is evident from the last-mentioned canons of the Councils of Carthage and Milevis, which gave directions about the use of them. And in these prayers, when there was no communion, they particularly commended the soul of the deceased to God ; whence probably these prayers more especially had the distinguishing name of Commendations. Besides these, it was usual to pray for them by private or sudden ejaculations, as we find examples in St. Ambrose's several orations upon the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian, and his own brother Satyrus ; and Gregory Nazianzen's funeral speech upon his brother Cæsarius ; and St. Austin's private prayers for his mother Monnica ; not to mention the prayers made for them annually upon their anniversary days of commemoration. One of these forms of prayer, used at funerals, is still remaining in the Constitutions, which I the rather choose to repeat here, because it fully shews there was no relation to purgatory in those prayers, but quite the contrary, viz. a supposition that the soul of the deceased was going to a place of rest and happiness in Abraham's bosom. The form runs after this manner. First, the deacon says,* " Let us pray for our brethren, who are at rest in Christ, that the merciful God, who hath taken the soul of this our brother, would forgive him all his sin, voluntary and involuntary ; and of his great mercy and good-will place him in the region of the just, that are at rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with all those who have pleased God, and done his will from

* Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xli. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 503.) 'Τὴν ἀναψυχαμίαν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν διηθῶμεν ὅπως ὁ φιλόστοργος Θεὸς, ὁ προσδιδάσκων αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, παρὶθ' αὐτῷ πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ἰκεύσῃ καὶ ἐκπύσῃ καὶ ἴλιως καὶ ὑμνῆς γινόμενος, κατατάξῃ εἰς χώραν εὐσιβῶν, ἀνιμῶν εἰς κόλπον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐναρτισθέντων, καὶ ποιησάντων τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἴθα ἀπὸδεξι ἰδύη, καὶ λύση, καὶ σπινναγμός' (p. 506) καὶ ὁ πιστεύων λιγίστω, Ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀτιμιύστης, παρ' οὗ πᾶν ἀθάνατον καὶ διητὸν γίγνεται ὁ τὸ λογικὸν ζῶν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κοσμοπολίτην, διητὸν ἐν κατασκευῇ ποιήσας, καὶ ἀναστασίαν ἱκεγγυλάμενος ὁ τὸν Ἐνὸχ καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον θανάτου πύραν μὴ ἰάσας λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ, οὐχ ὡς νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ζώντων Θεὸς εἶ' ὅτι πάντων αἱ ψυχὰι παρὰ σοὶ ζῶσι, καὶ τῶν

the beginning of the world, in the place whence sorrow, and grief, and mourning, are fled away." After this the bishop makes another prayer, in these words: "O thou immortal and everlasting God, from whom every thing, whether mortal or immortal, has its being; who hast made man a rational creature, and inhabitant of the world, mortal in his constitution, but promised him a resurrection from the dead; who didst preserve Enoch and Elias from tasting death; O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, who art not the God of the dead, but of the living: because the souls of all live to thee, and the spirits of just men are in thy hand, whom torment cannot touch: look down now upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen, and received to another state; pardon him whatsoever he has willingly or unwillingly sinned against thee; grant him favourable angels, and place him in the bosom of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and all those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world; where there is no sorrow, grief, or trouble, but a place of rest for the godly, a land of quietness for the upright, and all those who therein see the glory of thy Christ: by whom all glory, honour, adoration, thanksgiving, and worship, be to thee, through the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen."

Then the bishop prays again for the people there present: "Lord, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance, whom

δικαίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου εἰσιν, ὧν οὐ μὴ ἀψῆται βάσανος· πάντες γὰρ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς σου εἰσιν· αὐτοὶ καὶ νῦν ἔσονται ἐπὶ τὸν δούλόν σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελεῖς, καὶ προσελάβεο εἰς ἱτίαν λῆξιν, καὶ συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἐκὼν ἢ ἄκων ἐξήμαρτε, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὑμῖν εἰς παράστησιν αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πόλῳ τῶν πατριαρχῶν, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι ὑπερασπιστῶν ὅπου οὐκ ἔστι λύπη, ὄδυς, καὶ στεναγμοί· ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑπερῶν ἀναιρέσις, καὶ γῆ ἐνδοξίας συναντημῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἱερῶν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα, ὑπερυψία, προσκύνησις ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν . . . καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑπερυψίωσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγων τοιαύτην Σάβω, Κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ ἐλόγησεν τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἣν περιποιήσῃ τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ποιῶντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν διεξίαν σου· καὶ σκέπασον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς πτέρυγας σου· καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίσασθαι καλόν· τὸν δρόμον τιλίσαι· τὴν πίστιν τηρῆσαι ἀτρέπτως, ἀμύμπτως, ἀνιγκλήτως, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός· μὴ οὐ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα, καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν.

thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ ; feed them under thy right hand, protect them under thy wings, grant that they may fight the good fight, and may finish their course, and keep the faith immutable, unblamable, unreprouvable, through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son : to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all glory, honour, and adoration, world without end. Amen."

These prayers for the dead are not made upon the Romish supposition of the soul's being in purgatory, or any place of torment, but plainly upon a quite contrary supposition, of their being conducted by the holy angels to a place of rest, to the bosom of patriarchs, apostles, and prophets : which is an infallible demonstration, that the Church then knew nothing of a purgatory fire to torment the dead, for many ages after death ; but all her prayers went upon another supposition, which overthrows the belief of a purgatory fire, by placing the souls of the dead in a state of immediate rest and happiness.

SECT. XIV.—*A corrupt Custom of giving the Kiss of Peace and the Eucharist to the Dead, corrected by the ancient Canons.*

Whilst we are speaking of prayers for the dead, and the administration of the eucharist at funerals, we must not forget to mention a corrupt custom which, through ignorance or superstition, crept into some places, but was strictly forbidden by the canons : that was, the custom of giving the kiss of peace and the communion to the dead. This had a semblance of piety in it, and doubtless arose from the laudable custom of celebrating the communion at funerals, of which it serves for a further testimony : but it was the effect of a blind superstition only ; and, therefore, though the feigned author, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite,^t speaks with approbation of the ceremony of giving the kiss

^t Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii. p. 408. Εἶτα προσελθὼν ὁ θεῖος ἱεράρχης, εὐχὴν ἱερωτάτην ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιῶνται, καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, αὐτὸς τε ὁ ἱεράρχης ἀσπάζεται τὸν κοιμωμένον, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες ἅπαντες.

of peace to the dead : yet when this custom, together with that of giving the eucharist to the dead, began to creep into France about the year 578, the Council of Auxerre made a peremptory canon against them both : " It is not lawful to give either the eucharist or the kiss of peace to the dead." The corruption of giving the eucharist to the dead had been moving in Afric some ages before, in the time of St. Austin ; but he and the rest of the fathers, who met in the third Council of Carthage, gave check to it,^v forbidding such ignorant and weak presbyters, by whose folly the practice had been encouraged, to give way any longer to it, or misguide the people in such an erroneous opinion, as to make them think the eucharist was to be given to the dead : whereas our Lord said, " Take, and eat : " but dead bodies can neither take nor eat it. The same persons thought, that dead bodies might also receive the other sacrament of baptism : as if there had been some peculiar virtue and efficacy in the outward elements of the sacraments themselves, without any sense or concurrence of faith in the receiver. Both which errors are censured also by St. Chrysostom ;^w and that of giving the eucharist to the dead, more particularly by the Council of Trullo.^x All which shews, that this was an error which many superstitious people were very fond of ; but it was never allowed, or encouraged publicly, by any authority in the Church. The custom of burying the eucharist in the coffin with the dead (which has so much prevailed in the Romish Church), is a novelty of later ages only, begun by Benedict the monk, but without any precedent or example in any of the ancient monuments of the Church ; as I have had occasion to shew more fully

^u Conc. Antis. c. xii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 958.) Non licet mortuis nec eucharistiam nec osculum tradi.

^v Conc. Carth. III. c. vi. (ibid. vol. ii. p. 1168.) Placuit, ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino, 'Accipite et edite : ' cadavera autem nec accipere possunt, nec edere. Cavendum est etiam, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat, quum eucharistiam mortuis non dari animadverterit.

^w Chrysostom. Homil. xl. in 1 Cor. p. 668, (p. 449, edit. Francof.) See book xv. chap. iv. sect. xix. vol. v. p. 202.

^x Conc. Trull. c. lxxxiii. ibid.

in a former Book.^y Let us, therefore, now pass on from these corruptions to the more approved practices of the Church.

SECT. XV.—*Almsdeeds commonly added to Prayers for the Dead.*

Almsdeeds, as a proper concomitant of prayers at all times, was now thought as seasonable as ever, to be given by the living for the dead. “Would you honour the dead? Give alms,” says St. Chrysostom,^z in one of his homilies. And in another,^a “Why do you call the poor after the death of any relation? Why do you desire the presbyters to pray for him? I know you will answer, ‘That he may go into rest, that he may find a merciful Judge.’” He commends this practice a little after, and thus presses rich men to it, that bury their heirs: “If many barbarous nations burn their goods together with their dead, how much more reasonable is it for you to give your child his goods when he is dead? Not to reduce them to ashes, but to make him the more glorious: if he be a sinner, to procure him pardon; if righteous, to add to his reward and retribution.” St. Jerome commends Pammachius upon this account:^b “Whilst other husbands throw violets, and roses, and lilies, and purple flowers, upon the graves of their wives, our Pammachius waters the holy ashes and bones of his wife with the balsam of alms.”

^y Book xv. chap. iv. sect. xx.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. lxi. in Joan. (p. 401, edit. Francof.) Βούλι τιμῆσαι τὸν ἀπὸλόντα; ἰτίως τίμησον, ἐλεημοσύνας ποίω.

^a Ibid. Hom. xxxii. in Matth. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636, vol. vi. p. 307, A. 4.) (p. 371, edit. cit.) Τί μιστὰ ταῦτα πίνητας καλιῖς; καὶ παρακαλιῖς ἱερίας ὑψασαι; ἵνα εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀπὸλθῃ, φησὶν, ὁ τιτιλιυτηκὼς, ἵνα ἴλιω σχῇ τὸν δικαστήν. (307, D. 5.) (P. 374, d.) Εἰ γὰρ [καὶ] βάρβαροι συγκατακαίουσι τοὺς ἀπὸλτοῦσι τὰ ὄντα, πολλῶ μᾶλλον σὺ συναποσσεῖλαι τῷ τιτιλιυτηκόντι δίκαιον τὰ αὐτοῦ εὐχ' ἵνα [τίφρα] γίνηται καθάπερ ἐκείνα, ἀλλ' ἵνα πλείονα τούτῃ περιβάλλῃ δόξαν καὶ εἰ μὴν ἀμαρτωλὸς ἀπὸλθῃ, ἵνα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα λύσῃ· εἰ δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα προσθήκῃ γίνηται τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως.

^b Hieron. Epist. xxvi. ad Pammach. de Obitu Uxoris, c. ii. (Venet. 1766, vol. i. p. 396, E.) Ceteri mariti super tumulos conjugum spargunt violas, rosas, lilia, floresque purpureos; et dolorem pectoris his officiis consolantur. Pammachius noster sanctam favillam ossaque veneranda eleemosynæ balsamis rigat.

SECT. XVI.—*And repeated yearly upon the Anniversary Days of Commemoration of the Dead.*

Some repeated these alms yearly, upon the anniversary day of commemorating the dead. At these times they were used to make a common feast, or entertainment, inviting both the clergy and the people,^c but especially the poor and needy, the widows and orphans, that it might not only be a memorial of rest to the dead, but an odour of sweet smell to themselves in the sight of God, as the author, under the name of Origen, words it. St. Chrysostom says,^d they were more tenacious of this custom, than they were of some others of greater importance. If they were to commemorate a child or a brother that was dead, they were pricked in conscience, if they did not fulfil the custom and call the poor: but at other times, even when they were to commemorate the death of Christ, they could overlook them.

SECT. XVII.—*But this often degenerated into great Excesses and Abuses, which are complained of as no better than the Parentalia of the Gentiles.*

But this often degenerated into great abuses. For some, instead of feeding the poor, only made this an occasion of indulging themselves in great excesses; which was the fault that Tertullian so smartly reproves in the parentations of the Gentiles, when he objects to them their holding feasts at the graves of their parents, and junketing to excess,^e so as to return drunk from thence, and beside their senses; feeding voraciously at the graves of those whom, in a mock piety, but real cruelty, they had burnt before. In the three first ages, no heathen could retort this back again upon the

^c Origen, in Job. lib. iii. p. 437, (p. 274, h. edit. Paris. 1603.)

^d Chrysostom. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. (p. 296, edit. Francof.) 'Ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιεῖς, καὶ πάντας παροῦσας; καὶ οὐ φρένους; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν υἱοῦ ἢ ἀδελφοῦ τιτιλιωτηκότος ἀνάμνησιν ἐποιεῖς, ἐκλήγης ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνιδότος, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἔθος ἐκλήγῃς, καὶ πάντας ἐκάλεις. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636, vol. iv. p. 565.)

^e Tertul. de Testimon. Animæ, c. iv. (Paris. 1664, p. 66, C. 8.) Quando extra portam cum obsoniis et matteis tibi potius parentans ad busta recedis, aut a bustis dilutior redis.—Ibid. de Resurrect. Carn. c. i. (p. 325, A. 6.) Ipsos defunctos atrocissime exurit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit.

Christians: but in the fourth age such excesses were committed by some, that the Manichees, in St. Austin's time, objected it to the Catholics, and the matter was so flagrant, that St. Austin was forced to own it: ^f confessing that he knew many who drank luxuriously over the dead; and, when they made a feast for the deceased, buried themselves over the dead, and placed their gluttony and drunkenness to the account of religion. But he says the Church condemned them, and daily laboured to correct them as wicked children. He complains of the same matter again, in one of his epistles to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, ^g where he desires that these oblations for the dead might be so regulated, that they might not run into any sumptuousness or shameful excess: and if any thing was given in money upon that account, it should be distributed immediately among the poor, according to the primitive design and intent of such oblations. For such oblations the Church always willingly received, but never encouraged any other. ^h The author of the book *de Duplici Martyrio*, under the name of Cyprian, ⁱ

^f Aug. de Morib. Eccles. c. xxxiv. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 531, B. 12.) Novi multos esse, qui luxoriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.

^g Ibid. Epist. lxiv. ad Aurelium, (Bened. 1700, vol. ii. p. 22, A. 9.) Quoniam istæ in cæmeteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia, non solum honores Martyrum a carnali et imperita plebe credi solent, sed etiam solatia mortuorum; mihi videtur facilius illic dissuaderi posse istam fœditatem ac turpitudinem, si et de Scripturis prohibeatur, et oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium, quas vere aliquid adjuvare credendum est, super ipsas memorias non sint sumtuosæ, atque omnibus petentibus sine typo, et cum alacritate præbeantur: neque vendantur, sed si quis aliquid pecuniæ offerre voluerit, in præsentî pauperibus eroget. Ita nec deserere videbuntur memorias suorum (quod potest gignere non levem cordis dolorem), et id celebrabitur in ecclesia, quod pie et honeste celebratur. — Conf. Hom. ci. de Diversis.

^h Conc. Carth. IV. c. xcv. (Labbé, vol. ii. p. 1207.) Qui oblationes defunctorum aut negant ecclesiis, aut cum difficultate reddunt, tamquam egentium necatores excommunicentur. — Conc. Vasens. II. c. iv. (ibid. vol. iii. p. 1457.) Qui oblationes defunctorum fidelium detinent, et ecclesiis tradere demorantur, ut infideles sunt ab ecclesia abjiciendi: quia usque ad exinanitionem fidei pervenire certum est hanc Divinæ pietatis exacerbationem: qua et fideles de corpore recedentes votorum suorum plenitudine, et pauperes collatu alimonix et necessaria sustentatione fraudantur. Hi enim tales, quasi egentium necatores, nec credentes judicium Dei habendi sunt. &c.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Duplici Martyrio, p. 42, (p. 560, lin. 1, seq. edit. Paris. 1648.)

who wrote long after the time of St. Austin, has a like severe reflection upon the intemperance of the African people. "Drunkenness," says he, "is so common in our Africa, that it is scarce reckoned any crime. Christians are compelled by Christians to be drunk even at the memorials of the martyrs. Which is no less a crime than offering a goat to Bacchus." But of this I have spoken largely in a former Book,^k where I had occasion to reflect on the same excesses committed by some at the monuments of the martyrs, on their anniversary festivals, or commemorations. I now return to the funerals of the ancient Church.

SECT. XVIII.—*Decent Expressions of moderate Sorrow at Funerals not disallowed; but the Heathenish Custom of hiring Præficæ, or Mourning Women, sharply reprov'd by the Ancients.*

Moderate sorrow, when expressed in a decent manner for the loss of friends, is a thing so natural in itself, and so consistent even with the joy and faith of a Christian, that the ancients never said any thing against any one expressing such sorrow at a funeral. But two things they extremely disliked, and sharply reprov'd; first, immoderate grief, as unbecoming the character and profession of a Christian, whose conversation is in heaven already, and his hope and expectation no less than a crown and kingdom after death; who, therefore, ought not to grieve or sorrow above measure, but with a mixture of joy, that any friend is gone to heaven before him, to take an earlier possession of it. The other thing they disliked, was the heathenish custom of having women hired on purpose to lament and make a hideous crying and howling before the dead, with tearing their hair also, and many other ridiculous signs of mourning. The chief of these the Romans called *præficæ*, from being set over the rest to guide and direct them in their funeral songs

Temulentia adeo communis est Africæ nostræ, ut propemodum non habeant pro crimine. Annon videmus ad martyrum memorias Christianum a Christiano cogi ad ebrietatem? An hoc levius crimen ducimus, quam hircum immolare Baccho?

^k Book xx. chap. vii. sect. x. See page 144 of this volume.

and lamentations, as Rosinus¹ describes them out of Varro, and Lucilius, and Sextus Pompeius, and Nonius Marcellus, and other Roman authors. Now this the ancients extremely disliked, and severely inveighed against as a mere heathenish custom. "Why do you beat yourself and lament," says Chrysostom,^m "and accuse the institution of Christ, who has overcome death, and made it only a sleep? If a heathen does this, he is worthy to be laughed to scorn; but if a Christian does it still, after he is assured of a resurrection, what apology or excuse can be made for him? And yet you aggravate your crime, by calling in heathen women to be your mourners, and to inflame your sorrow; not regarding what St. Paul says, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? and what part hath he that believeth with an

¹ Rosin. lib. iii. c. xxxi. p. 506, Præfica.] Terentius Varro, lib. vi. de Lingua Latina: Præfica, ut Aurelius scribit, mulier ab luctu, quæ conduceretur, quæ ante domum mortui laudes ejus caneret. Hoc factitatum Aristoteles scribit, in libro, qui inscribitur Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά, quibus testimonium est, quod Fretum est Nævii.

Hæc quidem hercle, opinor, præfica est :

Nam mortuos collaudat. —

Claudius scribit, ea quæ præficeretur ancillis, quemadmodum lamentarentur, præfica est dicta: utrumque ostendit, a præfectione præficam dictam. Plautus in Truculento :

Sine virtute argutum civem mihi habeam pro præfica.—

Sext. Pompeius: Præficæ dicuntur mulieres ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, quæ dant ceteris modum plangendi, quasi in hoc ipsum præfectæ.—Nonius Marcellus: 'Præficæ,' inquit, 'dicebantur apud veteres, quæ adhiberi solent funeri mercede conductæ, ut et flerent et fortia facta laudarent.'—Lucilius, xxii. Mercede quæ Conductæ flent alieno in funere præficæ, Multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.—Id. lib. v. c. xxxix. p. 992. Adhibebantur etiam præficæ, quas Sext. Pompeius ait mulieres fuisse, ad lamentandum mortuum conductas, quæ darent ceteris modum plangendi; unde etiam nomen habeant, quasi quæ huic rei sint præfectæ, &c.

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxxii. in Matth. (p. 371, edit. Francof.) Μηδὲς κοπτεῖσθαι λυγρὸν, μηδὲ θρηνεῖσθαι, μηδὲ τὸ κατεῖναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ διακαλλίστω καὶ γὰρ ἰνίκης [τὸν] θάνατον. τί τοῖνυν περιττὰ θρηνεῖς; ὕστερ τὸ πρῶγμα γίγνῃς τί ὀδυρὲς καὶ κλαίεις; τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ Ἕλλησις ἰστέον, καταγιγῶν δι' ἑταρὶ δὲ ὁ πιστὸς ἐν τοῦτοις ἀσχημονή, ποία ἀπελογία; τίς ἴσται συγγνώμη τοιαῦτα ἀνιστάμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ χρέονι τοσούτοις καὶ σαφῇ τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀποδιδῶν; εὐ δὲ ὥσπερ αὐξῆσαι τὸ ἔγκλημα σπειδων, καὶ θρηνῶντος ἡμῖν ἄγχι Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας, ἱξάστων τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν κάμνον διηγείρων, καὶ οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Παύλου λίγοντος; Τίς συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαν; ἢ τις μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636, vol. i. p. 306, B.) (Field, Chrysost. Hom. Matth. Cantab. 1839, vol. i. p. 435.)

infidel?" He then goes on to shew the monstrous folly and vanity of this practice, by great variety of arguments; and curiously answers all the little pleas, which such Christians made in behalf of themselves, to excuse this unchristian deportment. In another place,ⁿ he treats them more sharply, telling them, "He was not only grieved, but utterly ashamed, to think how Christians debased and disgraced themselves in the eyes of the heathen, and Jews, and heretics, by their weeping, and wailing, and howlings, and lamentations, and other indecent practices in the open streets, for which the Gentiles derided them. For they were ready to say, 'How can any of these men despise death themselves, who cannot so much as bear the death of another? They are fine things indeed that are spoken by St. Paul, when he says, 'God delivered them, who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime held in bondage.' These are heavenly words truly, and very worthy and becoming the great kindness and love of God to men. But ye will not suffer us to believe these things; for ye contradict them by your own actions. Shew me your philosophy by your patience in bearing cheerfully the death of others, and then I will believe the resurrection.'" Thus he makes the heathen speak by a neat *prosopopœia*, to shame such Christians, if it might be, into a more manly deportment. He adds withal, "That such indecent behaviour of men and women, tearing their hair, and making such hideous lamentation, was a crime for which, if they had their desert, they ought to be cast out of the Church, as in effect denying the resurrection." In short, he tells them, with the authority of a bishop, that "if they persisted in that vile abuse of hiring heathen women to be their mourners, he would excommunicate them as idolaters. For if St. Paul calls the covetous man an idolater, much more may he be called so, who brings the practices of idolaters among Christians." From thenceforth he peremptorily forbids them to make use of any such heathen mourners, under the penalty of the highest ecclesiastical censure. By which (not to insist upon what he

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Hebr. p. 1784.

urges in other places,^o nor what is said by other writers) we may easily judge, how great an abuse this way of indecent mourning was reckoned in the Church.

SECT. XIX. — *The Novendial of the Heathen rejected as a superstitious Practice.*

The heathens had another custom of repeating their mourning on the third, and seventh, and ninth day, which was particularly called the *Novendiale*: and some added the twentieth, and thirtieth, and fortieth, not without a superstitious opinion of those particular days wherein they used to sacrifice to their *manes*, with milk and wine, and garlands and flowers, as the Roman antiquaries^p inform us. Something of this superstition, abating the sacrifice, was still remaining among some ignorant Christians in St. Austin's time; for he speaks^q of some who observed a novendial in relation to their dead, which he thinks they ought to be forbidden, because it was only a heathen custom. He does not seem to intimate, that they kept it exactly as the heathen did; but rather that they were superstitious in their observation of nine days of mourning, which was without example in Scripture. There was another way of continuing the funeral

^o Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in 1 Thess. (pp. 312, 313, edit. Francof.) — Id. Hom. xxix. de Dormientibus, (Homil. lxxi. Paris. 1616, p. 422, C. 9.) (p. 377, Francof.) Οὐδὲ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰστίαν τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀναιρῶν τὸ μὴ γὰρ ἀθυμῶν, τῆς φύσεως τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου τοῦτο ποιῶν, μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης καὶ γυναικαδουῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐλγυσον, δάκρυσον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδυσπαιτήσης, μὴ δυσχεράνης, μὴ ἀγανακτήσης. . . . Δάκρυσον, ὡς ὁ Δισπότης σου ἰδάκρυσι τὸν Λάζαρον, μέτρα τιθεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ κανόνας καὶ ὅρους ἀθυμίας, οὗς ὑπερβαίνειν οὐ δεῖ.

^p Rosin. Antiquit. lib. v. c. xxxix. p. 997. Ceterum quum nonnulli essent, qui suorum vel propinquorum vel amicorum minus desiderium ferre possent, tertium, septimum, nonum, et quidam vicesimum, tricesimum, et quadragesimum, non sine quadam numerorum religione dies defunctorum manibus et memoriæ statuebant: unde parentationes, feralia, novemdialia, decennialia, vicennialia, tricennialia, &c. originem traxerunt; quæ omnia tum lacte et vino, tum sertis et floribus, tum aliis rebus ab antiquis celebrabantur.

^q Aug. Quæst. clxxii. in Genes. (tom. iv. p. 125, edit. Basil. 1569.) (Bened. 1700, vol. iii. p. 315, C.) Nescio utrum inveniatur alicui sanctorum in Scripturis celebratum esse luctum novem dies, quod apud Latinos Novemdiale appellat. Unde mihi videntur ab hac consuetudine prohibendi, si qui Christianorum istum in mortuis suis numerum servant, qui magis est in gentilium consuetudine.

offices for three days together, which was allowed among Christians, because it had nothing in it but the same worship of God repeated. Thus Euodius, writing to St. Austin, and giving him an account of the funeral of a very pious young man, who had been his notary, says,^r “He had given him honourable obsequies, worthy so great a soul: for he continued to sing hymns to God for three days together at his grave, and on the third day offered the sacraments of redemption.” The author of the Constitutions takes notice of this repetition of the funeral office on the third day, and the ninth day, and the fortieth day; giving peculiar reasons for each of them: “Let the third day be observed for the dead with psalms, and lessons, and prayers; because Christ, on the third day, rose again from the dead; and let the ninth day be observed in remembrance of the living and the dead; and also the fortieth day, according to the ancient manner of the Israelites mourning for Moses forty days; and finally, let the anniversary day be observed in commemoration of the deceased.” Cotelierius, in his notes upon this place, has observed several other ancient writers, who take notice of some of these days. Palladius, in his *Historia Lausiaca*, c. xxvii. mentions the third and the fortieth. Justinian, in one of his Novels,^t speaks of the third, the ninth, the fortieth, and the anniversary day of commemoration; forbidding women, who professed the monastic life, to go into the monasteries of the men, under pretence of any of these solemn commemorations of the dead. To these he adds St. Ambrose, in his funeral oration upon Theodosius; and Isidore of Pelusium (lib. i. ep. cxiv.); and Eustratius

^r Ep. cclviii. Exsequias præbuimus satis honorabiles et dignas tantæ animæ: nam per triduum hymnis Dominum collaudavimus super sepulcrum ipsius, et redemptionis sacramenta tertio die obtulimus.

^s Constitut. lib. viii. c. xlii. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 506.) Ἐπιτελείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν κοιμημάτων, ἐν ψαλμοῖς, καὶ ἀναγνώσει, καὶ προσευχαῖς, διὰ τὸν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἰγχεθῆντα καὶ ἱνατα, εἰς ἀπόμνησιν τῶν περιόντων καὶ τῶν κοιμημένων καὶ τισσαράκοντα, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον· Μωσῆν γὰρ οὕτως ὁ λαὸς ἐτίθησεν καὶ ἱναύσια, ὑπὲρ μνήας αὐτοῦ.

^t Justin. Novel. cxxxiii. c. iii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 188.) Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ, ἄλλην ἱπποσύνην πρόφασιν τῶν . . . παρῶν . . . εἰς τρίτην καὶ ἱνάτην συνίστην ἡμέραν, καὶ ἥνικα τισσαράκοντα ἐξήκοιεν, ἥ καὶ ἱναυτός.

Constantinopolitanus, mentioned by Photius (Cod. 171). To omit Damascen, Nicon, Philippus Solitarius, Hincmarus, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, or any later writers. Suicerus and Meursius take notice of the same custom in the word *τριεννάραι*, which signifies 'the third and ninth day of commemorating the dead;' which, they say, was the custom of the ancients. So that when St. Austin speaks against observing the ninth day, it was not what Cotelierius supposes, because he was ignorant of this practice, with St. Ambrose and many other of the Latins (wherein Cotelierius contradicts himself, having alleged St. Ambrose before as one that approved the practice); but it was because St. Austin had observed something amiss in the practice of some superstitious Christians, who kept the ninth day with some abuse, most probably rioting and excess, resembling the novendial of the heathens; as we have heard him complain before of the feasts, which such Christians made at the graves of the dead, too much resembling the *Parentalia* of the Gentiles.

SECT. XX.—*The Custom of Strewing Flowers upon the Graves of the Dead, retained without Offence.*

The custom of strewing flowers upon the graves of the dead was reckoned innocent; and, therefore, was retained by some Christians without any rebuke. St. Ambrose and St. Jerome both mention it without any censure: only they seem to speak of it as chiefly the practice of the vulgar; for the more intelligent sort of Christians despised it as a trifle, and shewed their respect to the dead in acts that were more substantial. Thus, St. Ambrose, in praise of Valentinian, says, "I will not scatter flowers upon his grave, but perfume his spirit with the odour of Christ. Let others strew their baskets of flowers upon him; my lily is Christ; and with this flower only will I consecrate his remains." In like manner St. Jerome commends his friend Pammachius,

▪ Ambros. de Obitu Valent. p. 12, (Paris, 1836, vol. iv. p. 186.) Non ego floribus tumulum ejus adspergam, sed spiritum ejus Christi odore perfundam. Spargant alii plenis lilia calathis: nobis lilium est Christus. Hoc reliquias ejus sacro.

for this,* that “whilst other husbands scattered violets, and roses, and lilies, and purple flowers, upon the graves of their deceased wives, and with such little offices assuaged the grief of their breasts; Pammachius watered the holy ashes and bones of his wife with the balsam of almsdeeds and charity to the poor. With these perfumes and odours he solaced the ashes of the dead that lay at rest, knowing that it was written, ‘As water will quench a flaming fire, so alms makes an atonement for sins.’”

SECT. XXI.—*As also Wearing a Mourning Habit for some Time.*

They had the same notion of going into a mourning habit for the dead: they did not condemn it, nor yet much approve of it, but left it to all men’s liberty as an indifferent thing; rather commending those that either omitted it wholly, or in a short time laid it aside again, as acting more according to the bravery and philosophy of a Christian. Thus St. Jerome commends one Julian,[†] a rich man in his time, because, having lost his wife and two daughters, that is, his whole family, in a very few days, one after another, he wore the mourning habit but forty days after their death, and then resumed his usual habit again; and because he accompanied his wife to the grave, not as one that was dead, but as going to her rest. Cyprian, indeed, seems to carry the matter a little further: he says,[‡] “He was ordered by Divine revela-

* Hieron. Epist. xxvi. ad Pammach. de Obitu Uxor. c. ii. (Venet. 1769, vol. i. p. 396, D. 9.) Cæteri mariti super tumulos conjugum spargunt violas, rosas, lilia, floresque purpureos: et dolorem pectoris his officiis consolantur. Pammachius noster sanctam favillam ossaque veneranda eleemosynæ balsamis rigat. His pigmentis atque odoribus fovet cineres quiescentes, sicut scriptum: ‘Sicut aqua exstinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna peccatum.’

† Ibid. Epist. xxxiv. ad Julian. (ibid. vol. i. p. 794, C.) Laudent te alii, et tuas contra diabolum victorias panegyricis prosequantur: quod læto vultu mortes tuleris filiarum, quod in quadragesimo die dormitionis earum lugubrem vestem mutaveris, et dedicatio ossium martyris candida tibi vestimenta reddiderit: ut non sentires dolorem orbitatis tuæ, quem civitas universa sentiret, sed ad triumphum martyris exsultares: quod sanctissimam conjugem tuam non quasi mortuam, sed quasi proficiscentem deduxeris.

‡ Cyprian. de Mortal. (Oxon. 1682, p. 163,) (p. 115, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Fratres non esse lugendos, accersitione Dominica de sæculo liberatos; quum sciamus non eos amitti, sed præmitti, recedentes præcedere, ut proficis-

tion to preach to the people publicly and constantly, that they should not lament their brethren that were delivered from the world by the Divine vocation; as being assured that they were not lost, but only sent before them; that their death was only a receding from the world, and a speedier call to heaven; that we ought to long after them, and not lament them; nor wear any mourning habit, seeing they were gone to put on their white garments in heaven. No occasion should be given to the Gentiles justly to accuse and reprehend us, for lamenting those as lost and extinct, whom we affirm still to live with God; and that we do not prove that faith which we profess in words, by the inward testimony of our hearts and souls." Cyprian thought no sorrow at all was to be expressed for the death of a Christian; nor consequently any signs of sorrow, such as the mourning habit; because the death of a Christian was only a translation of him to heaven. But others did not carry the thing so high, but thought a moderate sorrow might be allowed to nature; and therefore did not so peremptorily condemn the mourning habit, as being only a decent expression of such a moderate sorrow; though they liked it better, if men could have the bravery to refuse it.

SECT. XXII. — *Some other Rites not allowed by the Ancients.*

We find some other funeral rites mentioned by the spurious writers under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite and Athanasius. As the priests anointing the body with oil before it was put into the grave, for which the pretended Dionysius^a gives this reason, that "as in the ministration of

centes, ut navigantes solent; desiderari eos debere, non plangi: nec accipiendas esse heic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumserint: occasionem dandam non esse gentilibus, ut nos merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus, ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus; et fidem quam sermone et voce depromimus, cordis et pectoris testimonio non probemus?

^a Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii. p. 416. Μίμνησο δι, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν Διογινισίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιωτάτου βαπτίσματος, πρώτη μίθξις ἱεροῦ συμβόλου δωρεῖται τῇ τιλουμένη, μετὰ τὴν ὀλικὴν τῆς προσέρας ἰσθῆτος ἀπαμφίαισιν, τὸ τῆς χρίσεως ἔλαιον· ἐν τίλει δὲ νῦν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῷ κοιμημένῳ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπιχρίεται· καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἔλαιου χρίσις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐκάλει τὸν τιλούμενον· νῦν δὲ τὸ ἐπιχρίμενον ἔλαιον ἱμφαίνει, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἀλλήσαντα καὶ τιλωθέντα τὸν κοιμημένον.

baptism, after the person had put off his old garments, he was anointed with oil; so in the end of all things, oil was poured upon the dead. The first unction called the baptized person to his holy fight and combat; the second unction declared that he had fought his fight and finished all his labour, and was now consummated and made perfect." This was quite different unction from the anointing or embalming of the body to its burial, of which we have spoken before: and, as other writers say nothing of it, I let it pass as a thing uncertain, the bare testimony of this writer not being sufficient to establish an ancient ecclesiastical custom. We may say the same of another rite mentioned by the pretended Athanasius,^b who speaks of lighting a mixture of oil and wax at the grave of the dead, as a sacrifice of burnt-offering to God. But besides the silence of others, there are two further prejudices against this; first, that it looks more like a piece of Jewish superstition than a Christian rite; and, secondly, that the Council of Eliberis^c has an express canon forbidding a ceremony not very different from this, viz. burning of wax-tapers by day in the cemeteries of the dead, lest the spirits of the saints should be molested: and if any despised this order, they were liable to be cast out of communion for their contempt of it. I will not pretend to explain to the reader the reason of this inhibition, nor say that it forbids expressly the rite before mentioned: but there is some analogy and similitude between the two ceremonies; and, therefore, it is hence very probable that neither of them were accepted, or any ways approved by the Church.

^b Athanas. Serm. de Dormientibus, cit. a Durant. de Ritibus, lib. i. c. xxiii. n. xiv. p. 235, (p. 117, edit. Lugd. 1675.) Si quis diem obierit. . . . ne omiseris oleum, et ceram, invocato Christo Deo, ad sepulcrum accendere.— . . . Oleum enim et cera holocaustum est; incruentæ autem hostiæ oblatio propitiatio est.

^c Conc. Illiber. c. xxxiv. (Labbé, vol. i. p. 974.) Cereos per diem placuit in cœmeterio non incendi: inquietandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt. Qui hæc non observaverint, arceantur ab ecclesiæ communione.

SECT. XXIII.—*To what Sort of Persons the Privilege of Burying with this Solemnity was denied.*

We have now seen the whole manner of Christian burial among the ancients, with all the rites, both sacred and civil, accompanying and attending it. I have only one thing more to observe concerning the whole in general: which is, that Christian burial, with these solemnities, was ever esteemed a privilege, and such as good men always desired when they could have it; and bad men were punished for their crimes with the denial and refusal of it by the Church, who laid it as a mark of censure and displeasure upon them, not to allow them the honour and privilege of that solemn interment which was customary in the practice of the Church. Good men, indeed, were not above measure concerned for their bodies, so as to think it any real detriment or loss to them, if either the barbarity of their enemies, or any other accident, denied them this privilege: for in this case, as St. Austin largely discourses,^d the faith of a Christian set him above any fear that might arise from the want of a burial. The consumption of wild beasts would be no prejudice to those bodies which must rise again, and a hair of whose head could not perish. “The Psalmist indeed says, and that with some concern, ‘They have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat to the fowls of the air, and the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the land: their blood have they

^d Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. i. c. xii. (Bened. 1700, vol. vii. p. 11, B.) At enim, in tanta strage cadaverum, nec sepeliri potuerunt? Neque istud pia fides nimium reformidat, tenens prædictum, nec absumentes bestias resurrecturis corporibus obfuturas, quorum capillus capitis non peribit. Nullo modo diceret Veritas: ‘Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere;’ si quidquam obesset futuræ vitæ, quidquid inimici de corporibus occisorum facere voluissent. Nisi forte quispiam sic absurdus est, ut contendat eos qui corpus occidunt, non debere timeri ante mortem, ne corpus occidant et timeri debere post mortem, ne corpus occisorum sepeliri non sinant. Falsum est ergo, quod ait Christus, ‘qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quid faciant:’ si habent tanta, quæ de cadaveribus faciant? Absit, ut falsum sit quod Veritas dixit. Dictum est enim aliquid eos facere, quum occidunt, quia in corpore sensus est occidendo: postea vero nihil habere quod faciant, quia nullus sensus est in corpore occiso. Multa itaque corpora Christianorum terra non textit: sed nullum eorum quisquam a cælo et terra separavit, quam totam implet præsentia sui, qui novit unde

shed on every side of Jerusalem, and there was no man to bury them.' But this," says St. Austin, "is said more to exaggerate the cruelty of those who did it, than the infelicity of those who suffered it. For though these things may seem hard and direful in the eyes of men, 'yet precious in the eyes of the Lord is the death of his saints.' Therefore, all these things, namely, the care of a funeral, the building of a sepulchre, the pomp of funeral obsequies, are rather for the consolation of the living, than for any benefit of the dead. If a sumptuous funeral be any advantage to the wicked, then a poor one, or none at all, may be some detriment to the just. The rich man that was clad in purple, had a splendid funeral, by the ministry of his servants, in the sight of men: but the poor man, full of sores, had a much more splendid one in the sight of God, by the ministry of the angels, who did not carry him forth into a marble tomb, but translated him into Abraham's bosom. Some philosophers have despised the care of a funeral; and whole armies, whilst they were fighting for an earthly country, have been as regardless where they should lie, or to what beasts they should become a prey. And the poets have said plausibly enough upon this subject:—

Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

'He that has no urn, has yet the heaven for a covering:'

resuscitet, quod creavit. Dicitur quidem in psalmo: 'Posuerunt mortalia servorum tuorum escam volatilibus cæli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terræ: effuderunt sanguinem eorum sicut aquam, in circumitu Hierusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret:' sed magis ad exaggerandam eorum crudelitatem qui ista fecerunt, non ad eorum infelicitatem qui ista perpessi sunt. Quamvis enim hæc in conspectu hominum dura et dira videantur: 'sed pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus.' Proinde omnia ista, id est, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum. Si aliquid prodest impio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio vilis aut nulla. Præclaras exsequias in conspectu hominum exhibuit purpurato illi diviti turba famulorum: sed multo clariores in conspectu Domini ulceroso illi pauper ministerium præbuit angelorum, qui eum non extulerunt in marmoreum tumulum, sed in Abrahamæ gremium sustulerunt. . . . Sepulturæ curam etiam philosophi contemserunt: et sæpe universi exercitus, dum pro terrena patria morerentur, ubi postea jacerent, vel quibus bestiis esca fierent, non curarunt: licuitque de hæc re poetis plausibiliter dicere,

Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

therefore let not the heathen insult over the bodies of Christians that lie unburied, who have a promise that their flesh and all their members shall be reformed, not only out of the earth, but out of the most secret recesses of every other element, and in a moment of time be perfectly restored to their pristine and primitive state again."

This was the Christian's consolation, whenever malice, or the necessity of their fate and condition, denied them a funeral. In other cases^e they were very desirous to be decently interred among their brethren; and the living thought it a piece of justice to the dead, to treat them handsomely after death, seeing their bodies had been the organs and vessels of the Holy Ghost to every good work; and were not only like a ring or a garment, mere external ornaments to the nature of man, but more intimately and nearly belonging to him, as part of his very essence and constitution. Upon this account, good men were equally careful both to pay this just debt to their holy brethren, and to make provision that the same good offices should be done to themselves. And this made it an honourable and desirable privilege to be buried after the manner of the faithful: but then it was a privilege which belonged to none but such. All catechumens that died in a voluntary neglect of baptism, were excluded from the benefit of it, as we find by an order of the first Council of Braga;^f and many passages of St. Chrysostom to this purpose, which direct men to offer private

Quanto minus debent de corporibus insepultis insultare Christianis; quibus et ipsius carnis et membrorum omnium reformatio non solum ex terra, verum etiam ex aliorum elementorum secretissimo sinu, quo dilapsa cadavera recesserunt, in temporis puncto reddenda et redintegrandam promittitur?

^e Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. i. c. xiii. Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximeque justorum atque fidelium, quibus tamquam organis et vasis ad omnia bona opera Sanctus usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna vestis et anulus, ac si quid hujusmodi, tanto carius est posteris, quanto erga parentes major adfectus; nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quæ utique multo familiarius atque conjunctius, quam quælibet indumenta gestamus. Hæc enim non ad ornatum vel adjutorium, quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis pertinent. Unde et antiquorum justorum funera officiosa pietate curata sunt, et exsequiæ celebratæ, et sepultura provisæ: ipsique dum viverent, de sepeliendis vel etiam transferendis suis corporibus filiis mandaverunt.

^f Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxv. See sect. viii. note (1), p. 418.

alms and private prayers for them, but assure us they had no place in the public offices of the Church.^s The case was otherwise when men died without baptism, not through any neglect or contempt of it, but by some unavoidable necessity, which happened, and could not be foreseen or prevented, whilst they were piously and studiously preparing for baptism. In this case, either martyrdom or a man's own faith was thought sufficient to supply the want of baptism, as I have largely shewed in another place:^h and then they were buried with the same solemnity as other believers, being all one with them in the estimation of the Church.

Another sort of persons to whom the Church denied the usual solemnity of burial, were the *biathanati*; that is, such as laid violent hands upon themselves, being plainly guilty of murder, and that without repentance, by calling death upon themselves. And they put into the same class all those that were publicly executed for their crimes; because these were virtually and indirectly guilty of self-murder, in doing those things which, in the course of justice, brought them to an untimely end; or, at least, such things as deserved a spiritual censure, as well as a temporary punishment. Upon this account, the Council of Braga orders,ⁱ that both these sorts of men shall be denied the honour of being carried with the usual solemnity of psalmody to the grave. The Council of Auxerre orders,^j that "the oblations

^s Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Philip. (p. 32, seq. edit. Francof.) Οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐνομοθετήθη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων μνήμην γίνισθαι τῶν ἀπολλόντων ἑασει αὐτοῖς πολὺ κέρδος γίνεσθαι, πολλὰν τὴν ἀφίλειαν. ἔστι γὰρ εἰστέλει λαὸς ἐλόκληρος χυῖρας ἀνατίθεντες, πλήρωμα ἱερατικόν, καὶ πρέμυται ἡ φρικτὴ θυσία, πῶς οὐ δυσωπήσομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλῶντας; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀπολλόντων· οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀξιοῦνται τῆς παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπιστίστηνται πάσης τῆς ταπεινότητος βοήθειας, πλὴν μᾶς τινος· ποίας δὲ ταύτης; ἵναισι πίπῃσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς παραψυχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636, vol. vi. p. 1225, line 12 from top.)

^h Book x. chap. ii. sect. xx. xxi. vol. ii. pp. 297-306.

ⁱ Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxiv. See sect. viii. note (f), p. 418.

^j Conc. Antissiodor. c. xvii. (Labbé, vol. v. p. 959.) Quicumque se propria voluntate in aquam jactaverit, aut collum ligaverit, aut de arbore præcipitaverit, aut ferro percusserit, aut qualibet occasione voluntariæ se morti tradiderit, istorum oblatio non recipiatur.

of such as voluntarily hanged or drowned themselves, or killed themselves with the sword, or cast themselves from a precipice, or were any other ways guilty of a voluntary death, should not be received in the Church." And this was a punishment of the same nature as denying them a solemn burial. There is a like order in the second Council of Orleans,^k "to refuse the oblations of such as lay violent hands upon themselves;" but they except such as were killed for their crimes: I suppose, upon a supposition, that such persons repented of their crimes before their execution. But if any one laid violent hands upon himself, or was actually killed in his crimes, there was no exception ever made in his favour. Optatus says,^l even one of the Donatist bishops denied the Circumcellions solemn burial, because they were slain in rebellion against the civil magistrate. Which shews, that this was a rule inviolably observed in the Church.

Another sort of persons, to whom the Church denied the privilege of solemn burial, were all excommunicated persons, who continued obstinate and impenitent, in a manifest contempt of the Church's discipline and censures: under which denomination all heretics and schismatics, that were actually denounced such by the censures of the Church, were included. For the office of burial belonged only to the *fideles*, or 'communicants;' that is, such as died either in the full communion of the Church; or else, if they were excommunicate, were yet in a disposition to communicate, by accepting and submitting to the rules of penance and discipline in the Church. In which case, their desire of communion was accepted, as the catechumens' desire of baptism; and they were treated as communicants, though they happened to die without a formal reconciliation in the

^k Conc. Aurel. II. c. xv. (Labbé, iv. p. 1782.) Oblationes defunctorum, qui in aliquo crimine fuerint interemti, recipi debere censemus, si tamen non ipsi aibi mortem probentur propriis manibus intulisse.

^l Optat. lib. iii. p. 68, (pp. 71, 72, edit. Paris. 1679.) In loco Octavensi occisi sunt plurimi, detruncati sunt multi: quorum corpora usque in hodiernum per dealbatas aras aut mensas poterunt numerari. Ex quorum numero quum aliqui in basilicis sepelire cepissent, Clericus presbyter in loco Subbulensi ab episcopo suo coactus est, ut insepultam faceret sepulturam.

Church. The Church, in this case, relaxed their censures, and received them into communion, and treated them as other communicants after death : of which I have given a more ample account, in speaking of the discipline of the Church, in a former Book.^m

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAWS MADE TO SECURE THE BODIES AND GRAVES OF THE DEAD FROM THE VIOLENCE OF ROBBERS AND SACRILEGIOUS INVADERS.

SECT. I.—*The old Roman Laws very severe against Robbers of Graves, and all Abuses and Injuries done to the Bodies of the Dead.*

THOUGH it does not strictly belong to the business of funeral rites to speak any thing of robbers of graves, and the laws made against them ; yet, because these have some relation to the dead, and some things also remarkable in them, I will add something upon this subject for the close of this whole discourse. I have hinted before,^a that the old Roman laws were very severe against all injuries and abuses, offered either to the bodies or the monuments and sepulchres of the dead. They were reckoned sacred things : and, therefore, if any violated a sepulchre, so as to draw out the body or the bones, it was a capital crime, to be punished with death in persons of a meaner rank ;^b and others, of a higher fortune, were either to be transported into some island, or otherwise banished, or condemned to the mines ; as appears from the answer of Paulus in the Pandects, and those laws of the

^m Book xix. chap. ii. sect. xi. vol. v. p. 568.

^a Chap. ii. sect. ii. p. 386.

^b Digest. lib. xlvii. tit. xii. de Sepulcro Violato, leg. xi. (Justin. Cod. Amstelod. 1663, p. 715.) Rei sepulcrorum violatorum, si corpora ipsa extraxerint, vel ossa eruerint, humiliores quidem fortunæ summo supplicio adficiuntur : honestiores in insulam deportantur ; alias autem relegantur, aut in metallum damnantur.

Christian emperors,^c which speak of the old laws punishing this crime with death. They made a distinction between the bodies and the sepulchres: he that violated the sepulchre only, but offered no injury to the body, was not punishable with death, but either confiscation, or infamy, or banishment, or digging in the mines: but if he offered any indignity to the body itself his crime was capital, and his blood was required to expiate the offence; unless the dignity of his condition happened to be such as the law allowed to secure his life, and change the punishment of death into a penalty of some other nature.

^c Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulcris Violatis, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 188.) Factum, solitum sanguine vindicari, multæ inflictione corrigimus: atque ita supplicium statuimus in futurum, ut nec ille absit a pœna, qui ante commisit. Universi itaque, qui de monumentis columnas vel marmora abstulerunt, vel coquendæ calcis gratia lapides dejecerunt, ex consulatu scilicet Dalmatii et Zenophili, singulas libras auri per singula sepulcra fasci rationibus inferant, investigati per Prudentiæ tuæ iudicium. Eadem etiam pœna, qui dissiparunt, vel ornatum minuerunt, teneantur: et qui posita in agris suis monumenta calcis coctoribus vendiderunt: una cum his, qui ausi sunt comparare: quidquid enim attingi nefas est, non sine piaculo comparatur: sed ita, ut ab utroque una libra postuletur. Sed si et præcepto iudicum monumenta dejecta sunt, ne sub specie publicæ fabricationis pœna vitetur, eosdem iudices iubemus hanc multam agnoscere: nam ex vectigalibus, vel aliis titulis ædificare debuerunt. Quod si aliquis multam metuens, sepulcri ruinas terræ congestionem celaverit, et non intra statutum ab Excellentia tua tempus confessus sit, ab alio proditus duas auri libras cogatur inferre. Qui vero libellis datis a pontificibus impetrarunt, ut reparationis gratia labentia sepulcra deponerent, si vera docuerunt, ab inlacione multæ separentur: at si in usum alium depositis abusi sunt, teneantur pœna præscripta. Hoc in posterum observando, ut in provinciis, locorum iudices; in urbe Roma, cum pontificibus tua Celsitudo inspiciat, si per sarturas succurrendum sit alicui monumento: ut ita demum, data licentia, tempus etiam consummando operi statuatur. Quod si aliquis contra sanctionem Clementiæ nostræ sepulcrum læsurus attigerit, viginti libras auri largitionibus nostris cogatur inferre. Locorum autem iudices si hæc observare neglexerint, non minus nota quam statuta in sepulcrorum violatores pœna grassetur. — Ibid. leg. iii. Quosdam comperimus, lucri nimium cupidos, sepulcra subvertere, et substantiam fabricandi ad proprias ædes transferre, hi detecto scelere animadversionem priscis legibus definitam subire debebunt. — Valent. Novel. v. de Sepulcris. Diligenter quidem legum veterum conditores prospexerunt miseris et post fata mortalibus, eorum qui sepulcra violassent, capita persequendo. Sed quoniam noxiæ mentes cæco semper in facinus furore rapiuntur, et se ad pœnas dudum statutas existimant non teneri, necesse est severitatem novari, quam videmus hactenus impune contemtam, &c.

SECT. II. — *This Severity continued for the most Part under the Christian Emperors, with some additional Circumstances.*

This law continued all the time of Constantine ; but Constans, his son, made a little alteration in the penalty, which lasted not very long : for it was presently after revoked by Constantius, and the old penalty revived again. Constans, in a first law about demolishing sepulchres (making no mention of violating the bodies themselves), left the matter pretty much as he found it ;^d ordering all such as were concerned in demolishing of sepulchres to be sent to the mines, if they were of a servile condition, and did it without the knowledge of their lord : but if they did it barely at his instance, by his authority and command, they were only to be exiled by a common banishment : and if the lord was found to have received any thing into his own house or farm that was taken from a sepulchre, his house or farm, or whatever edifice it was, was to be confiscated to the public. But, in a second law,* he took away the punishment of death, which the old laws appointed ; and, instead of it, laid a mulct or fine of twenty pound of gold upon all that should be found guilty in any thing of this nature. Constantius did not approve of this reduction or abatement of the ancient penalty ; and therefore he revoked the indulgence of his brother Constans ; and, by two new laws of his own, brought the ancient punishment of death into force again, with some additional punishment by way of fine also. His first law runs in these terms :^f “ We understand there are some

^d Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepul. Violatis, leg. i. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 137.) Si quis in demoliendis sepulcris fuerit apprehensus, si id sine domini consentientia faciat, metallo adjudicetur : si vero domini auctoritate vel jussione urgetur, relegatione plectatur. Et si forte detractum aliquid de sepulcris, ad domum ejus villamque pervectum post hanc legem reperietur, villa, sive domus, aut ædificium quodcumque erit, fisci viribus vindicetur.

* Ibid. leg. ii. Factum, solitum sanguine vindicari, multæ infictione corrigimus, &c. See preceding note (c).

^f Ibid. leg. iii. (ibid. vol. iii. p. 142.) Quosdam comperimus, luci nimium cupidōs, sepulcra subvertere, et substantiam fabricandi ad proprias ædes transferre : hi, detecto scelere, animadversionem priscis legibus definitam, subire debebunt.

who, out of a greedy desire of gain, pull down and demolish sepulchres, transferring the materials of the building to their own houses. Now such, when their wickedness is detected, shall be subject to the punishment appointed by the ancient laws." In his other law, he first imposes a penalty of ten pound of gold upon any one that steals from a monument either stones, or marble, or pillars, or any other material, whether to use in any building, or to sell them: and then he subjoins,^s "That this punishment is intended as an addition over and above to the ancient severity:" for he would not derogate any thing from that punishment, which was before imposed upon those who offered violence to the graves of the dead: "Because," as he says in the beginning of his law, "it was a double crime, equally injurious both to the dead and the living: to the dead, by destroying and spoiling their habitations; and to the living, by polluting them in the use of such materials in building." And he adds, in the close, that "his intention was to include within these penalties all such as meddled with the bodies and relics of the dead, as well as those who defaced their sepulchres." There is also a law of Julian's in the Theodosian Code, wherein he first complains of the audaciousness of men in demolishing sepulchres, and stealing away the ornaments of them; and then orders such to be prosecuted,^h with the severity of the former laws made against them. Finally, Theodosius Junior and Valentinian III. made a most severe law against all such invaders, of what quality soever, appointing their punishment according to the dignity of the persons concerned.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchr. Violatis, leg. iv. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 143.) Qui ædificia manium violant, domus (ut ita dixerim) defunctorum, geminum videntur facinus perpetrare: nam et sepultos spoliunt, destruendo, et vivos polluant, fabricando. Si quis igitur de sepulcro abstulerit saxa, vel marmora, vel columnas, aliamve quamcumque materiam, fabricæ gratia, sive id fecerit venditurus, decem pondo auri cogatur inferre fisco; sive quis propria sepulcra defendens, hanc in judicium querelam detulerit, sive quicumque alius accusaverit, vel Officium nuntiaverit. Quæ pœna prisca severitati accedit; nihil enim derogatum est illi supplicio, quod sepulcra violentibus videtur impositum. Huic autem pœnæ subiacebunt, et qui corpora sepulta, aut reliquias contractaverint.

^h Ibid. leg. v. (ibid. vol. iii. p. 144.) Hoc fieri prohibemus, pœna manium vindicæ cohibentes. See before, chap. ii. sect. ii. note (d), p. 386.

If a slave or a countryman was apprehended in this crime,¹ he was immediately to be put to the rack: and if he confessed that it was his own act, and his master was not concerned in it, he was to be put to death. If his master was concerned in it, he was punished in like manner. If a free-man was found guilty, who was but a plebeian, and had no estate, he was also to suffer death. If he had an estate, or was in any dignity, he was to be amerced in half his estate, and for ever after to be made infamous in law. If a clergyman was found guilty of this crime, whether bishop or inferior, he was immediately to be degraded, and lose the name of a clerk, and to be sent into banishment, without redemption. And all judges are strictly charged to see this law duly put in execution.—*Pax sepultis*, 'Peace be to the dead.'

SECT. III.—*No Indulgence allowed to Robbers of Graves by the Emperors at the Easter Festival.*

To give these laws the greater force and terror, it was usual with the emperors, when they granted their indulgence to several criminals, according to custom, at the Easter festival, still to except robbers of graves, with other great criminals, whom they thought unworthy of any such pardon or indulgence; such as men guilty of sacrilege, incest, ravishment, adultery, sorcery, necromancy, counterfeiting or adulterating the public coin, together with murder and

¹ Valentin. Novel. v. de Sepulcris, ad calcem Cod. Theod. (vol. vi. p. 22, b.) Servos colonosve, in hoc facinore deprehensos, duci protinus ad tormenta convenit. Si de sua tantum fuerint temeritate confessi, luant commissa sanguine suo. Si dominos inter supplicia nullo interrogante nexuerint, pariter puniantur. Ingenui quoque, quos similis præsumptio reos fecerit, si fortasse plebei et nullarum fuerint facultatum, pœnas morte persolvant. Splendidiores autem, vel dignitatibus noti, bonorum suorum medietate multati, perpetua notentur infamia. Clericos vero, quos tam diri operis constiterit auctores, dignos credimus majore supplicio: vehementius enim coercendus est, quem peccasse mireris . . . Quisquis igitur ex hoc numero sepulcrorum violator exstiterit, illico clerici nomen amittat, et sic stilo proscriptionis addictus, perpetua deportatione plectatur . . . Sed quoniam plerumque statutis salubribus dissimulatione venalium judicium negatur effectus, præsentī jubemus edicto, ut provinciæ moderator, adminiculo municipum fultus, censuram nostræ legis exerceat. . . . Criminosus pena reddatur, pax sepultis.

treason: as we find the exceptions made in several laws of Valentinian, and Gratian, and Theodosius Senior, and Theodosius Junior, and Valentinian III., put together in one title in the Theodosian Code,^j beside this famous law of Valentinian, now recited.

SECT. IV.—*For this Crime a Woman was allowed by the Laws to give a Bill of Divorce to her Husband.*

And it is remarkable also, that Constantine, who allowed a woman liberty to put away her husband for three crimes, made this one of the three:—if he was a murderer, or a sorcerer, or a robber of graves.^k And Theodosius Junior also puts the same crime among the legal causes of divorce both in men and women in one of his laws,^l which Justinian not only put into his new Code, but confirmed by several laws and novels of his own composing, as has been already shewed more at large in handling the matter of divorces in the last Book.^m Neither were the ecclesiastical laws wanting in the punishment of this crime, which was reputed the most barbarous and inhuman sort of robbery of any other: concerning which I have spoken fully under the head of Ecclesiastical Discipline,ⁿ and therefore need say no more of it in this place.

SECT. V.—*One Reason tempting Men to commit this Crime, was the rich Adorning of the Heathen Sepulchres.*

Now if it be inquired, what made men, professing Christianity, to be so much addicted to this vice, that there should be need of so many laws against it? I answer, there were three motives or temptations to this kind of robbery, two of which had something plausible in them; but the first

^j Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxxviii. de Indulgentiis Criminum, leg. iii. iv. vi. vii. viii. See Book xx. chap. v. sect. vi. notes ('), (m), (n), p. 106.

^k Cod. Theod. lib. iii. xvi. de Repudiis, leg. i. In repudio mittendo a femina, hæc sola crimina inquiri placet, si homicidam, vel medicamentarium, vel sepulcrorum dissolutorem, maritum suum esse probaverit.

^l Cod. Justin. lib. v. tit. xvii. de Repudiis, leg. viii. (Amstelod. 1663, p. 162.)

^m Book xxii. chap. v. sect. v. and viii. pp. 356–361.

ⁿ Book xvi. chap. vi. sect. xxiv. vol. vi. p. 122.

had nothing but downright covetousness in it, arising from the rich ornaments and splendid furniture of many of the heathen monuments built over their graves; which some wicked Christians, as well as others, looking upon, not so much with an envious, as a covetous and rapacious eye, took occasion, either publicly or privately, to make a spoil and plunder of them. This is evident from the complaints made in the several laws, of such robbers carrying off marble stones, and pillars, and other rich furniture, either to adorn their own houses therewith, or make a gain of them by selling to others. Some were so base and sordid as to pull down monuments to 'make lime with,' or to sell them to others for that purpose, *coquendæ calcis gratia*, as one of the laws words it.

SECT. VI.—*A more plausible Pretence was taken up from the Laws, that ordered all Heathen Altars and Images to be demolished.*

But this rapacious humour was something covered with a plausible pretence of piety and zeal for the Christian religion. For Constantine (an. 333) had ordered all altars and images, as well as temples, to be destroyed: and the heathen monuments and sepulchres were often adorned with such images: which gave occasion, beyond the meaning of the law, to bad men to demolish the heathen monuments, under the notion of destroying images, and rooting out idolatry, and all the remains and footsteps of it. Had they kept within the intent of the law, only destroying images and altars, and not the graves themselves, there had been no just reason of complaint: but when, under this pretence, they destroyed not only the images, but the whole edifice of the monuments, erasing the titles, and disturbing the bodies or ashes of the dead, and carrying off marble stones and pillars, and whatever was ornamental or valuable about them; this was thought intolerable by the succeeding emperors: and therefore so many good laws were made against the hypocritical rapaciousness of such illegal pretenders to reformation. The law was good, had they used it lawfully: but they, through covetousness and rapine, went beyond their bounds: and

therefore Constans, the son of Constantine (an. 349), ordered all these creatures to be called to an account, who had so abused the law of his father; and, under pretence of destroying images, had the marble ornaments and pillars taken away, and the stones thrown down, to burn into lime:° whosoever of this sort could be discovered, from the time that Dalmatius and Zenophilus were consuls, that is, from the year 333, when Constantine first published his edict, which they fraudulently took advantage of, they should forfeit to the emperor's coffer a pound of gold for every monument so defaced: and whoever for the future was found guilty of such rapine, should be amerced twenty pounds of gold, to the use of the exchequer likewise. So that this pretence of demolishing heathen monuments, under the notion of destroying idolatry, was a mere hypocritical act of covetousness, varnished over with a face of religion.

SECT. VII. — *A third Reason was, to get the Relics of Martyrs to sell, and make Gain of them.*

There was also a third temptation of the same nature, which seems to have prevailed even among some of the more senseless and covetous clergy; which was the gainful trade of getting and selling the relics of martyrs. This made them, for the sake of filthy lucre, rob graves, and steal away the bones of martyrs, or any others, that they might have a sufficient stock of relics (true or false, it mattered not which) to feed the foolish superstition of such as were willing to let them make a gain of them. This kind of superstition, calculated to encourage covetousness and religious cheats, was stirring among some in the Church betimes. For though the Church, for above five hundred years, made no other use of the relics of martyrs but only decently to inter them, yet some superstitious persons privately made another use

° Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulcris, leg. ii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 139.) Universi itaque, qui de monumentis columnas vel marmora abstulerunt, vel coquendæ calcis gratia lapides dejecerunt, ex consulatu scilicet Dalmatii et Zenophili, singulas libras auri per singula sepulcra fieri rationibus inferant. . . . Quod si aliquis contra sanctionem Clementiæ nostræ sepulcrum læsurus attigerit, viginti libras auri largitionibus nostris cogatur inferre.

of them. Optatus says, Lucilla, the rich foundress, as one may call her, of the Donatist schism, was used, before she received the eucharist, to kiss the mouth of a certain martyr,^p which, whether true or false, she had procured, and kept by her for that purpose. For this she was gravely reprov'd by Cæcilian, then archdeacon of Carthage: which she so resented and remembered, that when he came to be bishop, she being a rich, potent, factious woman, by her interest, procured some others to be set up against him: which was the first beginning of the schism of the Donatists, founded upon the pride of an imperious woman, who was incorrigibly bent upon the superstitious veneration of the relic of a martyr. St. Austin likewise tells us,^q there were, in his time, a great many wandering idle monks, hypocritical men, who, by the instigation of Satan, went about the world, selling relics of martyrs; which it was very doubtful whether they were the relics of true martyrs or not. However, they made a gainful trade of it; and, no doubt, were tempted upon that account to rob the graves of the martyrs, or some others, which would as well serve their purpose. In opposition to this sort of men, Theodosius the Great made an express law,^r "That no one should remove any dead

^p Optat. lib. i. p. 40, (p. 18, edit. Paris. 1679.) Hoc apud Carthaginem post ordinationem Cæciliani factum esse, nemo est qui nesciat: per Lucillam scilicet, nescio quam feminam factiosam, quæ ante concussam persecutionis turbinibus pacem, dum adhuc in tranquillo esset ecclesia, quum correptionem archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non posset, quæ ante spiritalem cibum et potum, os nescio cujus martyris, si tamen martyris, libare dicebatur; et quum præponeret calici salutari os nescio cujus hominis mortui, et si martyris, sed nec dum vindicati, correpta, cum confusione irata discessit. . . . P. 19. Lucilla, quæ jam dudum ferre non potuit disciplinam, cum omnibus suis potens et factiosa femina, communioni misceri noluit. . . . Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutritiv, avaritia roboravit, &c. (Antwerp. 1702; p. 16.)

^q Aug. de Opere Monachor. c. xxviii. (Bened. 1700, vol. vi. p. 364, F.) Calidissimus hostis . . . tum multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes provincias, nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant: alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificant: &c.

^r Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. vii. de Sepulcris Violatis, leg. vii. (Lugd. 1665, vol. iii. p. 152.) Humatum corpus nemo ad alium locum transferat; nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur: habeant vero in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum aliquis est conditus, pro ejus veneratione, quod 'martyrium' vocandum sit, addant quod voluerint fabricarum.

body that was buried from one place to another ; that no one should sell or buy the relics of martyrs : but if any one was minded to build over the grave where a martyr was buried, a church, to be called a *martyrium*, in respect to him, he should have liberty to do it." This was, then, the honour that was paid to martyrs, to let them lie quietly in their graves, and build churches over them, which were dedicated to God and his service, not to any religious worship of the martyr ; only in honour to him the church might be called a *martyrium* after his name ; but beyond this no honour was to be given to him under any pretence of veneration : and to take up his body, and make merchandise of his bones, was so far from veneration, that it was reckoned a disturbing of his ashes and a robbing of graves, which was mere covetousness, hypocritically covered under the name of religion. I question not but the law of Valentinian III., which speaks of bishops, and others of the clergy, who were concerned in robbing of graves, was levelled against this sort of men, who digged up the bones of martyrs, and sold them as holy relics, to gratify their own lucre at the expense of superstitious people, who thought it an honour to a martyr to keep his bones above ground ; whereas all the laws of church and state then reckoned it a sacrilegious robbing of graves, and disturbance of those holy relics, which ought to have lain quiet and undisturbed to the resurrection.

SECT. VIII.—*A peculiar Custom in Egypt to keep the Bodies embalmed and unburied in their Houses above Ground.*

There was a peculiar custom in Egypt, which might have given great encouragement to this wicked practice ; though we do not find men made that ill use of it, however it was disapproved upon another account. For the custom of Egypt was so to embalm the dead, as to keep them either in their houses, or in monuments and mausoleums above ground. The body so ordered was, by the ancient Greek writers, called *τάριχος* ; the Egyptians called it *gabbara* ; and

modern writers, *mummia*, as Gataker^a observes from the Arabic word, *mum*, which denotes 'wax,' used chiefly in this embalming. Most ancient writers speak of this Egyptian way of embalming: and Tully more particularly takes notice^b of their keeping the bodies so embalmed in their own houses without any other burial. This custom, it seems, was also retained among the Christians of Egypt, many of whom (it is certain not all) were wont not to bury their dead under ground: but when they had embalmed them, to keep them still in their houses laid in bed, out of reverence and honour for their persons. Athanasius says St. Antony,^c the famous Egyptian hermit, was very much offended at this custom; and, therefore, he was used, with a great deal of freedom, to tell the bishops of Egypt, that they ought to teach the people better, and endeavour to break the custom. For the bodies of the patriarchs and prophets were kept in their sepulchres unto this day; and the body of our Lord was laid in a grave to the time of his resurrection. By which arguments he shewed that it was a sin for any man not to bury the bodies of his dead under the earth, although they were holy. "For what can be greater or more holy than the body of the Lord?" Upon this many people changed their custom, and buried the bodies of the dead under ground, giving God thanks that they were

^a Gataker. Not. in Marc. Anton. lib. iv. p. 175, (p. 133, edit. Traject. ad Rhen. 1697, fol.) Ita apud illos cadaver fit *τάριχος*, id est, 'salsura,' sive 'mummia,' uti appellant recentiores medicorum filii, ab Arabico *mum*, id est, 'cera,' quia ceromate etiam in eo negotio utebantur; apud istos *τίφρα*, id est, 'favilla' vel 'cinis.'

^b Cic. Quæst. Tuscul. lib. i. sect. cviii. Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant.

^c Athanas. Vit. Anton. (Colon. 1686, tom. ii. p. 502, B. 7.) (tom. i. p. 862, edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Ο Ἀντώνιος πολλάκις περὶ τούτου καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἄξιον παραγγέλλειν τοῖς λαοῖς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λαϊκοὺς ἐνιστάει, καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπισπληντεῖν λίγων, μήτε νόμιμον, μήτε ὕλως ὅσιον εἶναι τούτο· καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῶν πατριάρχων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν σώματα μέχρι νῦν σώζονται εἰς μνήματα· καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα εἰς κρητῆσιν ἐτίθη· λίθος τε ἐπιστεβὶς ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸ, ὥς ἀνίστη τρέψμενον. Καὶ ταῦτα λίγων, ἰδεῖσθαι παρανομοῦν τὸν μετὰ θάνατον μὴ πρῶτοντα τὰ σώματα τῶν τιμιωτέρων, καὶ ἅγια συγχάσθαι· τί γὰρ μῦθον ἢ ἀγνώστου τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος; πολλοὶ οὖν ἀκούσαντες, ἔκρυψαν ὑπὸ γῆν λειψῶν, καὶ πύχαιστον τῇ Κυρίᾳ, καλῶς διδαχθέντες.

better instructed. It is added a little after, that St. Antony gave orders that his own body should so be buried; which was accordingly done in a place that no one knew of beside the two persons that took care of his funeral. But it was not easy to break an inveterate custom; and therefore, though many left off this way, yet many continued it still: for St. Austin speaks of it^v as a thing in use among the Egyptians in his time, at least to dry the bodies of the dead by their curious way of embalming, which made them almost as hard as brass, and kept them from corruption. These, in their language, they called by a peculiar name, *gabbaræ*, which, I think, we may English, 'Egyptian mummies.' He does not expressly say they still kept them above ground; but he seems to intimate as much, in saying, they intended by their embalming 'to harden them like brass,' and preserve them from corruption.

SECT. IX.—*No Religious Worship allowed to be given to Relics in the Ancient Church till after the Time of St. Austin.*

We may hence draw several arguments, as Mr. Daillé has done in a very curious and learned book,^v to prove that there was no religious worship given to the relics of saints and martyrs, for several of the first ages in the Church. For their great care was to bury them under ground (and not set them upon the altar^x as in after-ages). This was the greatest respect they thought they could pay to them. St. Antony thought it was a great disrespect to keep them above ground unburied. The laws made it sacrilege to rob a grave for the sake of them, and absolutely forbade any one to buy or sell the relics of a martyr. Lucilla was reproved for

^v Aug. Serm. cxx. de Diversis, c. xii. (Bened. 1700; vol. v. p. 984, F.) *Ægyptii, diligenter curant cadavera mortuorum: morem enim habent siccare corpora, et quasi ænea reddere: 'gabbaras' ea vocant.*

^v Dallæus de Objecto Cultus Religiosi, lib. iv. tot.

^x Mabillon (de Liturg. Gallicana, book i. chap. ix. sect. iv.) owns there were no relics set upon the altar even to the tenth century.

paying an undue respect to them. St. Austin inveighs against the monks that went about the world selling the relics of martyrs; and he condemns those who worshipped graves and pictures, under pretence of honouring⁷ the dead, whom he put into the same class with those who made themselves drunk at the monuments of the martyrs, and placed their intemperance to the account of religion. "All such," he says, "were a scandal to the Church, whom she condemned as ignorant and superstitious men, and daily laboured to correct them as wicked children." There is one instance, in the third century, of some well-meaning Christians, who, after the martyrs Fructuosus and Eulogius were burnt, gathered up their remains, and would have kept them by them only out of respect and love, not for any religious worship: but Fructuosus, after his passion,⁸ appeared to them, and admonished them to restore immediately whatever part of the ashes any one out of love had taken to himself, and that putting them altogether they should bury them in one common grave. The great care of the Church and of the martyrs themselves in those days, was not to have their relics kept above ground for worship, but to be decently buried under the earth. And, therefore, when the heathen judge asked Eulogius the deacon, who suffered with Fructuosus, his bishop, "Whether he would not worship Fructuosus as a martyr after death?" he plainly replied, "I do not worship Fructuosus,⁹ but Him only whom Fructuosus worships." The like answer was given by the brethren of the Church of Smyrna to the suggestion of the Jews, when, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Jews desired

⁷ Aug. de Moribus Ecclesiæ, Cathol. c. xxxiv. (Bened. 1700, vol. i. p. 321, B. 12.) Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepebant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. &c.

⁸ Acta Fructuosi, apud Baron. an. 262, n. lxxviii. (Antwerp. 1597, vol. ii. p. 587.) Ut quod unusquisque per caritatem de cineribus usurpaverat, restituerent sine mora, unoque in loco simul condendos curarent.

⁹ Ibid. n. lxii. (p. 585.) Ego Fructuosum non colo: sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus.

the heathen judge, that he would not permit the Christians to carry off the body of Polycarp, lest they should leave their crucified master, and begin to worship this man in his stead. "This suggestion," says the answer,^b "proceeded purely from ignorance, and a false presumption, that we could either forsake Christ, or worship any other. For we worship Christ, as being the Son of God: but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love with a due affection, for their great love of their own King and Master; with whom we desire to be partners and fellow-disciples." They add, that when his body was burned, they gathered up the bones, more precious and valuable than any gold or precious stones, and buried them in a convenient place, where, by God's permission, they intended to meet and celebrate his birthday with joy and gladness, as well for the memorial of those who have bravely suffered and fought as champions before, as for the exercise and preparation of those that come after. I will only add one testimony more out of St. Austin, where he makes some pious reflections upon the Passions of the foresaid Fructuosus and Eulogius. He mentions the same answer of Eulogius to the judge, that the Acts speak of; when the judge asked him, "Whether he would worship Fructuosus;" he replied, "I do not worship Fructuosus; but I worship Him whom Fructuosus also

^b Acta Polycarpi apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. Amstelod. 1695, p. 109, A. 11.) 'Τρίκαλοι γοῦν τινες Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Δάλλης, ἰντυχίῳ τῷ ἡγιμένῳ, ὅστις μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφίντις τὸν ἱσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξονται εἶδεν. καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον, ὑποκαλόντων καὶ ἰσχυράντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ ἰσήμεσαν, μιλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν ἀναγούσας ὅτι οὗτοι τὸν Χριστὸν ποτὲ καταλιπὼν δυνασμέμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὗτοι ἵτιόν τινα εἶδεν. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνεῖν τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μιμητὰς ἀγαπᾶμεν ἄξιως, ἵνα καὶ ὑποίας ἀνταρξήσῃς τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλείᾳ καὶ διδάσκαλον ὡς γίνετο καὶ ἡμεῖς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γινίσθαι. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ ἱκατοστάρχης τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γινομένην φιλονικίαν, θύε αὐτὸν ἐν μίση, ὡς ἴδως αὐτοῖς, ἱκανοῖν. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνιλέμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτιλῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦν ὄντα αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἀπόλυτον ἦν ἰδεῖν ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγαγόμεναι ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρῆξιν ὁ Κύριος ἱκετιλίῳ τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γινέσθαι, εἰς τε τῶν προσηληκτότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μιλόντων ἄσκησιν τε καὶ ἰτομασίαν.

worships." Upon which St. Austin makes this remark,^c "That hereby we are taught to honour the martyrs, but not to worship them, but only to worship the God whom the martyrs worship. For we ought not to be such as the pagans are, whom we lament upon that very account, because they worship dead men. For all those whose names you hear, to whom temples are built, were men, and all, or most of them, kings among men: as you have heard of Jupiter, Hercules, Neptune, Pluto, Mercury, Bacchus, and the rest; whom not only the fictions of the poets, but the histories of all nations, declare and evidence to have been men, who, having obliged the world with some temporal kindnesses, were, after death, worshipped by vain men, who called and esteemed them gods, and built temples to them as gods, and prayed to them as gods, and erected altars to them as gods, and ordained priests for them as gods, and offered sacrifices to them as gods: whereas the true God alone ought to have temples, and sacrifices ought to be

^c Aug. Serm. ci. de Diversis, p. 571, (tom. v. p. 1106, edit. Paris, nn. iii. iv. vii.) Quomodo nos admonuit, ut martyres honoremus, et cum martyribus Deum colamus? Neque enim tales esse debemus, quales paganos dolemus. Et quidem illi mortuos homines colunt. Illi quippe omnes, quorum nomina auditis, quibus templa constructa sunt, homines fuerunt; et in rebus humanis habuerunt plerique eorum et pene omnes regiam potestatem. Auditis Jovem, auditis Herculem, auditis Neptunum, auditis Plutonem, Mercurium, Liberum (p. 772), et ceteros; homines fuerunt. Non ista solum in fabulis poetarum, sed etiam in historia gentium declarantur. Qui legerunt, noverunt: qui non legerunt, credant eis qui legerunt. Illi ergo homines beneficiis quibusdam temporalibus res humanas sibi conciliaverunt, et ab hominibus vanis et vana sectantibus ita coli cœperunt, ut dii vocarentur, dii haberentur, tamquam diis templa ædificarentur, tamquam diis supplicaretur, tamquam diis aræ constituerentur, tamquam diis sacerdotes ordinarentur, tamquam diis victimæ immolarentur. (§ iv.) Templum autem solus Deus verus habere debet, sacrificium soli Deo vero offerri debet. (§ vii.) Non eis templa, non eis altaria, non sacrificia exhibemus. Non eis sacerdotes offerunt: absit. Deo præstantur. Immo Deo ista offeruntur, a quo nobis cuncta præstantur. Etiam apud Memorias sanctorum martyrum, quum offerimus, nonne Deo offerimus? . . . Quando audistis dici apud Memoriam sancti Theogenis, a me vel ab aliquo fratre et collega meo, vel aliquo presbytero, Offero tibi, Sancte Theogenes? aut, Offero tibi, Petre? aut, Offero tibi, Paule? Numquam audistis. Non fit: non licet. Et si dicatur tibi, Numquid tu Petrum colis? responde quod de Fructuoso respondit Eulogius: 'Ego Petrum non colo, sed Deum colo, quem colit et Petrus.' (Bened. 1700, vol. v. p. 771, D. 11.)

offered to the true God alone." As for the martyrs, he says, they did neither take them for gods, nor worship them as gods: "We give them no temples, nor altars, nor sacrifices; neither do the priests offer to them:—God forbid. These things are only done to God, and offered to Him from whom alone we obtain all good things, at the memorials of the martyrs. Therefore if any one asks thee, Whether thou worship Peter, — answer as Eulogius did concerning Fructuosus, 'I do not worship Peter, but I worship Him whom Peter also worships.'" Then he brings in the example of Paul and Barnabas refusing to be worshipped by the Lycaonians, and the example of the angel refusing to be worshipped by St. John, and bidding him to worship God alone. After which he adds these remarkable words in the close, both against those who kept feasts at the graves of the martyrs, and those who worshipped them:^d "The martyrs hate your flagons of wine; the martyrs hate your frying-pans: the martyrs hate your drunken revellings at their graves. I speak not these things to injure or reproach any who are not such: let them who do such things, take it to themselves. The martyrs, I say, hate these things, and love not those that do them. But they much more hate and abhor any worship that is offered to them." These are plain evidences, that no religious worship was given to the martyrs, much less to their relics, by the Church in the time of St. Austin. But some ignorant and superstitious persons were carried away with a blind zeal, to reckon those things to be an honour to the martyrs, which were a real reproach both to themselves and the Church, and displeasing both to God and the martyrs; to whom the greatest honour they could do, was to lay their relics quietly in the grave, and meet at their tombs to praise God for their glorious achievements and victories over the terrors of death, and to excite themselves to piety and

^d Aug. Serm. ci. de Diversis, p. 572, (p. 1108, n. viii. cit. edit. Monach. Bened.) Oderunt martyres lagenas vestras, oderunt martyres sartagines vestras. Sine injuria eorum dico, qui tales non sunt: illi ad se referant, qui talia faciunt: oderunt ista martyres, non amant talia facientes. Sed multo plus oderunt, si colantur.

constancy in the faith by the provocation of their examples. Other honours to the dead the ancient Church knew none; at least approved or encouraged none; but laboured to correct and repress them wherever they appeared, as resembling too near, and favouring too much of, the follies and superstitions of the Gentiles, whose gods were only dead men, deified by their own consecration and worship, without any real foundation in nature: for by nature they were no gods. And this is the great irrefragable argument the ancients always made use of against them: of which I have said enough both here and elsewhere:° and so I put an end to this discourse concerning the manner of treating the dead in the ancient Church.

I have now gone through the whole state of the Primitive Church, and given an account of the several parts of her public worship and offices of Divine service: which, in a great measure, answers the design I at first proposed to myself, when I begun this work. Another book more of miscellaneous rites might be added: but having laboured in this work for twenty years, with frequent returns of bodily infirmities, which make hard study now less agreeable to a weakly constitution; and the things themselves being of no great moment; I rather chose to give the reader a complete and finished work, with an index to the whole, than by grasping at too much, to be forced to leave it imperfect, neither to my own nor the world's satisfaction. I bless God for enabling me to go through the work with comfort and pleasure. I thank the world for their patience and approbation; and I thank my particular benefactors more, as I think I am obliged to do, for their suitable encouragement to a work of such a nature. I blame none for want of encouragement, nor any that dislike the whole, or any part of it. They may have reasons, perhaps, which I know not of, and shall never inquire into. I hope, however, that it may prove a useful work, in some measure, both to the present and future generations; as a learned prelate was once

° Book xiii. chap. iii. vol. iv. p. 140.

pleased to say to me, by way of approbation and encouragement, "*Seris arbores, alteri sæculo profuturas.*" If so, I shall have my end. Let the Church receive benefit; and God, the glory of all.

LAUS DEO.

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